00108739

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from

Government of Maharashtra

on 01 February, 2020

SATTARA.

RETURN to an ORDER of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 7 August 1850;—*for*,

COPIES "of all CORRESPONDENCE between the Government of *Bombay* and the Resident Commissioner at *Sattara*, and between the Government of *Bombay* and the Government of *India*, relating to the ANNEXATION of *Sattara*, and the Form of the Administration of that Territory; also, Copies of all CORRESPONDENCE between the Government of *India* and the Court of Directors of the East India Company on the same Subjects, whether in the Secret Department or otherwise, so far as the same have not been presented to Parliament."

East India House,
27 February 1851.

JAMES C. MELVILL.

108739

(Mr. George Thompson.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
7 *March* 1851.

CORRESPONDENCE relating to the ANNEXATION of *Sattara*, and the Form of the Administration of that Territory.

LIST.

	Page.
Extract Political Letter from Bombay; dated 23 June (No 60) 1849 - - - -	2
Extract Political Letter to Bombay; dated 21 November (No. 33) 1849 - - - -	3
Extract Bombay Political Consultation, 2 May 1849 - - - - - - -	3
Extract Bombay Political Consultation, 16 May 1849 - - - - - - -	4
Extract Bombay Political Consultation, 13 June 1849 - - - - - - -	5

East India House,
27 February 1851.

T. L. Peacock,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

EXTRACT POLITICAL LETTER from Bombay; dated 23 June (No. 60) 1849.

2. ON the 18th April last our Right honourable President recorded the minute, of which a copy forms Enclosure No. 1, to Collection No. 1, accompanying this despatch, in which his Lordship suggested the adoption of such measures as occurred to him for conducting, temporarily, the administration of this lapsed territory pending the receipt of information upon various points therein alluded to, which his Lordship deemed it requisite should be obtained previous to determining upon a more matured system of organization. The several suggestions contained in this minute having been concurred in by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby and the Honourable Mr. Blane, corresponding instructions were issued to Mr. Frere on the 1st ultimo.

3. Having communicated these proceedings to the Right honourable the Governor-general of India, we were in reply informed, in a letter from Mr. Secretary Elliot, dated the 18th ultimo, that in the opinion of his Lordship the measures proposed by this Government for the temporary administration of the lapsed Sattara territory, " are very judicious and satisfactory."

4. On a review of these proceedings your Honourable Court will observe, that as the best means in our opinion of temporarily managing this lapsed territory during the period of its transition from a separate government to a regulation province, we have placed it under the control of a Commissioner, in whom the whole civil authority has been vested, subject to Government. The very satisfactory and able manner in which Mr. (H. B. E.) Frere, has conducted his duties as Resident, the personal knowledge which he possesses of the family of his Highness the late Raja, and his thorough acquaintance with the affairs of Sattara, have induced us to appoint that gentleman to this office on the salary of a Collector, namely, Rs. 2,333. 5. 4. per mensem, with a deputation allowance of 10 rupees when out in the districts.

5. To enable the Commissioner to discharge with efficiency the onerous duties which will devolve upon him in conducting the management of this territory, we have granted him the aid of three assistants, to the senior of whom we have resolved, in addition to the other duties which will devolve on him, to entrust the conduct of the judicial branch of the administration, being the department which, in its details, will best admit of separate superintendence. We have fixed the salary of this situation at 1,200 rupees per mensem, with a deputation allowance of 10 rupees per diem, when actually out in the districts; Mr. M. A. Coxon, of the Bombay Civil Service, has been nominated to this appointment on a reduced salary of 1,000 rupees per mensem, until such period as his seniority in the service shall entitle him to receive the full amount.

6. We

6. We have appointed Lieutenant H. B. Sandford, of the Bombay Artillery, and Ensign J. J. Nicholson, of the 23d regiment Bombay Native Infantry respectively, to the offices of second and third assistants to the Commissioner; the former on a consolidated salary of 600 rupees per mensem, with a deputation allowance of five rupees, per diem when out in the districts, and the latter on a salary of 400 rupees per mensem.

Lieutenant Sandford has been officiating as an assistant to the Resident at Sattara, from the period of the death of the late Raja.

7. We have directed that the business of this lapsed state, in its several branches, be, as far as is practicable, carried on for the present with the existing establishments, no appointments that from time to time may become vacant in any department being filled up, until after a reference to Government, since many modifications, and probably abolitions of offices, will in numerous instances eventually become necessary.

8. The existing system of police appearing to work well, and to meet the wants of the people, we have not deemed it necessary at present to make any change in its machinery. We have deemed it proper not to include the charge of the police in the judicial branch of the administration, entrusted to the first assistant, but have directed that it be retained under the Commissioner's own immediate and active superintendence.

9. With reference to the general subject of the administration of the country, we have considered no great changes, even in the forms of proceedings, to be immediately requisite, beyond the substitution of the Honourable Company's seal and style for that of the late government.

EXTRACT POLITICAL LETTER to Bombay; dated 21 November (No. 33) 1849.

2. WE approve the arrangement which you have made for the administration of the Sattara territory by Mr. Frere, as Commissioner, with three assistants.

3. We approve your intention of continuing in every respect the previous forms and principles of administration, until such information is obtained as will enable you to judge in what points alteration may be desirable.

EXTRACT BOMBAY POLITICAL CONSULTATION, 2 May 1849.

EXTRACT MINUTE by the Right Honourable the Governor; dated 18 April 1849.

21. SUCH being, according to the information we are at present possessed of, the actual condition of the state which has lapsed to us, I propose, as the best means of managing it for the present, during what may be called its period of transition from a separate government to a regulation province, that Mr. Frere, the present Resident, whose intelligence, ability and acquirements, as well as his personal knowledge of the family of the late Raja, and thorough acquaintance with the affairs of the state, peculiarly qualifying him for the discharge of the duties which, on this position, will devolve to him, be appointed Commissioner, with a moderate establishment, to exercise, subject immediately to Government, the whole civil authority of the state. He should, I think have under him three assistants, the senior of whom should, in addition to any other duties he may have to perform, be specially charged with the conduct of the judicial department of the administration, it being that which, in its details, will best admit of separate superintendence. I do not in the judicial include the police, which I propose to manage, at any rate for the present, by the same machinery as hitherto, and which will require great care and attention, as it is a branch in which I consider the native system to work very well when properly administered; and I conceive it to be essential that it should be under the immediate and active superintendence of the chief local authority.

 22. I would

22. I would give the Commissioner the salary of a Collector, and deputation when out. His first assistant should, I think, receive the same as an assistant judge at a detached station, viz. 1,200 rupees a month.

23. I would keep Lieutenant Sandford as the second assistant, on a consolidated salary of 600 rupees per mensem, that sum being about equal to what he now receives, including both his civil and military pay. He should likewise draw a deputation allowance of five rupees a day when out, and I would give Mr. Frere a third assistant on 400 rupees a month, as he deems such additional aid to be absolutely necessary.

24. Mr. Frere should carry on the business until further orders with the establishment now existing (all of which should be informed that they are now the servants of the British Goverment), filling up no appointments that may become vacant in any department until after a reference to Government, for, as much will be essentially modified or abolished, great care must be taken not to give rise to claims which may embarrass our after-measures. No great change, even in the form of proceedings will be at present necessary, beyond the substitution of the Honourable Company's seal and style, for that of the late government, for we have to deal with a system greatly in advance of those which usually exist in native states, and which I doubt not in many respects is more suited to the tastes of the natives of the country than that of our regulation provinces, and it is not impossible that in the practical working of it, particularly in the police, we may find portions which may aid us in improving our own.

Extract Bombay Political Consultation, 16 May 1849.

Notification to be sent to all Mamlutdars and Heads of Departments.—To all Killedars and Officers in charge of Ghauts, or commanding detachments of Troops.

Notification.

1. The late Raja Shree Mun Maharaj Shahjee Maharaj Chutturputtee, died on the 5th April 1848; on the same day a proclamation signed by the British Resident, was issued to all officers of the Sattara State, informing them of the death of the Maharajah, and desiring them to continue in the discharge of their several duties, under the control of the Resident, till the orders of the British Government should be known.

2. With advertence to the aforesaid proclamation, it is now further notified that a letter has been received from the Secretary to Government, dated the 1st May 1849, intimating that the Right honourable the Governor-general of India in Council, under the authority of the Honourable the Court of Directors, has been pleased to order, that in consequence of his late Highness Shreemun Maharaja Shahjee Maharaj Chutturputtee, having died without heirs entitled to succeed to the sovereignty of Sattara, the territory comprised therein is to be considered as having lapsed to the power by which it was granted, and is to be henceforth annexed to the British empire in India.

3. It is the desire and intention of the British Government that the rights and interests of all parties affected by this measure be treated with all due consideration and liberality, according to the merits of each case to be determined upon hereafter.

4. The administration of the lapsed territory is to be conducted by the present Resident, Mr. Frere, with the title of Commissioner, to whose orders all are required to pay obedience.

5. This therefore is addressed to you in order that you may make known the above-recited decision of the British Government to all public officers subordinate to you, together with the hereditary districts and village officers and the people generally, and require their loyal and ready conformity therewith.

Extract

EXTRACT BOMBAY POLITICAL CONSULTATION, 13 June 1849.

(No. 753.)

From *H. M. Elliot*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to *W. Courtney*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, Political Department, Bombay. No. 4777. Foreign department.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter under date the 1st instant (No. 97), with its enclosures, relative to the mode in which it will be advisable at present to conduct the administration of the lapsed state of Sattara, I am directed to state that in the opinion of the Governor-general the proposals of the Government of Bombay are very judicious and satisfactory.

I have, &c.

Simla, 18 May 1849. (signed) *H. M. Elliot*,
Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

East India House,
27 February 1851.

T. L. Peacock,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

SATTARA.

CORRESPONDENCE between the Government of *Bombay*, and the Resident Commissioner at *Sattara*, between the Government of *Bombay* and the Government of *India*, and between the Government of *India* and the Court of Directors of the East India Company, relating to the Annexation of *Sattara*, and the Form of the Administration of that Territory.

(Mr. George Thompson.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
7 *March* 1851.

Under 1 *oz.*

EAST INDIA.

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 26 May 1853;—*for*,

RETURN "of the SUBJECTS of His Highness the *Guicowar* now enjoying the British Guarantee, with the Terms thereof, and any CORRESPONDENCE showing the Grounds on which, in each Case, the Guarantee was given; also, COPIES of any CORRESPONDENCE which may subsequently have taken place between the Court of Directors, the *Bombay* Government, and the Resident at *Baroda*, respecting the Expiration or Forfeiture of any of those Guarantees."

East India House,
4 August 1853.

JAMES C. MELVILL.

(*Mr. Bell.*)

CX
m
8

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
5 *August* 1853.

LIST.

Extract Letter from Court of Directors to Government of Bombay, dated 3 July (No. 12) 1840 - - -

PAGE

Translation of a Memorandum given by His Highness the Guicowar to Osmedbaee and her Son Gopul Row Guicowar, dated 1820 - - - - - - - - - - - - - 27

Translation of a Memorandum given by His Highness the Guicowar to Gopul Rao Guicowar, dated 1828 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 28

Translation of a Document presented to His Highness the Guicowar, on the 27th March 1832, at Baroda, by Lord Clare - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 28

Translation of a Sunnud granted by the Guicowar Government to Govind Row Guicowar and Ruddabaee Guicowar - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 28

Translation of a Sunnud, executed by His Highness Syajee Row Guicowar, in favour of Nurrain Row Madheo Meejmoodar, dated 3 June 1828 - - - - - - - - - - - 29

Translation of Sunnud, granted by His Highness Syajee Row Guicowar to Busheyee Row Withul, dated 18 August 1828 - - - - - - - - - - - - - 29

Translation of a Sicca Yud from His Highness Syajee Row to Pillajee Row Guicowar, relative to his Nemnook, &c., dated 5 February 1823 - - - - - - - - - - 30

Translation of a Memorandum providing for the Maintenance of the Allowance of 75 Rupees per Mensem for life to Poojajee, by His Highness the Guicowar - - - - - - 32

Extract Letter from the Acting Resident at Baroda to Chief Secretary to Government, dated 14 September 1827 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 32

Letter from Secretary to Government of India to Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated 5 December 1836 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 33

Minute by the Right honourable the Governor in Council, subscribed to by the Board, dated 6 January 1837 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 33

Memorandum by the Political Secretary, dated 4 August 1837 - - - - - - - 33

Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, dated 8 September 1837 - - - - - 39

Letter from the Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay to Secretary to Government of India, dated 3 October 1837 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 41

Letter from Secretary to the Government of India to Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated 20 October 1837 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 44

Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by Mr. Farish, without date - 44

Letter from the Secretary to Government of Bombay to the First Assistant Political Commissioner for Guzerat, dated 25 November 1837 - - - - - - - - - - - 44

Letter from the Secretary to Government of Bombay to Temoo Gee Jamsetjee, dated 25th November 1837 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 45

Extract Letter from Lieutenant-colonel J. Outram, C.B., Resident at Baroda, to Arthur Malet, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated 31 August 1848 - - - - - 45

Extract Minute by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated 2 December 1848 - - - 47

Extract Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Messrs. Reid and Willoughby, dated 5 December 1848 - - - - - - - - - - - 47

Extract Minute by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated 20 February 1849 - - - 48

Minute by the Honourable Mr. Reid, concurred in by the Members of the Board, dated 22 February 1849 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 49

Extract Letter from Acting Resident at Baroda to Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated 19 May 1849 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 49

Extract from a Resolution of Bombay Government - - - - - - - - - - 49

Letter from Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay to Acting Resident at Baroda, dated 26 May 1849 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 50

Letter from Acting Resident at Baroda to Acting Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated 1 June 1849 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 50

Letter from Acting Resident at Baroda to Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay, dated 30 July 1849 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 53

Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby and Honourable Mr. Blane, dated 1 October 1849 - - - - - - - - - - 53

Letter from Chief Secretary to Government Bombay to Officiating Resident at Baroda, dated 23 July 1849 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 54

Letter from Acting Resident at Baroda to Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 5 January 1849 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 54

Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, dated 24 May 1849 - - - - - - 55

Minute by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated 28 May 1849 - - - - - - - 69

Minute by the Honourable Mr. Blane, dated 29 May 1849 - - - - - - - - 69

PAGE

Minute by the Honourable the Governor, dated 7 June 1849 - - - - - - 69
Further Minute by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated 9 June 1849 - - - - 70
Further Minute by the Honourable Mr. Blane, dated 11 June 1849 - - - - - 70
Further Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, without date - - - - - 70
Letter from Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay to Officiating Resident at Baroda, dated 30 June 1849 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 70
Letter from Assistant Resident in charge at Baroda to Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 16 February 1850- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 73
Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Board, dated 26 February 1850 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 74
Letter from Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Assistant to the Resident at Baroda in Charge, dated 11 March 1850 - - - - - - - - - - - - 75
Letter from Resident at Baroda to Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 29 October 1850 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 75
Extract from Notes of Conference by Major Walker, dated February 1802 - - - - 76
Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Mr. Blane, dated 11 November 1850 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 76
Minute by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated 14 November 1850 - - - - - 76
Memorandum by Chief Secretary to Government, dated 24 February 1851 - - - - 77
Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, dated 25 February 1851 - - - - - - - - - - - 82
Minute by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated 28 February 1851 - - - - - 83
Letter from Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Resident at Baroda, dated 14 March 1851 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 83
Letter from Resident at Baroda to Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 25th March 1851 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 84
Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, dated 9 April 1851 - - - - - 84
Minute by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated 12 April 1851 - - - - - - 84
Minute by the Honourable Mr. Blane, dated 12 April 1851 - - - - - - - 84
Letter from Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Resident at Baroda, dated 14 January 1852 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 85
Letter from Chief Secretary to Government of Bombay to Resident at Baroda, dated 15 January 1853 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 85
Letter from Resident at Baroda to Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 29 January 1853 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 86
Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Mr. Blane, dated 8 February 1853 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 86
Petition from Bhunsallee Doolachund Wumulchund, Heir and Manager of the Firm Manick-chund Roopchund, and Inhabitant of Surat, to Governor and President in Council, Bombay, dated 16 June 1851 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 86
Letter from Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Doolachund Wummulchund Bhunsallee Swat, dated 12 July 1851 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 87
Letter from Resident at Baroda to Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 28 September 1852 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 87
Petition of Doolachund Vamulchund, Managing Goomashta of Manuckchund Roopchund, dated 24 September 1852 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 88
Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Mr. Blane, dated 31 October 1852 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 89
Minute by the Honourable Mr. Bell, dated 5 November 1852 - - - - - - - 89
Further Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Mr. Blane and the Honourable Mr. Bell, dated 17 November 1852 - - - - - - - 89
Letter from Chief Secretary to Government Bombay Resident at Baroda, dated 24 November 1852 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 89

East India House,
August 1853.

T. L. Peacock,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

RETURN of the SUBJECTS of His Highness the *Guicowar* now enjoying the BRITISH GUARANTEE, with the Terms thereof, and any CORRESPONDENCE showing the Grounds on which, in each case, the Guarantee was given.

EXTRACT Political Letter to *Bombay*, dated 2 July (No. 13) 1840.

' Para. 8. IT indeed appears fruitless to hope for the permanent maintenance of a good understanding between our Government and its ancient ally, while this anomalous state of things continues to exist. Although the system was created for purposes beneficial to the Guicowar state, and not directly to us, there are circumstances in the case which make it equitable that we should take our share in whatever sacrifices may be necessary, in order to get rid of the mischievous consequences.

9. The guarantees were granted either for the attainment of some object, which at the time was considered of paramount importance to the Guicowar state, or in compliance with the request of the reigning Guicowar; and had they extended no further than the lives of the first grantees, they would have been perhaps in every instance justifiable, and productive of comparatively little inconvenience. But we undertook not only to protect in all time to come the lives, honour and property of the descendants of certain persons against their sovereign, but also to enforce for ever the payment to them of large and onerous allowances from the Guicowar state, as the salary of nominal offices, of which the duties were not performed by them. This cannot have been necessary for the objects of policy which were in view, and as the burthens were such as the reigning Guicowar could not justifiably impose upon the successors, and would not have had it in his power to do so through any other means than our guarantee; our having given that guarantee, at the request of the reigning prince, does not render it the less a subject of just complaint on the part of subsequent rulers.

10. With these sentiments, we have been much gratified by finding that you have called for a complete statement of all subsisting guarantees to Guicowar subjects, with a view, as you state, of endeavouring to effect some compromise with the Guicowar. We earnestly hope that this attempt will be successful; we shall be prepared to sanction an arrangement for taking upon ourselves a part of the burthen, provided the Guicowar will consent to assign to us from the tributes a fixed annual sum, equivalent to the remaining portion. The nemnooks and other allowances would then be paid from our own treasury, and the time of your Government would not hereafter be taken up with the reception and discussion of complaint of their being withheld.

EXTRACT Political Letter to *Bombay*, dated 3 March (No. 3) 1841.

8. THE papers now before us are full of fresh instances of the inconvenience arising from these guarantees, which compel us to exercise not only civil, but even criminal jurisdiction over the guaranteed persons. Not only have you been obliged to undertake the settlement of the embarrassed pecuniary affairs of Bulwunt Rao Guicowar, and the adjudication of the claims of the firm of Mysal Bhugtee, upon the sons of Gungadhur Shastree, on account of the Polidarry (in which last matter you seem to have been in danger of doing real injustice to the Shastree's sons, until your present Governor, from his personal knowledge of the case, corrected the error), but it has also devolved upon you to punish Bhaskur Row Wittul, the representative of one of the guaranteed families, for causing a person in his employment to be flogged to death in the

attempt to make him confess a robbery. The Guicowar's personal animosity against Bhaskur Row (the effect of the peculiar relation constituted by the bhandarry) rendered you unwilling to leave the criminal to be dealt with at Syajee's pleasure. A fine of a year's personal allowances (70,000 rupees) would not have appeared to us adequate to this person's offence, were it not for the lamentable fact, which Mr. Sutherland stated, and your President confirms, that such atrocious acts are common at Baroda, and generally pass unnoticed. We approve of your having provided for the family of the victim out of the fine levied, and made over the remainder to the Guicowar.

EXTRACT Political Letter to *Bombay*, dated 21 December (No. 21) 1842.

9. No mention has been made to the Guicowar of the plan for taking upon ourselves a portion of the payments made under our bhandarry, on receiving from the Guicowar an annual assignment upon the tributes sufficient to cover the remainder of the amount. The Government of India did not feel itself justified in taking such a step without further consideration, and a fresh reference to us; we have not, however, up to this time received any communication of their sentiments on the subject, except so far as these are expressed in their correspondence with you.

10. The Supreme Government appears disinclined to the proposition, as involving an additional burden on our finances, without obviating future embarrassment in our relations with the Guicowar, inasmuch as that embarrassment arises less from our guarantee of the nemnooks than from our obligation to protect the persons, property and honour of certain individuals or families; an obligation from which we cannot honourably relieve ourselves without the consent of the parties so guaranteed. We admit the force of these objections, and considering the long differences we have had with the Guicowar, all now happily for the present terminated by the late arrangements, and his Highness's repeated promises to respect our guarantees, we are disposed to think that it would be most prudent to refrain from opening a new subject of negotiation, and to leave his mind in repose. We enjoin you to use the greatest forbearance in all your future intercourse with his Highness, which should be uniformly conducted in a spirit of friendliness and confidence, and with entire forgetfulness of the past.

EXTRACT Political Letter from *Bombay*, dated 16 December (No. 176) 1848.

Letter, dated 15 March (No. 8) 1848, Pol. Cons., Dec. 1848, 10432 to 10439.

26. WE next beg to submit, in Collection No. 7, an extract from our proceedings on the subject of a claim advanced on Govind Rao Guicowar by the banking firm of Hurree Bhugtee, of Baroda, for the sum of *Rs.* 3,03,130. 9. 9. being the balance, inclusive of compound interest up to the 31st July 1848, at the rate of 12 per cent. per annum, claimed by them on two bonds, amounting in the aggregate to the sum of 32,002 rupees, entered into with their firm by Govind Rao, on the 22d and 30th October 1830. For our sentiments upon this claim, we beg to refer to the minutes recorded by our Right honourable President, and by the Honourable Messrs. Reid and Willoughby, under the dates noted in the margin,* and to the instructions issued thereon, dated the 15th instant.

* *See* below.

EXTRACT

---

* Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, dated the 20th November 1848.
„ by the Honourable Mr. Reid, dated 24th November 1848.
„ by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated the 2d December 1848.
Further Minute by the Right Honourable the Governor, dated the 5th December 1848, concurred in by the Board.

EXTRACT Political Letter to *Bombay*, dated 14 March (No. 13) 1849.

Para. 8. YOU have been called on to decide respecting a claim preferred against Govind Row by the firm of Hurry Bhugtee, grounded on two bonds for an aggregate sum of 32,002 rupees, one bearing the attestation of Mr. Williams, as Resident, the other that of Mr. Malet, as his assistant; and the former containing stipulations as to compound interest, which is also claimed on the other, and swells the total claim to an inordinate amount. The attestation having been given without the permission of Government, and without previous inquiry into the fairness of the transactions, does not, in your opinion, amount to a guarantee, and you have determined to allow only the principal, and interest to an equal amount, which, deducting payments already made to the firm, leaves a balance of 30,915 rupees still due.

Political letter from, dated 16 Dec. (No. 176) 1848.

9. Lieutenant-colonel Outram was of opinion that the Sahoocars had been guilty of fraud in this transaction, and had forfeited the bhandarry which they hold from our Government, expressly "subject to their own merits." You, however, did not think that their conduct deserved this penalty, as you deemed it to consist merely in the demand of an exorbitant rate of interest; but you do not advert to the fact, which Lieutenant-colonel Outram considered to be established,* of their having substituted a false bond (bearing interest) for 9,001 rupees, in the room of a mere acknowledgment of a balance of debt. Such an act, if really proved, would amount to a forfeiture of our bhandarry.

* Para. 4 of his Report (31 August 1848).

10. Lieutenant-colonel Outram says,† of the guaranteed persons generally, that "in consequence of no example of this sort having ever yet been inflicted on any one of the many Guickwar subjects who are similarly supported by the British against their own government, the bhandries, as they are called, seem to the public, and appear to think so themselves, to enjoy an immunity from all law. When complained against to their own sovereign, he is powerless to enforce justice, because they are under British protection, while, at the same time, the British Government has apparently no power effectually to punish them, so far as has yet been proved, for the revocation of the guarantee; the only punishment that could be inflicted has never, heretofore, been resorted to."

† Para. 9.

11. If the guaranteed persons have been suffered to usurp this immunity from punishment, it must have been through a complete misinterpretation of the nature and meaning of our bhandarry, which was never intended to secure to them impunity for all offences short of such as would justify the annulment of that obligation. Its intention was merely to give them the benefit of an investigation by our own officers before they could be subjected to punishment. The Guicowar could not, without great injustice, be deprived of the right of punishing his own subjects in case of real misconduct on their part. If it has ever been held that he is not at liberty to do so, with the consent and approbation of your Government, given after a proper inquiry, we desire that so gross a misapprehension may be at once corrected.

EXTRACT Political Letter from *Bombay*, dated 17 October (No. 110) 1849.

1. WE beg to reply to the following paras. (8 to 11)‡ of your Honourable Court's despatch, dated the 14th March, No. 13, of 1849, and to report our further proceedings on the subject therein alluded to.

2. We

‡ Para. 8. The Court remark that Government have been called on to decide respecting a claim preferred against Govind Rao by the firm of Hurry Bhugtee, grounded on two bonds for an aggregate sum of 32,002 rupees, one bearing the attestation of Mr. Williams, as Resident, the other that of Mr. Malet, as his assistant, and the former containing stipulations as to compound interest, which is also claimed on the other, and swells the total claim to an inordinate amount. The attestation having been given without the permission of Government, and without previous inquiry into the fairness of the transactions, does not, the Court observe, in the opinion of Government amount to a guarantee, and that Government has determined to allow only the principal and interest to an equal amount, which, deducting payments already made to the firm, leaves a balance of 30,915 rupees still due.

2. We communicated these paras. on the 26th May last to Captain French, officiating Resident at Baroda, with instructions to report whether he was aware of any grounds, beyond those mentioned by Lieutenant-colonel Outram, for believing that a forged bond was substituted by the firm of Hurree Bhugtee, for the sum of 9,000 rupees, in the place of the original bond for 9,001 rupees, the wording and character of the original bond being changed in the alleged fabricated document.

3. We at the same time intimated to Captain French that Lieutenant-colonel Outram was in error in entertaining an opinion that persons holding the British guarantee possess in virtue thereof an immunity from punishment, such a doctrine never having been set forth by Government, nor, is it believed, has ever since been entertained by the holders of the guarantees. On the contrary, we intimated to Captain French that if Lieutenant-colonel Outram had carefully consulted the records of his office, he would have satisfied himself that Government has always considered parties holding the British guarantee amenable to punishment on proof of sufficient misconduct.

4. We beg to submit copies of two letters we have received in reply to the the above reference from Captain French, dated the 1st June and 30th July last, from which it appears that no proofs exist in support of Lieutenant-colonel Outram's suspicions of a false bond having been substituted by the firm of Hurree Bhugtee on the occasion alluded to by your Honourable Court.

5. With reference to some remarks made by Captain French in the former of the above letters, we have informed him, that in the event of any circumstance arising during his stay at Baroda affecting the character of any parties holding the British guarantee, it will be his duty to report the same to Government, accompanied by his opinion thereon.

EXTRACT Political Letter to *Bombay*, dated 28 November (No. 35) 1849.

7 to 10 and 4 of 30 Aug., No. 84, 1849. Further correspondence respecting the debts of Bulwunt Rao Guicowar.

43. CAPTAIN French, the officiating Resident at Baroda, is of opinion that Bulwunt Row has forfeited our guarantee (which was originally declared liable to forfeiture in case of "flagrant misconduct)." You have taken a different view of the point, being, we presume, of opinion that the reckless prodigality, not unaccompanied with dishonesty, of which this individual has been guilty, is not the kind of misconduct which has hitherto been regarded as a forfeiture of our bhandarry, but we wish that hereafter it be so considered, and we direct you to make that intention known.

EXTRACT

Para. 9. The Court remark that Lieutenant-colonel Outram was of opinion that the Sahoocars had been guilty of fraud in this transaction, and had forfeited the bhanderry which they hold from the British Government expressly "subject to their own merits;" that Government, however, did not think that their conduct deserved the penalty, as Government deemed it to consist merely in the demand of an exorbitant rate of interest. But the Court state that Government do not advert to the fact which Lieutenant-colonel Outram considered to be established, of their having substituted a false bond (bearing interest) for 9,001 rupees, in the room of a mere acknowledgment of a balance of debt. Such an act, if really proved, would, the Court state, amount to a forfeiture of the bhandarry of the British Government.

Para. 10. Lieutenant-colonel Outram, the Court remark, says of the guaranteed persons generally, that "in consequence of no example of this sort having ever yet been inflicted on any one of the many Gaekwar subjects who are similarly supported by the British against their own government, the bhandries, as they are called, seem to the public, and appear to think so themselves, to enjoy an immunity from all law. When complained against to their own sovereign, he is powerless to enforce justice, because they are under British protection, while at the same time the British Government has apparently no power effectually to punish them, so far as has yet been proved, for the revocation of the guarantee; the only punishment that could be inflicted has never, heretofore, been resorted to."

Para. 11. The Court state, that if the guaranteed persons have been suffered to usurp this immunity from punishment, it must have been through a complete misinterpretation of the nature and meaning of the bhandarry of the British Government, which was never intended to secure to them impunity for all offences short of such as would justify the annulment of that obligation; its intention, the Court remark, was merely to give them the benefit of an investigation by the Company's own officers before they could be subjected to punishment. The Gaekwar, the Court add, could not without great injustice be deprived of the right of punishing his own subjects in case of real misconduct on their part, and that if it has ever been held that he is not at liberty to do so, with the consent and approbation of the Government, given after a proper inquiry, the Court desire that so gross a misapprehension may be at once corrected.

EXTRACT Political Letter to *Bombay*, dated 13 February (No. 4) 1850.

Further proceedings respecting the claim of the firm of Hurry Bugtee on Govind Rao Guicowar.

14. WE had called your attention to the opinion of Lieutenant-colonel Outram, that the firm of Hurry Bugtee had substituted a false bond, bearing interest, for 9,001 rupees, in the room of a mere acknowledgment of a balance of debt; an act which, if committed, would amount to a forfeiture of our bhandarry. You now, after a reference to Captain French, report that "no proofs exist in support of Lieutenant-colonel Outram's suspicions." This is more than is borne out by the report of Captain French, who merely stated that he was "not aware of any grounds beyond those reported by Colonel Outram for supposing," &c., having previously stated that "no further steps have been taken to ascertain" the true state of the case.

15. The grounds adduced by Lieutenant-colonel Outram were strong, and, in his opinion, conclusive. He distinctly stated, in para. 4 of his report of 31st August 1848, that the Soukar had "substituted for the receipt passed in 1830," a "former bond for 9,001 rupees, dated 4th February 1820, not endorsed by the Resident, and produced it as having been confirmed by the Resident in this item." The case certainly was not brought very clearly before Government in Lieutenant-colonel Outram's letter; but we should have expected that, if his conclusion was not admitted, the insufficiency of his reasons would have been shown, or the subject referred to him for further explanations. We desire that the question be taken into the deliberate consideration of your Government, in order that, in the event of Colonel Outram's opinion being found to be correct, you may annul our bhandarry.

16. Captain French's statements, in his letter of 1st June 1849, respecting the impression entertained at Baroda, that the guaranteed persons enjoy an immunity from punishment, have been read by us with surprise and regret. We have in our letter of 14th March (No. 13) 1849 (para. 11), enjoined that your conduct be so shaped as to correct any such misapprehension; and our still more recent observations, in para. 43 of our letter of 28th November (No. 35) 1849, on the case of Bulwunt Row Guicowar, will have shown to you that we consider the condition of good conduct, on which many of the bhandarries depend, not to have been enforced with sufficient strictness.

EXTRACT Political Letter from *Bombay*, dated 30 August (No. 84) 1849.

7. WE next beg to forward copy of a letter from Captain French, dated the 5th January last, soliciting attention to the existing guarantees held from the British Government by subjects of the Baroda Durbar, with the view to a reduction being made in their number, in the event of the present being deemed a fitting period for effecting the same.

8. We beg to refer to a Minute recorded by our Right honourable President, under date the 24th May last, reviewing the past proceedings of Government upon this subject, and recording his sentiments upon the several points noticed by Captain French in the above letter. We also beg to refer to four Minutes subsequently recorded upon this subject by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby and the Honourable Mr. Blane, under dates noted in the margin,* and to two further Minutes recorded by our Right honourable President, the latter of which was concurred in by the Board.

* *See* below.

EXTRACT

---

* Minute by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated the 29th May 1849.
„ by Honourable Mr. Blane, dated 29th May 1849.
Further Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, dated the 7th June 1849.
„ by the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated the 9th June.
„ by the Honourable Mr. Blane, dated the 11th June 1849.
„ by the Right honourable the Governor, without date, concurred in by the Board.

EXTRACT Political Letter to *Bombay*, dated 13 January (No. 4) 1850.

Proposal by Captain French to cancel four of the guarantees on the list formerly submitted by Mr. Boyd.

Para. 3. CAPTAIN French considered that these guarantees were not hereditary, and that they had lapsed by death. It appeared, however, on examination, that this opinion had been hastily formed, the sumnuds in two of the four cases containing words of inheritance; while in a third case, although the particular guarantee had expired, the family of one of the two persons to whom it was originally granted possess another guarantee, which is hereditary. The family of the other guarantee, and the holders of the fourth bhanderry mentioned by Captain French have been ordered to be struck out of the list of guaranteed persons.

4. Captain French is perfectly right in thinking that we are most desirous to get rid, when it can be done with good faith, of as many as possible of these embarrassing obligations.

No. 38, of 1851.—Political Department.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors for the Affairs of the Honourable East India Company, London.

Honourable Sirs,

1. IN the 7th para. of our despatch, dated the 3d August (No. 84) of 1849, we submitted to your Honourable Court an extract from our proceedings consequent on a communication from Captain French (then) officiating Resident at Baroda, soliciting attention to the existing guarantees held from the British Government by subjects of the Baroda Durbar, with a view to a reduction being made in their number.

2. One of the guarantees specially referred to by Captain French had been granted in the year 1803, in the conjoint names of Samul Bechur and Mungul Sukeedass, the nature of which is shewn in the extract given* in the margin.

* *See* below.

It appeared that no stipulation had been made at the period (1803) when this guarantee was granted, that it should extend beyond the lives of the parties to whom it had been given, and both of them being dead, Captain French was, under our instructions, informed, on the 30th June 1849,† that this guarantee should be considered to have lapsed.

3. On the 16th February 1850, Lieutenant Battye, assistant to the Resident at Baroda, then in temporary charge of the Residency, submitted to Government copies of two papers, themselves said to be copies, which he stated had been extracted from a chopra produced by the karkoon of the above firm, the original one of which was stated to have borne Colonel Walker's signature, and was declared to have been granted in perpetuity. The original of this document Lieutenant Battye stated he had been given to understand had been burnt, on the occasion of Samul Bechur's house having been destroyed by fire, some years since.

4. This

*

Names of the Persons Guaranteed.	Substance of Agreement.	Date of * Guarantee.	REMARKS.
Samul Bechur and Mongul Sukeedass.	- - Guaranteeing them to reside where they please, and conduct their banking transactions. Guarantees their just claim against their debtors, and secures them from injury. This is not an hereditary guarantee.	- - -	- - They were the bankers of the Arabs, on whose removal from Baroda the guarantee of the British Government was granted for their personal safety, as well as their agents and dependents. Samul Bechur is dead; his heirs, Hurree Lall and Molie Lall, are now living, and carry on their business. Mongul Sukeedass also is dead; his son, Lulloo Mungul, conducts his father's business at Baroda.

† *Vide* Enclosure, No. 9, to Collection No. 4, accompanying our despatch to your Honourable Court, dated 30th August (No. 84) 1849.

4. This document is identical with the one alluded to in the 28th para. of our Right honourable President's Minute,* dated the 24th May 1849, with the exception that the name of "Samul Bechur" is substituted for that of "Mungul Sukeedass;" and for reasons mentioned in our proceedings, our Right honourable President and the Honourable Mr. Blane considered that the claim now advanced by the representative of the late Samul Bechur to be recognised as holding the hereditary guarantee of Government, ought not to be admitted. The Honourable Mr. Willoughby, however, considered it advisable, before finally deciding on this claim, that a careful summary should be prepared of all the information on the records of Government connected with this guarantee, inclusive of extracts from all lists of bhandarrees which, from time to time, have been submitted to Government by the Resident at Baroda.

5. A precis, containing the above information, having been submitted to Government by our chief secretary, on the 24th February last, the same was referred, at the suggestion of our Right honourable President, to the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, and that gentleman, for reasons which he has recorded in two Minutes, dated the 28th February last, is of opinion that the above claim ought to be admitted. Our Right honourable President and the Honourable Mr. Blane dissent from this view.

6. We accordingly now beg to submit our proceedings on this subject, and to refer the case for the decision of your Honourable Court.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Falkland.*
D. A. Blane.
A. Bell.

Bombay Castle, 2 May 1851.

EXTRACT Political Letter to *Bombay*, dated 10 September (No. 22) 1851.

Question respecting the guarantee to the late Samul Bechur, of Baroda.

49. GUARANTEES of protection were granted in 1802 and 1803 to two influential bankers of Baroda, Samul Bechur and Mungul Suckeedass. The guarantee to the latter has always been admitted to be hereditary. That to Samul Bechur has generally been stated not to be hereditary, but it appears that the sons of that individual were allowed, practically, to succeed to its benefits. Recently, however, on a report from Captain French, while officiating Resident, it has been declared to have ceased.

50. The family of Samul Bechur now produce a document of guarantee, with words of inheritance, purporting to be a copy of an original, signed by Colonel Walker, which original is declared to have been burnt when Samul Bechur's house caught fire some years ago. Lieutenant-colonel Outram reports, "I have carefully inspected the chopra of the firm of Samul Bechur, and the copy of the document alluded to is, to the best of my belief, genuine. The chopra is a very old one, and the writing has every appearance of having been formed many years ago. I see, therefore, no reason to doubt its validity."

51. On this ground, and on that of the improbability that different conditions of guarantee would have been given to Samul Bechur, and to the other banker, Mungul Suckeedass, although they are stated to have been "the agents of the two rival parties of the Arabs," Mr. Willoughby was of opinion that the claim to a hereditary guarantee should be admitted. The absence of evidence in its favour on the Baroda records, in his opinion, may be accounted for by the destruction by fire of the record-room at the Baroda Residency, in which such documents were kept.

52. Your President and Mr. Blane, however, are of opinion that the absence of any record of the alleged hereditary guarantee, "in Colonel Walker's list of 1805, made only two years after it is asserted he had given such guarantee, is presumptive proof that it was never given, and is fatal to the claim." To this argument, taken by itself, we cannot attach very much importance; for that list (as we understand it) did not profess to be a complete return of all bhandaries,

* A copy of which formed Enclosure No. 2 to Collection No. 4, accompanying the despatch from this Government, No. 84, of the 30th August 1849.

bhandarries, and did not include the bhandarry to Mungul Suckeedass, of which the validity and hereditary character are not disputed.

53. Colonel Walker, however, though several times mentioning Samul Bechur as holding a guarantee, never alluded to any hereditary right; and, on the whole, we are of opinion, that the evidence of a copy not authenticated, and contained only in the books of the claimant himself, cannot be taken as conclusive in his favour, unless strong corroborative evidence can be produced. Therefore, if no such evidence should be adduced, the guarantee must be considered to have ceased.

EXTRACT Political Letter from *Bombay*, dated 17 September (No. 70) 1851.

48. ON the 28th May 1850, we furnished Lieutenant-colonel Outram with a copy of this para.* with instructions to embrace every opportunity in his power for correcting any misapprehension which may exist at Baroda, that persons holding the British guarantee enjoy in consequence any immunity from punishment for nefarious or other disgraceful conduct, and also to impress upon all persons holding such guarantee, that its continuance is in each case entirely dependent upon their good conduct.

EXTRACT Political Letter to *Bombay*, dated 2 January (No. 6) 1852.

Letter from, dated 17th September (No. 70) 1851.

(48.) Lieutenant-colonel Outram has been instructed to impress on all persons holding the British guarantee, that they can claim no immunity from merited punishment, and that the continuance of the guarantee is entirely dependent on their good conduct.

34. APPROVED.

EXTRACT Political Letter to *Bombay*, dated 15 September (No. 30) 1852.

Letter, dated 3d May (No. 47) 1852.

Requests Court's instructions on the question, whether the guarantee to the firm of Hurree Bhugtee should be regarded as forfeited by the fraud committed by them in connexion with their claims on Govind Rao Guicowar.

11. WE might in strictness avail ourselves of the fraudulent acts committed during the lifetime of the late head of the firm of Hurree Bhugtee, and cancel the guarantee granted to that firm. But under all the circumstances of the case, we should consider it unjust to punish the present members of the firm for acts done without their knowledge, through the instrumentality of the unfaithful agent of the firm, Baba Nafra, by whose misconduct they have themselves suffered so severely. We therefore direct that the guarantee be still considered to be in force.

EXTRACT Political Letter from *Bombay*, dated 28 April (No. 52) 1853.

Collection No. 7.

26. IN continuation of the 37th para. of our political despatch, dated the 13th January last (No. 7) of 1853, we have the honour to forward, in Collection No. 7, copy of a letter from the Resident at Baroda, dated the 27th of the same month, affording the information required in the 49th and 53d paras. of your Honourable Court's Political Letter to this Government, dated the 10th of September (No. 22) of 1851, relative to the claim to an hereditary guarantee advanced by the banking firm of Samul Bachur, of Baroda. We beg to refer to a Minute on the subject of this claim, recorded by our Right honourable President, under date the 8th February last, which has been concurred in by the Board. EXTRACT

---

* Letter from, dated 13th February (No. 4) 1850.

Para. 16. The Court state that Captain French's statements in his letter of 1st June 1849, respecting the impression entertained at Baroda, that the guaranteed persons enjoy an immunity from punishment, have been read by them with surprise and regret. The Court state that they have, in their letter of the 14th March, No. 13, of 1849 (para. 11), enjoined that the conduct of Government be so shaped as to correct any such misapprehension, and that their still more recent observations, in para. 43 of their letter of 28th November, No. 35, of 1849, on the case of Bulwunt Rao Gaekwar, will have shown to Government that they consider the condition of good conduct, on which many of the bhandarees depend, not to have been enforced with sufficient strictness.

EXTRACT Political Letter from *Bombay*, dated 15 December (No. 127) 1852.

11. IN continuation of the 7th and 8th paras. of our political despatch, dated the 30th of August (No. 84) 1849, we beg to forward, in Collection No. 8, an extract from our proceedings on the subject of an application preferred by Doolachund Wumulchund, manager of the banking firm of Manikchund Roopchund, of Baroda, for the restoration of the British guarantee, which was withdrawn from that firm, under instructions communicated on 30th June 1849 to Captain French, officiating Resident at Baroda. For reasons mentioned in our proceedings, we have declined to comply with this application.

Political Department, 22 June (No. 35) 1853.

Our Governor, at Bombay, in Council.

Baroda guarantees.

Para. 1. IN para. 11 of your political letter, dated 15th December (No. 127) 1852, you report to us an application preferred by Doolachund Wumulchund, manager of the banking firm of Manickchund Roopchund, of Baroda, for the restoration of the British guarantee, which was withdrawn from that firm in 1849.

2. This guarantee was cancelled, on the ground that it was not hereditary, and that the person to whom it was granted had died. Mr. Davies, the Resident at Baroda, however, now states that this decision was founded on error, inasmuch as Manickchund Roopchund, whose name gave the appellation to the firm, was dead when the guarantee was given, and that therefore the guarantee could not have been to that individual, but to the firm.

3. In the list of guarantees prepared in 1840, by the then Resident, Mr. Boyd, it is stated that the perwannah granted in the name of Manickchund Roopchund by the Guicawar's government, "will remain in force while the firm exists at Baroda, under the guarantee of the British Government." The translation, however, of the perwannah, which Mr. Boyd transmitted to Government, together with his list, contains no such statement. You have, in consequence, maintained the order cancelling the guarantee.

4. The apparent discrepancy thus brought to our notice between the entry in Mr. Boyd's list and the terms of the original document, has induced us to institute a similar comparison in respect to each of the other guarantees to banking firms, which were reported on the same occasion by Mr. Boyd as being then in force. These were, No. 1 (Khoosalchund Ambydass, and Pervoodass Mooljei); No. 7 (Samul Bachur and Mungal Sukeedass), and No. 3, to Hucherut Bhaee, the widow of Samul Bukty, head of the firm of Hurrie Bhugtee.

5. In case No. 1, it appears, from the translation furnished by Mr. Boyd in 1840, that the document given to the party contained the words "the perpetual guarantee" of the Arab jemadars.

6. Major Walker, with the subsequent sanction of the Government, appears to have adopted this guarantee. But we entertain strong doubts whether, looking to the words of the perwannah itself, and to the circumstances of the case, it can be said that an obligation is thereby imposed on the Government of Bombay which is absolutely without limit in point of time. The perwannah is not to the party, his heirs, or descendants, but to his family and his gomastahs, without any words implying any period of time beyond his own life and residence at Baroda; and it is questionable whether the use of the word "perpetual" in the guarantee of the Arab jemadars can be construed to extend the period for which the original perwanna of the Guicawar was given.

7. It seems to us, also, that there is a wide difference between guarantees given by the officers of these Arab troops, whose employment depended on the will of the Guicawar, and was therefore in its very nature temporary, and such as have been given to various persons for insuring the possession of certain lands, offices, or pensions to themselves, and their descendants for ever.

8. It seems to be a misconception of the original engagement of the officers of these Arab troops, to construe such a guarantee as this into an obligation binding in perpetuity upon the Government.

9. These latter remarks apply to all guarantees taken over from the Arabs.

10. In case 7, the joint guarantee to Samul Bechur and Mungul Sukeedass, containing no words of inheritance, and being reported by Mr. Boyd not to be hereditary, has been cancelled; but Mungul Sukeedass held a separate guarantee from Mr. Duncan, containing distinct words of perpetuity.

11. In the remaining case, however, that of Hurree Bhugtee, there exists a variation between the original document and the entry in Mr. Boyd's list, similar to that which exists in the case of Manickchund Roopchund. Mr. Boyd's words are, "This guarantee will be in force while the firm exists." The terms, however, of the guarantee, which was given in 1809 by the Resident, Captain Carnac, were these: "In pursuance of the verbal assurance given by me, on the 5th August 1809, and the authority of the Government of the 22d of the same month, the family of the deceased shall be preserved in their rights and privileges, resident in the Guicawar territories, subject to their own merits."

12. The verbal assurance here referred to was reported by the Resident on the 10th August 1809, in the following words: "At the instigation of the administration, the family of Samul Bhugty received my verbal assurances of being preserved in the rights and privileges of the deceased during their residence in the possessions of the Guicawar, subject to their own merits." The resolution of Government is to the following effect: "The Governor in Council has no objection to the extent of Mr. Carnac's assurance as stated in the eighth paragraph of the above letter, which we consider as nothing more than a virtual continuation of the bhandarry, or general protection enjoyed by the deceased Samul Bhugty."

13. We cannot discover in these documents any pledge in perpetuity. The guarantee is to the "family of the deceased;" that is, to the widow Hucherut Bhaee, to any other widow or widows of Samul Bhugty, and to the son whom, by the guaranteed perwannah, Hucherut Baee was permitted to adopt. The adopted son, Bechur Samul, is dead, leaving two widows, one of whom, Joitabaee, is the same who has recently engaged so much of the attention of Government.

14. The inconvenience of these guarantees to our Government, and their objectionable character as affecting the Guicowar estate, have been too often noticed by us in our correspondence with your Government to require that we should here dwell on the importance of putting an end to them, in every case in which this can be done consistently with the obligations of good faith. If the express terms of the original documents are taken as a rule, the guarantee to Hurry Bhugtee, if not forfeited by misconduct, may, on a very liberal interpretation, be deemed to continue as long as the widows of the late Bechur Samul survive, but by no interpretation can it be extended further. In the case of Manickchund Roopchund, if the firm no longer contains among its partners any one who was a partner in it when the guarantee was given, our guarantee has ceased, except in regard to the realisation of the property of those to whom the guarantee was given, and in regard to any transactions undertaken before notice was given of the withdrawal of the guarantee.

15. Before, however, we pass a final decision on these cases, we are desirous that a further reference should be made to Mr. Davies, to ascertain on what ground he considers these guarantees as binding, so long as the firms may continue at Baroda.

16. Our investigation of these four cases has led us to think it probable that there are other instances in which a perpetual character is attributed to our guarantee, for reasons which a strict examination would not prove to be tenable. We, therefore, desire that you will forthwith institute a careful scrutiny into all the bhandarries now supposed to be perpetual, and that you will, with all practicable speed, report to us the result of your inquiry.

We are, &c.
(signed) *R. Ellice,*
J. Oliphant,
&c. &c.

London, 22 June 1853.

LIST of BRITISH GUARANTEES *in force at Baroda, copied from the Statement submitted to Government by Mr. Boyd, in November 1840, with the omission of those which have since expired.*

Number.	NAMES of the PERSONS GUARANTEED.	DATE AND SUBSTANCE OF AGREEMENT.		Date of Guarantee.	Date of Report to Government.	MR. BOYD'S REMARKS.
1	Kooshalchund Ambadass and Purboodass Mooljie.	- - 5 February 1801. 3d Zillad 1203 Fusta.	- - A guarantee for personal security for himself and family, and his gomastha Purmonund, had been granted by the Guicowar Government, which, on the removal of the Arabs, was exchanged for that of the British Government, and will exist while the firm remains at Baroda.	26 Feb. 1803	6 Feb. 1807	- - Koorshalchund is dead; but his widow continues the shop, and enjoys the guarantee, as specified. *See* Enclosure, No. 1.
2	Muncherjee Koorshedjee, Dessaee of Newsaree.	- 29 March 1801. 5th Rubulacool 1194.	- - A guarantee for the personal security of self, family, gomasthas and dependents, to enable them to reside at Nowsarcee, and for his office, unmolested. It is hereditary.	29 Mar. 1801	- - -	- - This guarantee is said to have been executed in Surat by Mr. Seton, where it will be traced, and is included in the Reports of 29th March 1805 and 26th November 1805. His family now reside at Nowsaree. No. 2.
3	Shunkerjee Soonderjee, Dessaee of Bullesur.	- - 27 April 1801. Wysuck Sood, 14th Sumbut 1857.	- - Guarantee for the enjoyment of certain dessangerree hucks in villages, and a village for the payment of palankeen expense. This is hereditary, and secures to himself and family the perpetual enjoyment of his rights as Dessaee of Bullesur.	26 Feb. 1803	29 Mar. 1805 and 26 Nov. 1808.	- - This person previously possessed the guarantee of the Arabs, and on their discharge it was exchanged for that of the British Government. This guarantee is hereditary, and secures the protection of person, family and property. *See* No. 3.
	Amrut Lall Tooljaram -	- - 10 Juma detakhur Sou Sun 1202, A. D. 1802.	- - Protection for himself and family, and certain gomasthas, specified by name, while trading as merchants, in any part of the Guicowar territories, either at Ahmedabad or Baroda, and the village Muckloompoor, in the Dushraee pergunnah of the zillah of Ahmedabad, formerly granted an enam from the Peishwa, to be continued in his possession.	11 Feb. 1803	29 Mar. 1805 and 26 Nov. 1805.	- - This person was Karbaree of Siloonhur, Soodedar of Ahmedabad when dispossessed of the place; was originally under Arab guarantee, but on their discharge this was exchanged for one of a similar nature by the British Government. Amrut Lall Tooljuram is deceased; but Sooreej Koonwar, his son's wife, is living at Ahmedabad, and enjoys the village of Muckhloompore in that zillah by virtue of the guarantee. But as Ahmedabad is now a British possession, there is little ground for considering any guarantee to be now in force, particularly as heirs are not mentioned in the original agreement. *Vide* Enclosure, No. 4.

(*continued*)

List of British Guarantees in force at *Baroda*, copied from the Statement submitted to Government by Mr. *Boyd*, in November 1840, &c.—*continued*.

Number.	NAMES of the PERSONS GUARANTEED.	DATE AND SUBSTANCE OF AGREEMENT.		Date of Guarantee.	Date of Report to Government.	MR. BOYD'S REMARKS.
5	Rowjee Appajee, Dewan -	8 June 1802 -	- - This man was dewan or minister at the Guicowar Durbar at the time of its first alliance with the British Government, and in consideration of the eminent services he performed for both Governments, the late Mr. Duncan gave him a paper confirming him in that situation, and, moreover, making it hereditary in his family, and containing a pledge on our part for the personal protection of himself, his brothers, nephews, sons-in-law, and dependents, against any injury from the Guicowar Government. This engagement is also specifically referred to in the different treaties entered into by the allied Government.	- - -	- - -	- - On Rowjee's decease he was succeeded by his adopted son, Seetaram. It is here only necessary to state, that for misconduct he was deprived of his situation of dewan, retaining the greater part of the allowances. He died on the 11th August 1823, and was succeeded in the power of the office by his son, Narrain Row Seetaram, who was nominally hereditary dewan of the Guicowar Government. For further particulars, refer to the records of Government for 1808 and 1809; and for the views of the present Government of Bombay, respecting the nature of the obligation of the British Government towards this family, *vide* Mr. Newnham's letter to the Resident, dated 2d July 1824, replying to Mr. Willoughby's letter reporting the death of Seetaram Nurrain, who having died, was succeeded by his son, Gunput Row Nurrain (about three years old), who enjoys the nemnook of his late father. *Vide* Enclosure, No. 5. Additional Remark. 1 August 1853. Rowjee Appajee is dead; but pensions have been guaranteed to his widow.
	Kandass Patell and Bhychund Dessaee.	- - 26 January 1803. Maysood, 4 Sumbar 1859.	-- Kundass Soon Ameen, patel of the Baroda pergunnah. The guarantee is for personal protection for himself, and family, agents and dependents, and security in the possession of Pusalia lands, houses, and all other just rights. This person and Bhychind Dessaee are both deceased, but the guarantee is still enjoyed by their families. The protection is not declared hereditary, and the nature of the property, being meeras or wuttun, seems not to have required it in respect to the inheritance.	15 Jan. 1803	11 Sept. 1827	- - These persons possessed the guarantee of the Arabs, which on their dismissal was confirmed by the British Government, and now extends to their families. *See* No. 6.
	Murgul Sukeedas - -	- - 5 February 1803. 12 Shabun.	- - - - - - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - Mungul Sukeedas is dead. His son, Lallo Mongul, conducts his father's business in Baroda. The late Governor, Mr. Duncan, gave him a separate guarantee, 8th June 1802, securing to him in perpetuity the British protection for the defence of his house, trade and property, and for the safety of himself, wife, family and property, so that the heirs of Mongul Sukeedas are differently situated from those of Samul Bechur. *Vide* No. 7.

8	Soobkanjie Bin Tookoojie Pole.	-- 19 Mohur sum Soir Sun 1203. 12 July.	-- For the protection of self, family, property, dependents, and kurkoens, and security of nemnook, amounting to 11,800 rupees, assigned for his support. This person was Killeedar of Kaira when the town was ceded to the British Government. This guarantee is hereditary.	11 May 1803	15 Oct. 1805 and 26 Nov. 1808.	-- The guarantee was at first given in the name of Soobhanjie and his brother Soobajie. Five villages were assigned as their nemnook in lieu of 11,800 rupees. On the 22d April 1814, a new sumnud was granted exclusively in Soobhanjie's name, under the British guarantee, his brother Soohajie's name having been struck off from it, and a nemnook of 7,193 rupees was fixed for him, on condition that he should keep a force of 21 horse for the service of the Guicowar Government. In lieu of the above sum three villages were assigned to him on 7th February 1819. The villages were changed for others, and a new sunnad granted, the produce of the last-mentioned villages being unequal to the nemnook, assigned him a chittie on the Potdar, to the amount of 1,000 rupees, annually granted to him. The brothers are still alive. *See* No. 8.
9	Dowlut Rao Guicowar -	-- 21 Rubielawul Soir Sun 1208 Fustie.	-- Out of the nemnook of Kanogie Row Guicowar, amounting to 50,000 rupees, a sum of 4,000 rupees was assigned to his son, Dawlut Rao, the payment of which is guaranteed by the British Government. It is not hereditary.	24 Apr. 1802	- - - -	-- This is the son of Kanojee Rao Guicowar. He is now in confinement for having committed murder; but a nemnook of 6,150 rupees is enjoyed by him. An allowance of 50,000 rupees to Kanojie Rao was granted from the Guicowar Government for the support of himself and family, out of which Dewlut Rao has 4,000 rupees, the payment of which, as well as personal protection, was guaranteed by the British Government, inserted in the treaty entered into between the two Governments, dated 26th April 1806. His guarantee therefore is part of the one we gave to Kanojie Rao before his last rebellion, but which, as far as he was concerned, he cancelled by his own misconduct; but Dowlut Rao has always been protected by us. He has a daughter. *Vide* No. 9.
10	Mulhar Rao Guicowar -	- 2 Super Esunee Mualin non ilif Fussee, or A. D. 1801.	-- A pension of 50,000 rupees was assigned, after the capture of Mulhar Rao Guicowar on his second rebellion by Colonel Walker, for the maintenance of himself and family, and the same was guaranteed by the British Government.	7 June 1808	- - -	-- Mulhur Rao Guicowar died on the 23d May 1821; his son, Khundeh Rao, before him. An annuity is still enjoyed by the surviving members of his family, who are paid from Residency Treasury, as per chittees, from His Highness the Guicowar, as follows:—

Gunput Rao Guicowar - - -	1,200 Rupees.
Kunwunt Rao Guicowar - -	1,800 „
Mudhon Rao Guicowar - -	1,200 „
Sunbagee Rao Guicowar - -	1,200 „

These sums are paid to the heirs of the above individuals. In like manner, 2,400 rupees were paid annually by the Guicowar, through the Resident, to Hassun Bhacee Bhorn on account of Mulhar Rao; but it was discontinued by the Guicowar Government, and on the orders of the Bombay Government it was paid to the heirs of Hussan Bhaee, with arrears, on account of the British Government.

Besides the above, his second son, Jysingh Rao Guicowar, by a Rajhpootanee female, and other individuals receive a monthly pension of 800 rupees and 400 rupees annually from the Guicowar Government, a report on which was made by Mr. Norris, Acting Resident, dated the 17th August 1820. These sums are received direct from the Guicowar Government; but it is said they are not paid in full; in respect to which a representation was made to the Resident by Jysingh Rao Guicowar.

(*continued*)

List of British Guarantees in force at *Baroda*, copied from the Statement submitted to Government by Mr. *Boyd*, in November 1840, &c.—*continued*.

Number.	NAMES of the PERSONS GUARANTEED.	DATE AND SUBSTANCE OF AGREEMENT.		Date of Guarantee.	Date of Report to Government.	MR. BOYD'S REMARKS.
11	Martund Rao Guicowar -	- - 28 December 1808, 3 Jilkad 1209.	- - Permission to come and reside at Baroda, without molestation, guaranteed by the British Government; not hereditary.	22 Dec. 1808 -	- - -	- - This person, with his brother, Morar Rao Guicowar, fled from Baroda, and returned under kool, or a verbal assurance, given by the British Government, of personal protection; subsequently a written deed was drawn out and executed, but the same does not appear to have been given to him, the original being now in the record office of the Residency. Morar Rao is dead, but Mookhund Rao is still alive, and enjoys an annual nennook of 5,000 rupees. *See* Enclosure, No. 11.
12	Manuckchund Roopchund	- - 23 March 1809. Chytur Sood Sumbut 1865.	- - The Guicowar Government granted to this person, an inhabitant of Surat, a perwannat or permit to establish a commercial house at Baroda, promising that he should not be molested. It will remain in force, while the firm exists at Baroda, under the guarantee of the British Government.	23 Mar. 1809	31 May 1827 -	- - This banking house still exists at Baroda. The heir of this person resides at Surat. *See* Translation, No. 12.
13	Bechur Samul, sole proprietor of the firm of Hurrie Bhugtee.	--8 Ramyan Soir Sun 1210.	- - Guaranteeing to Nahrut Baee, the widow of Samul Bhugtee, and her adopted son, Beecher Samul, protection, as the representative of the firm of Hurrie Bhugtee at Baroda, with Photedaree management and emoluments, and the possession of enam villages, preservation of their rights and privileges, with residence in the Guicowar territory, during good behaviour. This guarantee will be in force while the firm exists.	- - -	5 Aug. 1809 -	- - Bechur Samul is alive. The British guarantee is as follows: "In pursuance of the verbal assurance given by me on the 8th August 1809, and the authority of the Government, of the 22d of the same month, the family of the deceased shall be preserved in their rights and privileges, residence in the Guicowar territories, subject to their own merits. (signed) "*R. Carnac*, "Acting Resident at Baroda." *See* Translation, No. 13.
14	Dureabaoie Guicowar -	- - 10 February 1820. 24 Rubber Lakhur 1220, Soir Sun.	- - On the death of Annud Row Guicowar a pension of 13,000 rupees per annum, for herself and son, by name Luxamon Row, was settled by the Guicowar Government upon them.	10 Feb. 1820 -	25 Feb. 1820 -	- - Both Dureeabace Guicowar, and her son, Luxamon, are living, and enjoy the nemnook allowed them by the Guicowar Government. This guarantee confirms the Guicowar's sunnud, which only grants this allowance during the life of Dureeabace. The guarantee ensures the payment of this nemnook, and nothing more. *See* Translation, No. 14.

15	Oomed Koonwurbace -	- - 10 February 1820. 24 Rublia Lukhar 1220, Soir Sun.	- - A pension of 9,000 rupees was granted by the Guicowar's Government during her lifetime, but the guarantee is for two lives, viz., for herself and her son, Goopal Rao Guicowar. It is not hereditary.	- - -	25 Feb. 1820 -	- - Is a concubine of the late Annund Rao Guicowar, on whose death the pension of 9,000 rupees was granted, and is now enjoyed by her and her son. *Vide* Translation, No. 15.
16	Gunput Rao Guicowar -	- - 10 February 1821, 24 Rubir Luchur, Soir Sun 1220.	- - A pension of 4,000 rupees per annum was assigned to him, the payment of which is guaranteed, by the British Government, for life.	16 Feb. 1820 -	25 Feb. 1820 -	- - Gunput Row is an illegitimate son of the late Annund Row Guicowar, is now living, and enjoys the nemnook. The guarantee simply confirms the sunnud, which says nothing of how long it is to be enjoyed. It was, however, no doubt, intended for life. *See* Translation, No. 16.
17	Family of Futteh Sing Row Guicowar.	28 April 1826 -	- - Granting for life to Radabase, widow of Futteh Singh, a stipend of 10,400 rupees, and also to her adopted son, Govind Row, the payment of 12,400 rupees, terminable at his death.			- - This arrangement was originally made by Mr. Resident Williams, on the 28th April 1826, and subsequently confirmed and secured in the same terms, on the 27th March 1832, by Lord Clare, in person, with restrictions as to the future residence of the parties, who were required to keep to the Company's territories exclusively. No guarantee is affixed to the sunnud. A memorandum to the above effect was sent by Lord Clare to his Highness. *See* Translation, No. 17 and 17 A.
18	Nurrain Rao Mahadeo Muzmoondar.	- - 29 Zilkut, Soir Sun, 1220. 3 June 1828.	- - The office of mirzmoondar, and all its emoluments, was guaranteed by the British Government, as well as his enam villages, palankeen villages, and is hereditary.	25 Mar. 1830 -	- 15 June 1828. Sanctioned by Government, 27 June 1827.	- - Mahhoo Rao Gopul possessed the guarantee of the Arabs, dated the 3d November 1801. On the dismissal of the Arabs, the guarantee of the British Government was given for his personal protection, 14 April, and is inserted in the treaty between the two Governments, dated 29 July 1802. On the death of Mahdoo Row, he was succeeded in his situation and emoluments by his son Succaram, who had a sunnud granted to him, dated the 29th September 1808, which was reported to Government on 26th November 1808. On his death he was succeeded in like manner by his son, Madhoo Rao Succaram, who died in September 1827. He was permitted to adopt, and Nurrain Row, the present incumbent, now enjoys the whole emoluments, &c., under a new sunnud, in his name, guaranteed by the British Government, hereditarily. *See* Translation, No. 18.

(*continued*)

List of British Guarantees in force at *Baroda*, copied from the Statement submitted to Government by Mr. *Boyd*, in November 1840, &c.—*continued*.

Number.	NAMES of the PERSONS GUARANTEED.	DATE AND SUBSTANCE OF AGREEMENT.		Date of Guarantee.	Date of Report to Government.	MR. BOYD'S REMARKS.
19	Bhasker Rao Wittul	6 Super Soir Sun 1229, or A.D. 18 August 1828.	This guarantee is for personal protection to himself, family and dependants, as well as for the security of his office of khasgee wulla duriehb, and nemnook connected therewith, according to the original sunnud granted to Babajee Appajie. The guarantee is hereditary.	2 Mar. 1830	7 Aug. 1828	A sumnad, dated 19 November 1806, duly guaranteed, was granted to Babajee Appajee, for the payment of his duriekh of khusgee wulla and nemnook, under a separate statement furnished to him, amounting in all to 1,22,901. The allowances for karkarees are exhibited under the same guarantee, as follows: 1. Khristna Rao Bhugwunt, or Kooshaba Warma (since deceased, leaving three sons), 6,000 rupees. 2. Ramchunder Myrul (since dead, without heirs), 4,000 rupees P. A. 3. Without Rao Dewojee, 9,900. This person, on being raised to the office of karbaree of Government, had a separate nemnook granted to him, and this allowance ceased. He died, leaving a son, whom he was allowed to adopt, by the British Government, but his Highness did not confirm the same, and an allowance of 24,000 rupees per annum has been settled on his adopted son, Khristna Row Withul. 4. Bushajee Dunoodhur, 3,000 rupees, and is in the enjoyment of his nimnook. 5. Babajee Appajee died in 1810, and was succeeded in his situation and its emoluments by his son, Withul Rao Babajie, and a new hereditary sunnud was granted, confirmatory of the former, and guaranteed by the British Government, dated 12 Zillah, Soir Sun, 1211, or A. D. 1811.

						Withul Rao Babajee died on 6th August 1828, but, having no son, the widow adopted Bhusker Rao, to whom also was passed a re-confirmatory sunnud, with guarantee as before; he is now in enjoyment of the whole of the income and emoluments held by his late father, Withul Rao, with the exception of 8,070 rupees per annum less than the grants set forth in the sunnud, which appears as follows: Rs. Dristoree on all Pugahs - - 6,300 Decata on Waghorra Pergunnahs - 75 Mahuls, included in Company's territories - - - - - 1,695 Rs. 8,070 *See* Translation.
20 &	Neo Rao Dishmookh, father-in-law of Pillajee Rao.	4 February 1833	- - - - - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - Guaranteeing him a pension of 6,000 rupees annually for life. This nemnook is inserted in the sunnad which conferred the annuity on Pillajee, of which it forms a constituent part. *See* Translation.
21	Panachund Pillajee, Rao's Agent.	4 February 1833	- - - - - - - - -	- - -	- - -	- - Guaranteeing him a pension of 2,000 rupees annually for life. This nemnook is mentioned in the sunnad granted to Pillajee Rao.
22	Poongajee Toorajee -	30 March 1840 -	- - Guaranteeing for life the payment of a monthly stipend, amounting to 75 rupees.	- - -	- - -	- - Personal protection is to be inferred, though not mentioned in the memorandums.
23	Gopal Rao Guicowar -	24 April 1840 -	- - Stipulation on the part of the Guicowar Government to pay Gopal Row, the son of Gopal Row Guicowar, of Suhkera, the monthly stipend of 300 rupees, communicated by his Highness, dated 24 April 1840.	- - -	- - -	- - This arrangement was effected by the Resident, and subsequently confirmed by Government, on the 10th July 1839. From the correspondence it does not appear how long it is to be enjoyed. Gopal Row is still alive. Our guarantee has not been formally affixed to any sunnud, and seems only to extend to securing the regular payment of the allowance.

Political Commissioner's Office, Baroda,
18 November 1841.

(signed) *W. S. Boyd,*
Political Commissioner and Resident.

No. 1.

* His wife adopted the son of Peinoodass Kesordass, who is at Gwalior.

TRANSLATION of a Perwannah granted by Anund Rao Guicowar to Kooshallchund* Ambydass and Pawoodass Mooljee Sonewis, Inhabitants of Baroda.

Set forth,

YOU wish to reside in Baroda, to carry on the business of a banker and merchant peaceably, for which you wish a promise of protection from this Government, and have made a representation to that effect. This paper is therefore sent to you, desiring you to reside, together with your family, and your gomastah pennanund in Baroda, and trade in peace, and you shall experience no injury, either from the Government or anybody else. If you wish to leave Baroda to proceed to any other place, you shall be allowed to do so; whence you wish to go we will cause you to arrive there.

For the due performance of what is written above, the perpetual guarantee of Meer Kerman, Lodeen Husseen Khur Bhadeer, of Asha, Bin Naser, and Mahomed Bin Ahmood, jemandars, is given to you. Dated 19th Ramyan 1201 of Fuslee, or A. D. 1801.

Signed and sealed by the persons.

When the two Arab zemindars were dismissed from the service of this Government, their bhanderry was withdrawn, and that of Major Walker, on the part of the Honourable Company, substituted instead, which was consented to by Government. Dated 3d Zilead 1203 of Fuslee, or A. D. 1803.

(Seal of Major Walker.)

Baroda, 31 March 1820. (signed) *A. Walker*, Resident.

No. 2.

TRANSLATION of a Perwannah granted by Govind Row Guicowar to Muncherjie Kursitjee Dessay, dated 5th Rubee ool Owul 1194, A. D. 13th October 1793.

WHEREAS you, four years ago, left Nosury, and have since resided in Surat, and now you have sent your agent, Moohlyram Dyuldars, on your behalf, to wait upon us at Poona, and to state that you have thus absconded through fear of oppression, and that you have suffered great injury through the dishonesty of your partners and relations in your lands of inheritance or purchase, whereon he prays us to grant you protection, as was given you by the late Futteh Sing Rao Guicowar, under the guarantee of the British Government, and extend the same to your family and dependents, in which case you would return to Nosary, for the prosperity of our districts there, with unremitting zeal and fidelity. On this representation we have taken into consideration how long you have been in our service; therefore we have addressed a letter to Mr. Griffiths, the chief of Surat, begging him to give you our assurances, under the guarantee of his Government, for your safety from oppression, as was formerly given you in the name of the British Government.

We hold you in high estimation, as an able and zealous servant of our sirkar, nor shall you be oppressed, or your suggestions opposed without cause. Fear nothing, but relying on our solemn promises, and the guarantee of the British Government, return to your district, and labour for its improvement. You and your gomastahs and families, and dependents of every sort, may rest satisfied that no injustice shall be practised against you. Discharge, therefore, your duties honestly and zealously, and let your minds be relieved of every apprehension. You and your dependents, it is hereby solemnly promised, shall suffer no injustice.

(True translation.)

(signed) *R. H. Kennedy.*

No. 3.

Malsa Kanth (Seal.)

TRANSLATION of a Guarantee given by Annund Row, Guicowar, Sina Khus Keyl, Shumshere Bahadar, to Sunkerjie Soonderjie, Dessaee of Ballisur; date Sunnad 1857, Wyshuk Sood 14, or A. D. 28th April 1801.

You have sent your father, Doolubjee Kallonnjee, to Baroda; he has informed me that the dessan of the pergunnah above mentioned, Soondeajee Soonjee, on the death of his son, by his first wife, at the age of 30, and having no other, at the age of 59 or 60 years married again, four or five years after this, having no family or expectation of one, nor hopes of much longer life. Arrived at the end of life, having no heir, the wuttun will depart. Then having collected in one place four friends, the Koomavisdar of Newsoree Tumbuck, Kundeeron, on the part of the Amuldar of the Moosulmans, Multharjee Shil, his gomastah, Mooljee

Mooljee Govindjee, the gomastah of Tuperdass Luldass, of Surat, Nunabhye Josee, the kharbaree of the above mentioned (Soondergie Soonjie), Koorshajie Mehta Pursee, the mother of his second wife, Goolub, and all the inhabitants of the town, informed them that the wuttun would leave his family, as he had no heir. On hearing this all decided that the whole of them should ask Dulubjee Kuluanjee, who had a large family, to give one of his three sons. They then sent Nunabhye Josee, who called him, and they then told him that he had arrived at the end of life, that his family would be extinct, that he was his friend, and had three sons, of whom he required the youngest. On this Doolubjee, before the dessan, the dessan's wife, the two karbarees, and all the assembly, consented that, his youngest son's wife and the dessan's wife being sisters, on account of the relationship he would give the youngest son. This being done, it was not known whether the wife was pregnant, and eight days after the adoption, Soonderjee Dessan died, on which you, the adopted son, performed the rites, the wife became a widow, and all the zemindars, the karbaree of the Madree Rajah, and the karbaree of the Amuldar of the Mussulmans, all come and gave the cloths of condolence. After this Kooshajie Mehta, head kurbar, and the widow of the dessan conferring in private, resolved that the adoption of the friend's son was not advantageous to them, and that having money they would raise objections. After which they contrived that they should say that she was in the third month of her pregnancy, and that six months remained, and that should she have a son he would possess the wutton, and that he would give the adopted heir four or five villages of his desangeeree, and a house and slaves; thus they began to talk about. At the time of the Soonwar (a day before the birth and forty days afterwards) the dessaeen said that the child had died in the womb; 13 months after this she produced a girl; 22 months had elapsed, a time which was never before heard of. After the birth of the girl, Kooshajie advised that the management of the wutton, and the wutton itself, should be carried on in the name of the person betrothed to the girl. Daolubjee Kallianjee complained to the Sirkar, and Koonshajie, by bribery, prevented his complaint from being attended to. After this, in the time of Baba Suhel, he twice or three times petitioned Koorshajie Mehta, appropriated to himself much money from the districts in Sunvut 1851. Dolubjee complained of this, at which time 41,000 rupees were taken by the Sirkar. Koorshajee, in his design of marrying the daughter of the dessaeen, betrothed her to the son of Hurry Bhycee Soorjee, of Meehtee. You, then, having come to the Sirkar, informed Baba Suhel of this, who, understanding it, sent Suwars and a karkoon to the district, and put the dessaeen and her child under restraint, and brought Koorshajie and his two sons to Baroda, and imprisoned them. Koorshajie died in confinement, and Baba Suhel afterwards died. After this, in the reign of Kanojie Row Guicowar, the son of Koorshajee, through the means of Duda Parsee, caused inquiry to be made, and by bribery caused a sunnad to be drawn out in the name of the husband of the daughter of the dessaeen, and exchanging the officers of the district, imprisoned Kurnavishdar and you; and Pustorjee Koorhajee, taking a new mamletbar, managed the mahul, and appropriated to himself as much as 20,000 rupees. After this the Parsee, on being acquainted with the change of things, taking all his property, with the dessaeen and her daughter, fled to Surat, and the marriage of the daughter, which had been forbidden, was there celebrated. After this, on being released, the Kurmevishdar and you were called to Baroda, and after your arrival, the statements being heard, orders were issued that Kanojee Row Guicowar, on the false representations of the Parsee, had given the sunnad, which was improper; that you should give some nuzzarana, and that in your name, as adopted by Loonderjie, a sunnud for you and your heirs, with a perpetual guarantee, should be given you, according to the order agreed to, the nuzzarana and the Sirkar befriending you; in your name, Sunkerjee Soonderjee, dessan of the aforesaid pergunnahs, according to the adoption by Soonderjia as his son, so all the customary rights on the villages of his dessangeree, according to custom, and the villages for pulkee allowance, do you take for you and your heirs, and perform service for the Government in that pergunnah to your best ability. Accordingly, this perpetual guarantee is given to you and Doolubjee Kullianjee, no injustice will ever be practised on you; the Sirkar acknowledging that you are the son of Soonderjee Soorjee, having taken a nuzzarana of 32,000 rupees, delivers the wuttun to you. From this there will be no change. In this matter the bhundars (guaranteers) are Meerkaumalooden-Koosain Khan, Buheedar, Ameen Zemindar, Hya Bin Nasser Sooltan Jusseen Jamadar, Mahemeinma Abood Zemindar, and Mahomed Nuzhoor Zemindar.

Sumout 1857, Wyshah Shood 14th.

Here are six signatures and four seals of the bhandurs.

The Arab zemindars have been discharged by the Sirkar on this account, their bhanderries being taken off. Major Walker, Suhed in the service of the Honourable English Company, has agreed to the bhandaree as above written.

Sumnut 1859, Fulgoon Shood 5th.

(Seal.)

(signed) *A. Walker*, Resident

No. 4.

TRANSLATION of a Perwannah issued by Annund Row Guicowar, Sina Khuskeyl Shumshere Bhader, in favour of Umrut Lall Toolzerum, Inhabitants of Ahmedabad, in the year 1202, Fusta, corresponding with A.D. 1801.

Sets forth,

THIS Government now makes the following engagements with you, and gives you this kolumbundy for its performance.

Art. 1. You are permitted to reside peaceably either in Baroda, Ahmedabad, or in any other place in the Guicowar territories which you prefer, along with your family, and your gomastahs Purshootum, Tuila, Runchoir Coobore, Sevahram, Kaoulram and Gunnesh Mehta, in the capacity of a merchant, and no one shall injure you, which the Government will take care of as long as you conduct yourself properly. For the due performance of this Article, the perpetual bhandary of Government is given in the names of Ahina Bin Gujee, Sultan Jassire, Moobaruk Bin Syed, and Mahimea Abood, Arab zemindars.

Art. 2. The village of Mukdoompoor, in the Duscooria pergunnah, in the Paeshwar's share of the city of Ahmedabad, which was formerly given you in enam by the comavishdar of that district, shall, according to your request, still continue in your possession from Sumrut 1858.

Art. 3. The 1,400 rupees deposited in the house of a shroff at Dholka, and which was taken away by Jutabhye Guicowar, shall be deducted from the money you will present to Government as a niziranah, provided it is ascertained that the money was actually taken away by Jutabhye.

Art. 4. The bill of exchange drawn upon Sheer Mahomed, of Dholka, for 1,200 rupees, and which was given to this Government, shall likewise be brought to account if, upon inquiry, it is found out that that sum has been received from Sheer Mahomed; but if the money still continues unpaid, the bill shall be returned to you, and a letter given to you from this Government. If Jutabhye Guicowar has received any part of the money, it shall be deducted from the account.

Art. 5. It is your request that the four horses and one pony, a camel and garas with bullocks, on garee ornamented with gold, which are now in the possession of Beechah Zemindar, as well as six bundles of cloth in the possession of a person by name Oopadeya, possesses, together with any other articles, which the Government or any person formerly took away from you, shall be restored to you on proof of the fact. To this request the Government consents to restore you two horses and one garee with bullocks and all other articles in the possession of any body else; it will order them to be returned to you.

Art. 6. You have made a request that the bond which Canojee Row Guicowar formerly obtained from you should be given back to you, which shall be complied with, if the bond is found in the possession of Government; but should it not be discovered, a receipt shall be given you for it.

Art. 7. You have likewise requested that the bond obtained by Government from Bachur Parah, belonging to Boodrabhye, may be given back to him. The Government believes that it has already been returned, but if not it shall be so.

Art. 8. You request that five of your domestics may be taken into the service of Government, and that the silver stick of your chobdar may be returned. The Government consent to employ five persons belonging to you in the sebundy stationed at Ahmedabad.

Art. 9. You request that the Government will order everybody who owes you money to pay it to you; the Government consents to do so, with the exception of the money levied by Shalookeer, formerly comavishdar of Ahmedabad.

Art. 10. You request that the Government, out of its kindness, will restore you the jewels and ornaments formerly plundered from your house, and likewise that the jewels, &c. taken away by other persons, may be recovered from them, upon your identifying them as your property. In answer to this, the Government states that it did not obtain any articles of jewellery, but whatever articles are proved by you to have been taken away by other persons, it will cause them to be restored to you.

Art. 11. You request that, in case any person should hereafter come to Ahmedabad, in the capacity of a comavishdar, on the part of the Peishwar, that that person should give you a perwannah for your satisfaction.

The Government reply, should a comavishdar come in the space of five years, then this Government will cause him to give the perwannah requested.

Art. 12. The Government permits you to reside in its territories, and to carry on the business of a merchant therein, for which bhandhery is given; but if you wish to proceed anywhere else, you shall be allowed to do so, and shall not receive any injury from Government; you must not, however, behave ill on account of Shillenea, but carry on the business of a merchant in peace.

Art. 13.

Art. 13. You request that you may suffer no injury from the Peishwar at Poona. The Government agrees never to send you there, unless it is your own pleasure to go there.

These 13 articles have been written, and shall be strictly performed. The sum of money which you have engaged to pay to Government as a nurzirana must be paid, and you must behave yourself properly in future. The bundles of clothes belonging to you when at Ahmedabad, and which were taken from you by Government, shall be returned to you.

(signed) *Shunabin Guzee,* (his seal.)
Sultan Jussire, (his seal.)
Mooburah bin Syed, (his seal.)
Mahomed Abood, (his seal.)

Dated 10th of Jumadie-ul Ahher.

N.B.—The above four zemindars were formerly the guarantees for the performance of the above-written 13 articles; but when they were dismissed the employment of this Government, an extra clause was inserted affixing the bhandary of Major Walker, on the part of the Company, and Kumaloodeen Kussein Khan, and Ameen bin Hameed Zemindar, on the part of the Guicowar Government, dated the 10th of Shawul 1203, Sumrul 1859 Margsood the 12th, at which time the seals of the four zemindars were taken off, and their signatures erased from the deed, and those of Major Walker were affixed instead.

Baroda Residency, 20th March 1820. (signed) *J. P. Willoughby,* A.R.

No. 5.

TRANSLATION of a Letter to Sularam Ronjie from the Honourable *Jonathan Duncan,* Governor in Council, in Bombay, dated the 8th June 1802.

A. C.

IT is the desire of the Bombay Government that the Deewangury of the Baroda Government, now held by Sularem Ronjie, may be continued to his posterity from generation to generation, and the Government will support his sons, his brothers, his nephews, and all his relations and friends, whenever it can be done with justice and propriety; and if the Guicowar Government, or any other, should behave unjustly, either to you or to your successors, &c., then the Honourable Company will come between, and settle the dispute.

I am concerned in this agreement, and have affixed to this letter my signature, and the seal of the Honourable Company.

(Seal.)

(True translation.)

Baroda Residency, 17 March 1820. (signed) *J. P. Willoughby,* Assistant to the Resident.

No. 6.

TRANSLATION of a Perwannah granted by Govind Rao Guicowar to Bychund Khoosalchund, Dessaee, and Kandass Wagjie, Putel of the Village of Danapura, together with their Gomastahs and Attendants.

Sets forth,

IN former times the Government disputed your money account, and on that account you, being fearful, left the city of Baroda; some time after this the Government issued a perwona, recalling you, upon which you returned, and settled your account, and gave you a separate memorandum, containing 10 articles, which shall be strictly conformed to, for which bhandary is given you, in the names of Nurrain Row Rajah Pundreh, Almanee Zemindar, Hyder Zemindar, and Nasur Zemindar. After this no more notice shall be taken of the former dispute, for which perpetual bhandary is given.

(signed) *Nurrain Row Rajah Pindeeh,* (his seal.)
Almanee Jemandar, (his seal.)
Hydeer Jemandar, (his seal.)
Nasir Jemandar, (his seal.)

Dated Sumvut 1851, 8th of Cehyler Wad.

N.B.—When the three last jemandars were dismissed from the service of the Guicowar Government, their seals were taken away, and their signatures erased, at which time the bhandary of the Honourable Company was substituted, and the seal of Major Walker affixed instead, under date Sumvut 1859, Maysood, the 4th Sumvut 1876, 21st December 1819.

Baroda Residency, 20th March 1820. (signed) *J. P. Willoughby.*
(Seal of Major Alexander Walker.)

No. 7.

Baroda, 7 January 1803.

WHEREAS Mungul Sukeedass, late of Ahmedabad, now residing at Baroda, hath not only given a proof of his disposition to render himself worthy of the Honourable English East India Company's good-will and protection, but has fully answered the expectations entertained by the Honourable the Governor of Bombay, as expressed in his certificate, bearing date the 8th June last, hereunto annexed; and having readily and amply contributed towards accomplishing the Company's views in this country, I do hereby declare for myself, and on behalf of the Honourable Company, that he is deserving of their favour and protection, and that they do, by these presents, assure and bind themselves to protect and defend his house, trade and property, at this place at Ahmedabad, Dolherah, Surat and Bombay, against any unjust attack or claim from the English or Giucowar Government, and that this protection shall extend to him, his wife, children, and their posterity for ever. Given under my hand, and the Company's seal, in Baroda, the day, month, and year above written.

(signed) *A. Walker*, Resident.

Cambay, 8 June 1802.

THIS is to certify that Mongul Sukeedass, shroff, at Baroda, and who has also a house of business at Ahmedabad, and another at Surat, is entitled to the Honourable English East India Company's good-will and protection, from the disposition he has hitherto shown to render himself worthy of their favour, in which I have great confidence he will preserve.

(sigued) *J. Duncan.*

No. 8.

TRANSLATION of the Sunnud granted by Anand Row Guicowar to Soobhajie and Soobanjie Pol, Pugedars, in his service.

THE following are the particulars of your deed of settlement granted to you, Soolbhajie Pool and Soobhanjie Pool, this (12th day of July 1808) by the Guicowar Sirkar.

Modeh Pergunah	Kokliej	2,000		
	Wusna	1,200		4,700
	Sutra	1,500		
Maler Pergunah	Sumeedra	1,000		
	Antroly	900		1,900
Pitland Pergunah	Sundaie			4,000
			TOTAL Rs.	10,600

1. The pugah you at present command is to remain in your charge, as heretofore; the pugahs shall continue yours, the following to be the villages whence the pugahs shall be paid:

Of these six villages, the total produce of which is estimated at 10,600 rupees, the proceeds of Antroly, or 900 rupees a year, are assigned for your personal expenses; and the remaining proceeds, or 9,700 rupees, for the expenses of the pugah, agreeable to the custom of such establishments.

2. You two above named, with your children, dependents and karkoons, and relations, are leaving the Fort of Kaira, are at liberty to fix your residence wherever you shall think proper, that fort alone excepted, and wherever you remove to, there you shall be free from every molestration; you shall on no account whatever suffer any injury so long as you choose to remain, and whenever the wish to remove to your own wutteen induces you to remove thence, we will see you safely thither.

3. Your personal property attached to the pugah, of every possible denomination, iron or wood, cloth or rope, is given up to you, and you are to remove the same at your convenience; but you are carefully to abstain from appropriating any sirkar accoutrements or stores attached to the pugah.

4. All the claims you advance against the people of the place shall be carefully investigated and equitably adjusted.

5. The accounts of your karbury, Mooljie Jutidee, shall be equitably examined and adjusted.

6. You have hitherto discharged the duties of killadar of the Fort of Kavia, and you may in the performance of your duties have made yourself enemies among the rhyuts or grassias

grassias or others. These people shall on no account offer you any molestation; should they do so, the Sirkar will take measures for your protection, such as stated in these six paragraphs are the terms of your settlement; and in perpetual guarantee thereto, Major Walker, the Resident, pledges the bhundary of the British Government, and Ameen Bin Humeed Zemindar on his own behalf.

Signed and sealed, &c., by

Major *Walker* and *Ameen Zemindar.*

(True translation.)

(signed) *R. H. Kennedy*, Translator.

No. 9.

TRANSLATION of Memorandum under the Sirkar Seal of the Guicowar Government, granted by his Highness Annund Row Guicowar in favour of Kanojie Row Guicowar, dated 21st Rubie ul Oowul, Fusly 1208, A. D. 1807.

IT is hereby registered, that we promise and pledge ourselves to provide a suitable establishment and income for you, our kinsman, Kanojie Row Guicowar, to be paid by our Sirkar at the following rates per annum (interculary months in the leap-year not being considered additional).

For yourself and family:	*Rs.*
Your mother's pension and establishment	4,000
Your personal expenses	32,000
Your son's establishment	4,000
TOTAL Rs.	40,000

For the following individuals on your establishment:

Suddashaw Row Mohray	5,000
Nuoujie Putill Goley	3,000
Shen Row Sudeeshan	2,000
TOTAL Rs.	10,000

A total of 50,000 rupees, and the same is pledged to you, payable yearly; and the same shall accordingly be paid to you year by year by this Government.

(True translation.)

(signed) *R. H. Kennedy.*

No. 10.

TRANSLATION of a Letter to Anund Row Guicowar, Sera Khuskeyl Shumshire Bhudar, from Mulhar Row Guicowar Nemut, Bhadur.

A. C.

I QUARRELLED with you and owed you money, for which I gave you security; the person who was my security came to me, but I would not have an interview, but raising an army took your part of Veisanugger, and rebelled against you, and began to contend and fight with Babajee Appajee. On this account you requested the assistance of the Honourable Company. After that, Governor Duncan Bhadur proposed to me to make peace, but I would not hear him, and behaved unfriendly towards him. In consequence of this you obtained the assistance of the Honourable Company, who having taken from me Kurrie and other places, gave them to your Government, and set aside the pergunnah of Neried, of about the annual value of 1,25,000 rupees, as a jagheer for my support. I will now reside in that pergunnah with my sons and family, and will conduct myself properly. The Governor has assured you of my future good behaviour, and according to his assurance I will conduct myself, and there shall be no difference. The jagheer which has been given me for the maintenance of my family I will enjoy, and remain in peace and quietness, and except this jagheer, I will not advance any other claims for my former possessions.

If in time I perform faithfully this agreement, then by the permission of the Governor Bhadur, you will increase my jagheer a little.

Dated the 2d of Super, in year of Fusli esunee Meeaton woh, Ulif, corresponding with A. D. 1801.

(Seal.) *Mooruttal Shud.*

For this agreement the bhandary of the Honourable Company is given by Major Walker.

(signed) *Alexander Walker,*
Resident at Baroda, (Seal).

Baroda Residence,
18 March 1820.

(signed) *Meer Keemaul-ood-deen,*
Hodssein Khan Bhadur, (Seal.)

To *Francis Warden*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Mr. Secretary Henderson's letter, dated the 12th ultimo, enclosing copies of a letter from Mulhur Row Guicowar, and its accompaniments, and directing me to report upon the claim advanced therein by that person.

2. It appears that in Sumroot 1870, corresponding with A. D. 1814, a nimnook of 10,000 rupees per annum was given by Futteh Sing Guicowar to Soojoonabhye, on her arrival at Baroda from Cutch, for the maintenance of herself and the other illegitimate branches of the family of Mulhur Row Guicowar, 800 rupees of which was to be paid monthly, and the remaining 400 at the end of the year.

3. Captain Carnac was informed of this arrangement, but it does not appear that it was reported by him to the Bombay Government, nor is any copy of the nimnook to be found among the Baroda records. The nimnook did not specify how the 800 rupees were to be divided amongst the different members of the family, but at the time it was given, Futteh Sing appointed a man of the name of Mucajie Morah to take care of the family, and pay the money to them, which he did in the following proportions:

	Rs.
1. To Subnoobhye, a concubine of Mulhar Row	150
2. To Nubalabhye, a daughter of Sooynabhye	65
3. To Tyesing Row Guicowar, son of Mulhur Row	100
4. To Purbabhye, the widow of Tumbuck Row, who was an illegitimate brother of Mulhur Row	75
5. To Rupabhye, a concubine of ditto	60
6. To Manuckbhye, a concubine of ditto, and her daughter, by name Gurga	25
7. To Luckunubhye, a concubine of ditto, and her daughter, by name Mynubhye	25
8. To Munabhye, a concubine of ditto, and her daughter, by name Ambabhye	25
9. To Mulabhye, a concubine, and her daughter, Oomalhye	25
10. To Manuckbhye, a concubine of ditto	10
11. To Gopabhye, a concubine of ditto	10
12. To Dewabhye, a concubine of ditto	10
13. To Rubluedbhye, a concubine of ditto	10
14. To Koorhalla, a slave girl of Lugnoobhye	5
15. To the dependents of Moharoonerbhyea, concubine of Mulhar Row Guicowar	31
16. To the dependents of Sooboobhye, the widow of Pertab Row, an illegitimate brother of Mulhar Row	37
17. To Dewa, or expenses incurred on account of the God	15
18. To the Karbary	20
19. To a Carcoon	19
20. To the Shargird Peishwa, or attendants of Jey Sing Row Guicowar	50
21. Buta, or deduction on account of Potdaree	33
TOTAL Rs.	800

4. The 400 rupees before alluded to was paid to Suguoobhye, who divided it between herself and the other members of the family. Things continued to be conducted in this manner until Mucoojee Marah was turned out of his situation, on account of some improper behaviour; after which, according to the desire of Suguoobhye, the money was paid to Jyesing Mulhur, Row's son, who paid to each person the same sum as above specified.

5. Sugnoobhy died in the month of July 1819, and soon after a quarrel arose between Nubdabhye, the daughter of the deceased, and Jysing Row Guicowar, regarding the property belonging to Mulhar Row, in the possession of Sugnoobhye during her lifetime.

6. Gunput

6. Gunput Row Towreh, the husband of Nubdabhye, and the person of whom Jyesing Row complains, in his letter to his father, Mulher Row, visited Gyabhye, the mother of Seeajee, and having received countenance from that lady, began to quarrel with the other members of the family, a part of whom espoused his cause, and thus the family became divided into two opposing parties, with the husband of Nubdabhye at the head of one, and Jyesing Row Guicowar at the head of the other.

7. The persons who espoused the cause of Gunput Row Towreh, and the monthly stipends each received respectively, were as follows:

	Rupees per ann.
1. Gunput Row Towreh	75
2. Nabdabhye, his wife	65
3. Manuckbhye and his daughter	25
4. Lucksimubhye and daughter	25
5. Manuckbhye	10
6. Dewabhye	10
TOTAL Rupees	210

8. By the above statement, it will be perceived that the above persons formerly only received collectively 210 rupees monthly, out of the 800 allotted by Futteh Sing for the maintenance of the family of Mulhar Sing. Jyesing and his party now represent that his Highness Seeajee Row has directed the former allowances to be divided into two equal parts, one to be given to Jyesing and his party, and the other to Gunput Row and his party. This arrangement the former consider (and perhaps not without reason) as unfair, and pray that the individuals above enumerated may only receive the sums formerly allotted to each, and that the cloths formerly given to the family on the festivals of Nagpuchmee and Dussirah may be presented to them as usual.

9. Upon the question of the right of the British Government to interfere in the distribution of the allowance of 10,000 rupees, the Honourable the Governor in Council will decide. The circumstances of importance in this part of the case are as follows:—The sum of 50,000 rupees was settled through Colonel Walker, by the Guicowar Government, at the request of the Honourable the Governor of Bombay, upon Mulhar Row and his family, and 35,000 rupees on that of Kundeh Row, his son, as being the better life of the two. This settlement was concluded in Sumrut 1864, or A. D. 1808, on Khundeh Row's death. A deduction of about 18,000 rupees in the allowance took place in A. D. in 1814, as mentioned in the second para. of this letter: this was partly made up by an additional grant of 10,000 rupees a year. If from these circumstances the grant of 10,000 rupees shall be considered to be a part of the 50,000 rupees, the British Government would appear to have a right to demand that, as the settlement was made through its medium and at its request, the several payments should be made by his Highness, so as to satisfy the parties concerned, or, in failure of this, that the British Government should itself superintend the disbursement of the money. If the 10,000 rupees shall be regarded as separate from the original grant to Mulhar Row's family, an opposite decision will be formed.

10. Of the settlements of 1808, there is a memorandum in the records, duly signed and sealed by his Highness the Guicowar. In this memorandum it is specified that villages to the amount of 50,000 rupees were to be given to the family, which, however, never appears to have been actually assigned for the support of Mulhar Row and his family, who have always received a money payment instead. According to the last statement of the disbursement of this Government, the whole expenses charged on account of Mulhar Row (including the 10,000 rupees) amount to 40,920 rupees per annum, which decrease of the original sum arises from the large deduction made on the death of Kundah Row, the son of Mulhar Row.

11. Some objection may be made by His Highness Seeajie to the family receiving their allowances from the Residency monthly, as such was never stipulated nor agreed upon. This question seems to rest in a great measure upon the same grounds as that of our right of interference. If we have a right to interfere, we should be entitled to expect that the allowance should be fairly divided among the members of Malhar Row's family, and if this object could not be otherwise attained, to require that these several stipends should be paid under our superintendence.

I have, &c.
(signed) *O. Norris*,
Acting Resident.

Baroda Residency,
27 August 1820.

No. 11.

TRANSLATION of a Paper given by Annund Row Guicowar Serra Khuskeyl Shumshere Bhadar, to Martund Row Guicowar and Moorai Row Guicowar, dated 3d Zillad 1209, of the Fuslee, or A. D. 1808.

FORMERLY you did not conduct yourself properly, and wandered about from place to place, but now you are become wiser, and wish to come into my presence; the Government therefore, through its kindness, gives you an order to come, and to conduct yourself according to its wishes, and you shall not be improperly treated. For the performance of which agreement the bhundary of Colonel Walker, on the part of the Honourable Company, is given to you.

(Seal of Morutta Shud.)

Baroda Residency,
20 March 1820.

(signed) *Alexander Walker*,
Resident (his seal).

No. 12.

TRANSLATION of a Perwannah granted by Annund Row Guicowar Sina Khuskeyl Shumshere Bhadur, to Manuckchund Roopchund, a Shroff residing in Surat.

You wish to come to reside in Baroda, to carry on the business of a merchant in that place, and hence requested a guarantee from this Government that you shall not be in any way molested or injured.

The perwannah is given therefore to you for your satisfaction, and for its due performance the bhandery of Captain Carnac, on the part of the Honourable Company, is affixed to it, as well as a promise to that effect from this Government.

Dated Sumvut 1865, the 7th of the month of Chyler Shud, corresponding with A. D 1808–9.

(Seal of Mooruthal Shud.)

Baroda Residency,
19 March 1820.

(signed) *J. R. Carnac*,
Resident (seal of Company).

No. 13.

TRANSLATION of an Agreement entered into by the Guicowar Government with the Widow of Samul Bhugty, by name Hucherut Bhye, states,

THE husband of Hucherut Bhye, by name Samul, having died without issue, and the Government having transacted business for a very long time with the house of his father, Hurry Bhugty Parieh, the Government will continue to do the same in future.

The widow having made a representation to Government, it, in consequence thereof, granted her permission to adopt a son, and at the same time gave her the following regulations for all future transactions which the Government might have with her house:

1st. In former times there were two brothers, by name Hurree and Buhty, who both died without issue; this the widow of Buhty, by name Ruttenbhye, having obtained the permission of Government, adopted the nephew of her late husband, by name Samul Paraeh, and entrusted to him the management of the affairs of the house, on the former footing. Some time after this Ruttenbye died, and one year after her demise, Samul Paraeh likewise died, leaving no issue. After this event it was requisite that the business of the house at Baroda (of Samul Bechur, deceased), and other houses in other places connected with the same, should be transacted as usual, and his widow, Hucherutbhye, having made a representation to Government that a distant first paternal relation, Hurree and Buhty, by name Bookun Govindjie, had a child living, by name Beechur, she wished to make him her adopted son, in order that she might give him the management of all the affairs of her late husband's house, as well as the transactions with Government in the potdaree, on its present footing. The Government having considered the subject, granted her leave to adopt the boy, and promised to transact business with the house as formerly. This banking firm is extensive, and connected with Government, and it is proper to be entrusted with the Government potdaree, and wishing to befriend the house, is desirous to continue the business in its hands, and have therefore granted to the widow a sunnud of adoption, in conformity to which it will abide.

2d. The sunnad of the village of Goriad, in the Baroda pergunnah, given in enam to Samul Parieh, is now granted to the adopted son of Hucheratbhye, by name Beecher Samul.

3d. The widow Hucheratbhye represents that some of her houses are situated in the territory of this Government, and others out of its jurisdiction, and therefore requests that a letter

a letter may be given to her, granting her permission to transact business in the same manner as formerly, upon the necessary authorities. To this the Government reply, that every transaction of her house must be carried on in a fair and honest way, and upon which letters may now or hereafter be required; this shall be granted to her.

4th. Hucherutbye represents, that she wishes to recover different debts from sundry persons, and if any person refuses to give what is justly due, she requests that Government will make him do so; to which request the Government accedes, in all cases where equitable demands exist.

5th. The adopted son, Beechur Samul, is to transact business in consonance with the wishes of his mother, Hucherutbhye, and as long as she lives he is to acquaint her with everything that is done; and Hucherutbhye having adopted Beechur Samul of her own free will, is to treat him in every respect like her own son.

6th. In the province of Surat, Ataveesy, an Assamee, of the annual value of 2,250 rupees, was granted to Hurree Buhtee on account of transacting the business of the Government potidaree. In consequence, however, of this Government ceding some of the districts in that province to the Honourable Company, a loss was occasioned to them of 1,000 rupees from the above Assamee; the remainder, however, amounting to 1,250 rupees, shall continue to be paid to Beechur Samul.

These six articles having been agreed to by the Government, Huchurutbye, shall remain in force; for the due performance of which the guarantee of the Honourable Company has been given.

Dated the 8th of Ramzan, at Baroda, in the year of Fusler Asher Miatin-woulif, or 1210.

(Seal) of *Murootbul Shud.*

In pursuance of the verbal assurance given by me, on the 5th August 1809, and the authority of the Government of the 22d of the same month, the family of the deceased will be preserved in their rights and privileges, resident in the Guicowar territories, subject to their own merits.

Baroda,
17 March 1820.

(signed) *R. Carnac,*
Acting Resident at Baroda.

No. 14.

TRANSLATION of a Memorandum given by his Highness the Guicowar to Dureabaee Guicowar and Luxman Row, dated 24 Rubee-lukhur, 1220 Soor Sun, or A.D. 1820.

A SUM of 13,000 rupees has been hereby fixed for the maintenance and support of Dureabace Guicowar, and her son, Luxman Row, during the lifetime of Hurreeabace; accordingly, as above written, an order of payment shall be issued from the Sirkir on the potdar, to ensure which, the bhandary of the British Government is given, dated as above.

(*Mortel.*)

(Honourable Company's Seal.)

(A true translation.)
(signed) *J. Ogilvy,*
2d Assistant Political Commissioner, and Resident.

No. 15.

TRANSLATION of a Memorandum given by his Highness the Guicowar to Oomed Baee, and her Son, Gopul Row Guicowar; dated 24th Rubil-Akhur, Soor Sun 1220, or A.D. 1820.

THIS paper is given to Oomedbaee and Gopul Row Guicowar, fixing the amount of their expenses during the life of Oomedbaee.

A chittee, therefore, will be given on the potdar of the Sirdar for an annual nimnook of 9,000 rupees, to be paid to them regularly accordingly. The above-mentioned chittee will be issued as stated before. For the continuation of which the bhandary of the Honourable Company is given, dated as above.

(*Mortel.*)

(Seal of the Honourable Company.)

(A true Translation.)
(signed) *J. Ogilvy,*
2d Assistant Political Commissioner, and Resident.

No. 16.

TRANSLATION of a Memorandum given by his Highness the Guicowar to Gouput Rao Guicowar, dated 24th Rubulakhur, Soor Sun 1220, or A.D. 1828.

THIS paper is given to Gunput Row Guicowar, son of Khooshuba, thereby fixing the sum of 4,000 rupees for his expenses per annum, to which effect a chittee will be granted from the Sirkar on the potdar for the payment of this sum, and for the continuance of which the bhandary of the British Government is given, dated as above.

(*Mortel.*)

(Seal) To this paper the guarantee of the Honourable Company has been given.

(signed) *J. Williams,*
Acting Resident.

No. 17.

TRANSLATION of a Document presented to his Highness the Guicowar, on the 27th March 1832, at Baroda, by Lord *Clare*, on the part of the British Government, being an Agreement between the two Governments for the Wissulla Payment of a certain Advance granted by his Highness to Govind Row Guicowar.

HIS Highness Syajie Row Guicowar entered into an agreement with the British Government, by the advice and with the consent of Mr. Williams, Resident of Baroda, on the 28th April 1826, a Chyle wud 7th Sumvut 1882, by which it was settled that a nimnook of 12,400 rupees a year should be paid to Govind Row Guicowar; wherefore his Highness, after deducting what he has paid of the sum up to the present time, is to pay up the remainder, and in future to pay the nimnook each year, by giving an order on his banker every six months, through the medium of the British Government, to be cashed without deducting commission or per-centage, to be continued for the whole period of his life, after which it will revert to the Guicowar Government.

The British Government admits that Govind Row Guicowar has acted in opposition to the Guicowar Government, and that therefore he ought not to be allowed to enter the Guicowar territory without permission from the Guicowar Government, but that he should in consequence be compelled to reside at Surat, or some other place within the British territory calculated for his safe-custody. When Futteh Sing Guicowar died, his wife, Rudhabaee Guicowar wished to perform suttee, and for the purpose of dissuading her, Govind Row Guicowar was brought, but that child has no claim whatever on her property. A nimnook of 11,400 rupees was settled on Ruddabacee on the 28th April 1826, or Cheetr Wud of 1822, which must be paid up to her by the Guicowar Government, after deducting all that it has paid of that amount; and further,* in future the allowance must be paid to her without† deduction each year, by giving an order every six months on the banker, to be continued for the whole period of her life; and after her death it is to revert to the Guicowar Government.

† Original defective.
† Ditto.

Should Govind Rao Guicowar, or Ruddabacee Guicowar, in future act in opposition to the Guicowar Government, the nimnooks be from ‡ forfeited thereby, with consent of both Governments.

‡ Ditto.

27th March 1832, Phulgoon wud 11 Sunvut 1888, Chunder 24th Sowab Sursan, usuna, Sullasein meeatum oulf, Baroda.

(signed) *Clare,*
Governor of Bombay.

No. 17 A.

TRANSLATION of a Sunnud granted by the Guicowar Government to Govind Row Guicowar and Ruddabaee Guicowar, settling certain Allowances on them, dated the 19th Ramzan, Sumbul 1882, Chytr Vud, 7th Soorsoon sul Uslereen teen oulof. Done at Baroda, 28th April 1826.

HIS Highness has granted to Ruddabaee, widow of the late Futteh Row Sing Guicowar, and to his kinsman, Govind Row Guicowar, certain yearly nimnooks for their maintenance. The lady is to receive her allowance during life for her own individual expenditure, and after her death the sum will revert to the Guicowar Government.

Govind Row's nimnook is to be enjoyed by himself. On the death of Futteh Sing, Guicowar Ruddabaee wished to perform suttee, and the child Govind Rao was therefore produced with a view to dissuade her, but that child has no claim whatever on her property, as was settled at the time through Captain Carnac, Resident, on the part of the Company,

Company, in presence of the Dewan of the Guicowar Government, and of all the ministers and others assembled.

The amount of yearly nimnook of 10,400 rupees.

	Rs.	
Rudhabacee Guicowar, for expenditure in charity, festivals, her household, &c. - - - -	10,000	allowance.
	400	miscellaneous expenditure.
TOTAL Rupees - - -	10,400	

The above to be enjoyed for life.

Rs.	
12,400	for Govind Rao Guicowar, yearly.
5,000	as his regular allowance.
1,000	for palkee.
5,000	for his revenue.
1,000	for clothing.
400	for food.
12,400	

Grand Total 22,800 Rupees.

In all, allowances to the amount of 22,800 rupees have been granted, which will be paid by Government, by an order on the banker every four months.

This arrangement has been made after acquainting the Resident, Mr. Williams, and obtaining his assent.

(Seal.)

(A true translation.)

(signed) *J. Ogilvy,*
2d Assistant Political Commissioner, and Resident.

No. 18.

TRANSLATION of a Sunnud executed by his Highness Syajee Row Guicowar in favour of Nurrain Row Madheo Meejmoodar, date corresponding with 3d June 1828.

WHEREAS the late Madheo Suckaram Meejmoodar died in his infancy (Ortul 12), on which account this Government, taking the circumstances of the family into consideration, permits of your adoption to supply the place of the deceased, as though you were his son; therefore you are to succeed to all the honours and emoluments belonging to the office of Meejmoodar, as held hitherto by the family into which you are adopted; that is to say, the fees from land revenue, and other sources, the enam villages, and villages for pulhy allowance, enjoyed by your predecessors, the same without reserve are devolved on you, and you are to discharge your duties honestly and zealously, as by them discharged, and we pledge ourselves to maintain in your favour, and in favour of you and your heirs for ever, the whole provisions stipulated in the sunnad granted to your grandfather, Sukharam Meejmoodar, under the bhandary of the British Government, holding the said bhandary as descending to you and your heirs for ever.

(True translation.)

(signed) *R. H. Kennedy,*
Translator.

No. 19.

TRANSLATION of Sunnud granted by his Highness Syajee Row Guicowar to Busherjee Row Withul, dated 6 Suffur 1228, corresponding with 18 August 1828.

WHEREAS the late Withul Row Bubajee Kuasgywully (confidential minister), when suffering under severe illness, and at the point of death, adopted you, by the permission and approbation of our Sirkur, as his son; therefore he being now deceased, this sunnud is executed in your favour, and you are hereby placed in possession of the honours and emoluments of the office of kaasgy wally, in like manner and in full enjoyment thereof as first granted to your grandfather, Babajee Appajee, in a memorandum of seven Articles, under date the 7th Zilhhad 1207 (A. D.), and are confirmed to your late father by sunnud and agreement under the bhandry of the British Government, dated in Fusly 1211 (A. D. 1810); therefore you being thus placed in this office of inheritance, see that you discharge the same honourably and faithfully, and all the emoluments and advantages of office, as already

enumerated in former sunnuds, are hereby confirmed to you as descending to you by right of inheritance, and to descend to your heirs after you for ever. Such being the case, fail in nothing of the important duties devolved to you, and only in our assurance that you and your family shall suffer no injustice from us; and the bhandry of the Honourable Company is pledged to you as security for our faithful discharge of our engagement.

(True translation.)

(signed) *R. H. Kennedy*, Translator.

(True copy.)

(signed) *T. Ogilvy*,
Second Assistant Political Commissioner and Resident.

No. 20 & 21.

TRANSLATION of a Sicca Yud from his Highness Syajee Row to Pillajie Row Guicowar, relative to his Nimnook, &c.; dated 14 Ramzan, corresponding with 5 February 1823.

(Guicowar Seal.)

ON the 24th day Rubbic-ul-ahur, in the year Sumrut, $\frac{1876}{1820}$, a yud was granted, containing the nimnooks for Thukkelbaee Bulwunt Rao and Pillajee Row Guicowar, and two other yuds were written in Tukkulbaee's name, under the bhandary of the Honourable Company. After the demise of Tukkulbasee, disagreements having sprung up between you and your mother, Bulwunt Row Guicowar, you gave in a ruzeenamah to the Sirkar for a division of your nimnooks; consequently, and as both of your nimnooks were assigned in the original yud, this yud is given you for your nimnook, and the former are taken by the Sirkar, through the Political Commissioner. The date from which your nimnook is to continue is from 1st Ramzan, 22d July 1833.

The hoozooral pugah under you, as before, is to do duty according to the orders of the Sirkar; its annual nimnook, including chundee raklub, grass, equipments, and will be paid according to rules of the military service, viz.:—

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*
Nimnook for the pugah, as above, for rozurnirrah, grass and equipments, &c.	30,000	–	–			
Deduction of one anna, according to usage in the military service	1,434	3	–			
Balance hitherto received	–	–	–	28,565	1	–
Add the whole amount of chundee raklub, mussalee, &c., as was before fixed	–	–	–	58,723	–	62½
TOTAL	–	–	–	34,438	–	62½
Personal Nimnook, &c.:						
For your personal expenses	13,000	–	–			
Allowance for Julleb Shagreed Peishwa, at 400 rupees per mensem	4,800	–	–			
Pulky allowance for your wife	1,000	–	–			
The amount of Sullabad Babtee on account of Gunperttee and other festival days, and for articles from shops, Moodekana; and for cloths, for Dessurah and for Nuppuchorree (which were formerly given from the Sirkar's Zemindar Khana); and also on account of Yung Khana, and other articles under the head of Sullabad Babtee, is now fixed at 9,000 rupees per annum, out of which half is to be paid to Balwunt Rao, and the other half to you, which is rupees	4,500	–	–			
				23,300	–	–
Amount fixed for the bheer of the village of Kurralie, which has been taken for the use of the Sirkar's cattle, is 1,000 rupees, half of which is to go to Bulwunt Rao, and half to yourself, rupees	500	–	–			
Carried forward	500	–	–	57,738	–	62½

Annual

			Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
Brought forward - - -			500	–	–
Annual nimnook separately paid to the other individuals by the Sirkar, viz.:					
Nune Row Dishmook's nimnook, as hitherto received - - - - - - -			6,000	–	–
Panachund, ditto - - - - - -			2,000	–	–
The payment of this amount is as follows:—					
In account of the pay, &c., for the pugah, by Dumulta village, viz.:					
Produce of the villages Sursumanee - -			13,172	–	50
Ditto - - - Ulwah - - -			637	1	25
			13,809	1	75
By Notes:					
According to usage in the Military Service:					
	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*		
On account of Ruzemeerah -	14,755	3	25		
On account of grain, rhubul, &c. &c. - - - - -	5,872	3	62½		
				20,628	2 87½
Your personal nimnook will be paid as follows:					
By Doomalla villages, inclusive of the additional produce as before determined:					
	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*		
Produce of the village of Mongrall - - - -	6,401	2	62½		
Produce of the village Vamardee - - - - - -	5,300	–	–		
				11,701	2 62½
On account of the khultee bhuttee (liquor shops), situated near the Bhuddeer, a deduction of 3,000 rupees has hitherto been made from both of your nimnooks, and it is now arranged that the produce of the kullal bhuttee should be alternately for five years, so that during your five years' management an annual reduction of 3,000 rupees will be made from the chittas, which you are to receive for *Rs.* 12,098. 1 *a.* 37½ *p.*; during the period of Bulwunt Row Guicowar's management of the kullal bhuttee, you will receive the full amount of your chitties, and deduction of 3,000 rupees will then be made from his chitties; in this manner it has been settled. The amount of your chitties as rupees - - - - -				12,098	1 37½
					23,800 – –
					58,238 – 62½
Those persons who are separately paid shall continue to receive their nimnook chitties, viz.:					
	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*		
Nure Row Dishmook - -	6,000	–	–		
Punachund Rooshull - -	2,000	–	–		
				- - -	8,000 – –
TOTAL Rupees - - -				- - -	66,238 – 62½

Besides these you have,

1. The grass bheer of the villages of Ulwah and Russalabad.
2. The gardens of Ramtullen and Karlu.
3. Coovah and the elephants, the ruhtuls, for which you will continue to receive from the Sirkar as usual.

After fixing the annual nimnook of *Rs.* 69,238. 0 *a.* 62½ *p.* for the Hoozoorat Pugah Chundie, inclusive, according to usage in the military branch of the service, as well for the disbursement of your personal allowance and of others, the mode of payment is given in detail, and in like manner you will continue to receive the same; besides this, the other three articles will also be mentioned by the Sirkar; and for the due performance of which the bhandary of the Honourable Company is affixed.

(Guicowar Seal.)

The bhandary of the Honourable Company is affixed.

(Company's Seal.)

(signed) *James Williams,*
Political Commissioner, Guzerat.

Baroda, 5 February 1833.

No. 22.

TRANSLATION of a Memorandum providing for the Maintenance of the Allowance of 75 Rupees per Mensem for Life to Poonjajee Jarajee, by his Highness the Guicowar.

(Shree Malsa Kanth.)

(Great Seal.) In substitution of signature.

To Poonjajee Jorajie; dated Soor Sun 1240, or 1840. For your maintenance, the British Government has fixed for you an allowance to be paid by my Government; according thereto, you will receive 72 rupees per mensem, and notes for the same will be granted every half-year in the photdaree, to be paid without deduction; and to ensure the due fulfilment of this arrangement during your life, the guarantee of the British Government has been conceded. Dated 25th Mohirum Sumbut 1896, or 30th March 1840.

(signed)

(True translation.)

(signed) *James Sutherland,*
Political Commissioner and Resident.

CORRESPONDENCE in *India* respecting the Expiration or Forfeiture of any of those Guarantees.

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultations, dated 17th October (No. 41) 1827.

(No. 11.)

EXTRACT Letter from the Acting Resident at *Baroda* to Chief Secretary to Government, dated the 14th September.

2. ANNEXED is translation of the document on which the Dessoy's claim is founded, and which is stated to have been granted to his father, Muncherjee Kooshajee, of Nowsaree. The result of my inquiries leads me to believe, that as far as the Honourable Company were concerned, their part of the engagement was never ratified, and the omission probably arose from the circumstances which gave rise to the engagement being only temporary, and its ratification becoming in consequence unnecessary. Be this as it may, I think this point should now be placed beyond doubt, and since Jemsetjee has been one of the most active of those concerned in the machinations still in progress in this durbar, I beg to suggest the expediency of a declaration being now made on our part, that the guarantee is revoked, and rendered null and void, in consequence of the Dessoy's misconduct.

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, 4th October 1837.

(No. 4381.)

FROM *W. H. Macnaghten*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of *India*, to *W. H. Wathen*, Esq., Chief Secretary to the Government of *Bombay*.

Sir,

I AM desired by the Right honourable the Governor-general of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 24th October last, transmiting extracts from proceedings in Case No. 5 of the Dessoy of Nowsaree, relative to the violation by his Highness the Guicowar of a guarantee granted to him.

2. Some time will probably elapse before the Governor-general in Council shall have received and made up his mind with regard to the proceedings in all the eight cases which the Right honourable the Governor in Council proposes to refer, relative to the conduct of the Guicowar; but in the meanwhile, as the point is a very important and prominent one for consideration, in the case submitted with your letter, now acknowledged, I am directed to request information as to the sense in which a bhandaree or guarantee is understood under the Bombay Presidency; and further, that any evidence as to the accuracy of such construction or precedents in favour of it may be cited.

3. It would appear to be the opinion of the Right honourable the Governor in Council, that a bhandaree is in its nature hereditary, but I am desired to observe, that on this side of India it is never considered to endure beyond the life of the person guaranteed, unless its continuance to his descendants may have been expressly provided for.

I have, &c.

(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William, 5 December 1836.

(No. 4382.)

MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor in Council, subscribed to by the Board.

I SHALL feel much obliged, and so I think will your Board, to the Political Secretary, to obtain and lay before the Board the information here required.

(signed) *R. Grant.*

6 January 1837.

(No. 4383.)

MEMORANDUM by the Political Secretary; dated 4 August 1837.

I HAVE now the honour to submit to the Honourable Board the information required in the Right honourable the Governor's Minute of the 6th January last, regarding the nature of our bhandaree or guarantee engagements at Baroda.

2. These embarrassing engagements originated in the very peculiar circumstances under which our connexion with the Guicowar state was formed, and it will not, therefore, be irrelevant to take a brief review of those circumstances.

3. Our intercourse with the Baroda state is of ancient date, and the engagements entered into with it were of a more intimate nature than those usually concluded with the native governments of India. Upwards of 60 years ago, by a treaty entered into with the Sirdars of the Mahratta empire, the Guicowar family were placed under the protection of the Honourable Company.

4. It was not, however, until the year 1801-2 that the active interference of the British Government was called for. In that year a formidable band of conspirators seized and placed under restraint Anund Rao, the reigning Guicowar, and usurped the whole power of his government.

5. Annund Row was the eldest son of Govind Rao Guicowar, and on the death of his father in 1800 succeeded to the musnud. He was a prince of weak intellect, and in no way qualified to conduct the government.

6. An illegitimate son of Govind Row's, by name Canojee Row, rebelled against Anund Row, and obtained temporary possession of the government. His administration, however, being marked with violence and oppression, he was soon deprived of power, and placed under restraint, chiefly through the instrumentality of Rowjee Appajee, Anund Row's minister.

7. No sooner, however, was the rebellion crushed, than another was fomented by Morar Row, who was also an illegitimate son of Govind Row. This was likewise suppressed by the minister, Morar Row being also seized and imprisoned.

8. Canojee Row and Morar Row, however, had many partisans, whose open opposition or secret intrigues proved a constant source of anxiety to the minister, who was in consequence induced to solicit the aid of the Bombay Government, as the surest if not the only means of maintaining himself in power. As the political events of the day rendered a more intimate alliance with the Baroda state highly desirable, his advances were met with great cordiality on our part.

9. About this time, events occurred at Baroda which appeared to threaten the very existence of the Guicowar state. Mulhar Row, a man of influence and enterprise, and a cousin of Govind Row Guicowar, possessing a considerable jagheer in the vicinity of Ahmedabad, assembled a large force, with the ostensible design of releasing Canojee, and ejecting Rowjee Appajee from the Baroda ministry.

10. The minister's anxiety to form an intimate alliance with the British Government was thus greatly strengthened. His own resources were inadequate to resist so formidable an opponent as Mulhar Row, and he therefore despatched envoys to Bombay, to call upon that Government to assist him with money and troops, and to conform to the treaty of Salbhye, whereby the Honourable Company bound themselves to protect the just rights of the lawful successors of Futtey Sing Guicowar.

11. It is unnecessary to relate with minuteness the events which followed. It is sufficient to state, that the aid solicited was granted; hostilities ensued between the British force equipped for the occasion and the troops of Mulhar Row, which terminated in his complete subjection, on the 5th May 1802, when he gave up possession of the town and fort of Kurree to Colonel Walker.

12. It is now necessary to refer to the treaties which were about this time entered into between the two Governments. The Governor of Bombay, the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, proceed to Cambay, for the purpose of conferring with Rowjee Appajee; and on the 15th March 1802, a convention was concluded between the parties, whereby the British Government agreed to employ its troops for the reduction of Mulhar Row, on condition that the Guicowar should defray the expenses of their equipment whilst so employed.

13. The minister, however, had another object in view, namely, to obtain the co-operation of the British Government in effecting a reduction of the Arab force maintained at Baroda, who had become far too powerful for him to reduce by the means at his own disposal. By the same convention, therefore, the Guicowar agreed to accept a British subsidiary force, of about 2,000 Sepoys, one company of European artillery, and two companies of Lascars, on condition that it should be employed in effecting the above object. It is important to bear this fact in mind, for, as will hereafter be seen, most of our bhandarry engagements originated in this agreement.

14. Immediately after the reduction of Mulhar Row, another convention, dated the 6th June 1802, was agreed upon by the same parties, which, after confirming that of March preceding, stipulated that the British Government should advance a loan to the Guicowar, to enable him to liquidate the arrears of pay due

due to the Arabs about to be disbanded. This loan amounted to 11,75,000 rupees, and the revenues of certain districts were assigned for its repayment.

15. Although not strictly relevant to the subject under discussion, I cannot forbear from quoting the 5th Article of this agreement, because it may hereafter become necessary to consider the extent to which Government can, in virtue of existing treaties, oblige his Highness the Guicowar to comply with its just demands, and conform to its advice.

"There shall be a true friendship and good understanding between the Honourable East India Company and the state of Anund Row Guicowar, in pursuance of which the Company will grant the said chief its countenance and protection in all his public concerns, according to justice, and as may appear to be for the good of the country, respecting which he is also to listen to advice."

16. On the 29th July 1802, Anund Row Guicowar concluded a treaty with Major Walker, Resident at Baroda, "ratifying and confirming such compacts and agreements as my faithful dewan, Rowjee Appajee, hath, in my name and on my behalf, concluded with the Honourable the Governor of Bombay." In the 10th Article of this Agreement it is stipulated, "In the event of evil-disposed persons attempting anything unfair or unreasonable against my person, my dewan, Rowjee Appajee, his son, his brother, nephews, or relations, and Mahdon Row, Tatia Moojmoondar, or even should I, myself, or my successor, commit anything improper or unjust, the English Government shall interfere, and see in either case that it is settled according to equity and reason."

17. These three conventions were consolidated and confirmed in a "Definitive Treaty of General Defensive Alliance" between the two Governments, dated the 21st April 1805, drawn up in terms consonant to those employed in the Treaty of Bassein, between the Honourable Company and his Highness the Paishwa. (*Vide* Printed Collection of Treaties and Engagements with Native Princes and States in India, page 23.)

18. In the course of the operations against Mulhar Row, it was discovered that that chief had entered into a correspondence with the principal Arab jemadars at Baroda, with the view of enticing them to depose their lawful prince, and to establish Canojee Row on the musnud. This class of mercenaries had exercised a great ascendancy over the Baroda Government for more than 40 years before the British Government established its influence in Gujerat; and at the time I am writing of, their influence and power were so great, that the entire administration of the state was in their hands, and both Anund Row Guicowar and his minister were in continued danger of their lives. They had taken possession of Baroda, Borsud, and other places. They had also occupied the fort of Sunkeira, under the direction of a relation of the Guicowar's, named Gunput Row. Their number did not, however, exceed 1,000 men, besides 900 Hindustani Sepoys attached to them, but they were very formidable, from the positions they occupied, the great influence they possessed in the capital, and from the circumstance of their having gained possession of the person of Anund Row Guicowar, whom they kept under restraint. To add to the difficulties of the British Government, Canojee Row, with the connivance of the Arabs who held him in custody, about this time effected his escape, and rehoisted the standard of rebellion.

19. The British Government having assembled a considerable force at Baroda, negotiation was immediately opened with the Arabs, to obviate the necessity of an appeal to arms. Liberal terms were offered. They were informed that all their just claims would be satisfied, and all arrears of pay due to them liquidated; but in consequence of the treacherous and insubordinate conduct they had been guilty of, it was resolved that they should be no longer permitted to remain in the service of the Guicowar Government.

20. After a protracted negotiation, it became evident that the jemadars had no intention of submitting to these terms; with the consent of the Guicowar, it was therefore determined that the Arabs should be expelled from Baroda by force, and that on this being effected the town should be occupied by British troops. On the 18th December 1802, the town of Baroda was invested by the allied troops. The siege was prosecuted with vigour, and after having sustained a considerable loss, both in officers and men, the breach was reported

practicable. At this crisis the Arabs themselves renewed the negotiation, which terminated in a capitulation, by which they bound themselves to evacuate the fort, to release Anund Row Guicowar, to abstain from all future intercourse with the enemies of his government, and to quit Gujerat, after their arrears of pay, amounting to about 14 lacs of rupees, had been paid, upon condition that the bhandary of the Honourable Company should be substituted for theirs, wherever it had been granted, either to persons or property.

21. In elucidation of the nature of the obligations which thus devolved upon the British Government, I beg to refer to the annexed explanatory statement by Colonel Walker, which I have extracted from the diary of the Bombay Government, of the 2d April 1806. From the three last paragraphs of this document, it will be seen that Colonel Walker regarded the transfer of these engagements to us to be very advantageous, from the great influence which they gave to Government in Guzerat, and more particularly at Baroda.

22. In further illustration of the subject, the following remarks by the late lamented Sir John Malcolm may prove useful:

"The difficulties attending this connexion were inherent in its original formation; we did not obtain our influence and power in Gujerat and over the Court of Baroda, as we had in other cases, by a war or treaty with a sovereign in the enjoyment of authority; we came in as mediators between parties in a country torn by factions, and in which all rule was disorganised. The prince was in a state of imbecility, and a prisoner in the hands of Arab mercenaries, whose strength and influence rested as much upon their giving guarantees of protection to his principal subjects and creditors, as upon their military power. When we expelled them, we not only adopted their guarantees, but also committed ourselves in new pledges to ministers and others, who actually exercised the civil authority of this state, and with whom all our first engagements and treaties were virtually, though not nominally, concluded. These persons stipulated, as they had a right to do, for their personal security, and for a provision suitable to their rank, before they could be induced to promote our objects. Guarantees, similar to those which we gave on these occasions, had for a long time prevailed in Gujerat, and formed a prominent feature of the system of the Government of that country. These guarantees were, on our first establishment, granted on various occasions; and while we continued, as we did until 1820, to exercise a controlling influence over the Guicowar state, no inconvenience was experienced from these engagements; but on the death of Anund Row, whose natural defects had made him a cipher in that state, of which he was the nominal head, when his brother Syajee succeeded, and assumed the direct rule, we began to experience serious embarrassments from our guarantees; and in a very short period, this ill-advised prince violated the conditions of an engagement he had voluntarily entered into, and refused to listen to the advice or remonstrances of the British Government, though bound to do so by express stipulations of the treaty under which he had been seated on the musnud." (Government of India, page 8.)

23. It must not, however, be supposed that the British Government maintained the bhandaree system in force to the same extent as prevailed during the dominion of the Arabs. Our guarantee was for the most part confined to loans raised for the purpose of relieving the Baroda Government from the embarrassments in which it had become involved, in suppressing the disturbances to which I have briefly alluded. The principal exceptions were granted to Rowjee Appajee and his adherents, in return for the aid which they had afforded us in accomplishing our views at Baroda. Some of these are hereditary, and not only extend to person and property, but guarantee the continuance of office to particular families. No one can dispute that, as a system, this is most vicious, for as talent is not hereditary, situations of trust and importance may devolve to persons wholly incompetent for the due performance of their duties. As justly remarked by Sir John Malcolm, no inconvenience was felt from these engagements so long as we continued to control the Baroda administration; but when, in 1819, the imbecile reign of Anund Row Guicowar closed, and he was succeeded by his brother, the present Guicowar, the evils of the system became apparent: I apprehend that in considering these, and in endeavouring to extricate ourselves from them, we have forgotten their origin, and the advantages

vantages which we derived from them, for they ought to be viewed as part of the price which we paid for the valuable and extensive cessions which we obtained, under the treaties negotiated with the Guicowar Government from 1802 to 1805.

24. During the time that I was attached to the Baroda Residency, or from 1819 to 1829, I can only recollect one instance in which the guarantee of the British Government was granted; viz., that given to Bulwunt Row Guicowar, and Pellajee Row Guicowar, two illegitimate sons of Anund Row Guicowar. This sufficiently proves that Government has evinced no desire to encroach upon the rights of the present Guicowar; but when Mr. Elphinston vested that prince with the independent charge of the Government, one of the few restrictions which were imposed upon him, was that "The guarantees of the British Government to ministers and other individuals must be scrupulously observed." —Engagement with Seeajee Row Guicowar, dated 2d April 1820.

25. With regard to the information required in Mr. Secretary Macnaghten's letter of the 5th of December last, I beg to state, that I have no doubt that in all cases where a bhandaree or guarantee has exclusively originated with the British Government, the construction of the Government of India is essentially correct, namely, that a bhanderry is not in its nature hereditary, and does not extend beyond the life of the person guaranteed, unless its continuance to his descendants is expressly provided for. The only doubt I have relates to cases like that of the Dessoy of Nowsaree, where the party is in possession, at the time of the guarantee, of rank and office which are held to be hereditary, in which cases it may be doubtful whether the guarantee ought not to be also presumed hereditary, unless otherwise specified.

26. With respect to the Arab guarantees, it is very difficult, at this distance of time, to ascertain positively what was the practice; but it is highly probable, more particularly as regarded hereditary offices and possessions, that their guarantee did not become null and void by the death of an incumbent; but that, as a matter of course, the same would extend to his successor, for whose protection it would be equally requisite.

27. I am unable to throw much additional light upon the real nature of the guarantee claimed by the Dessoy of Nowsaree. It is entered in two lists of British guarantees, compiled by Colonel Walker. Up to 1828 the Dessoy and his family were always considered as under the protection of the Company. When the present Guicowar commenced oppressing them, the guarantee was immediately recognised; first, by Sir John Malcolm's Government; second, by Lord Clare's Government; and lastly, by the Honourable Court of Directors. Under such circumstances, admitting a doubt to exist of the real nature of the guarantee when it was originally granted, the party entrusted may be considered to have gained a prescriptive title to our protection, and I feel confident it will not escape the attention of superior authority, what will be the consequences to the family if their claim to such protection is now negatived. Their hopes and expectations have been strongly excited by repeated decisions in their favour, and having incurred, beyond the chance of reconciliation, the anger and resentment of their prince for having claimed our protection, their entire ruin must inevitably follow the declaration of our intention not to afford it.

28. In conclusion, I beg to apologize for the delay which has occurred in replying to this reference, which has been occasioned partly from a constant pressure of business, and partly from delays in obtaining information from the Record-office.

(signed) *J. P. Willoughby*,
Political Secretary.

Poona, 4 August 1837.

Bhanderry is a word of Sanscrit derivation, from bahee, a hand, in Sanscrit, and dherda, to place, to seize. The term itself is applied to an engagement of an extrordinary nature that prevails in, and is apparently peculiar to, the provir ce of Guzerat.

2. It may be difficult to give an English term sufficiently expressive of the word bhanderry, but guarantee seems to approach very near it.

3. The use of this security is very extensive in Guzerat; it pervades every department and measure in the official duties of its Government, and continues in a chain downwards throughout their subjects, in all their transactions of any consequence.

4. No cooley will leave his village without the bhanderry of some person on whom he can rely; and it is sometimes exacted from the chief of a place by individuals before they venture to take up their residence.

5. A bhanderry is either personal or for property; as it relates to the former it partakes of the nature of a safe-conduct, and as it regards the latter is a species of security.

6. As it affects the acts of Government, it may be considered the result of weakness, originating in experience of repeated breach of faith, or an apprehension of inability to perform engagements.

7. It also exhibits a want of confidence in the party requiring the bhanderry.

8. The difficulty of reconciling this term with the meaning of the English word guarantee, arises from the bhanderry to the acts of Government being given by people in the situation of subjects; and it is not easy, in our European ideas, to conceive the power by which the person giving the bhanderry in a Government, apparently despotic, is enabled to control it, and enforce an observance of its engagements; it may be useful, therefore, to investigate the power which the guarantee possesses.

9. As far as the bhanderry relates to the due payment of money, the person giving it is thereby invested with the power of enforcing payment. It is his duty to prevent the funds intended for this purpose being otherwise appropriated; the creditor must suffer with patience those temporary misfortunes known by the name of sultaney asmaney, which his guarantee has not the power to control; but in the strict interpretation of this extraordinary engagement, he is responsible to the utmost exertion of his means to cause due redress to be afforded to the party in whose favour the bhanderry is given, in the event of the funds being destroyed.

10. Should the funds assigned be misapplied or infringed on by the party making the assignment, the person who guarantees the engagement proceeds from remonstrance to every means in his power to enforce its observance; he cannot, however, be required to use more than those means, nor is he answerable for any loss that may arise, should his means, fairly exerted, prove deficient.

11. The breach in the engagement by the Government absolves him from his duty as a subject, as far as relates to the performance of the duty of the bhanderry, and violence would be justifiable in obtaining the ends of justice. The Arabs presented many instances of this nature, when, to enforce their bhanderries, they filled the durbars of the Rajah and the minister, and held their persons in a vigorous confinement.

12. If the person giving the bhanderry should be removed to a situation where his influence cannot be exercised, he demands a release from his obligation; it then becomes the duty of the Government to provide for this circumstance, by giving another bhanderry, sufficiently satisfactory, to the party receiving it.

13. It is not usual, however, to demand a release from this engagement without some extreme cause, as the responsibility is little, from the care taken to ensure the appropriation of adequate funds, and as it gives a considerable degree of consequence to the party who gives his bhanderry, it is a desirable engagement. Were any leading man (and the observation will be more applicable to the Company) to withdraw his bhanderry without some extreme cause, some serious apprehensions would be excited, and public confidence endangered.

14. Generally speaking, and considering the extensive power conferred by giving a bhanderry, which necessarily implies a power of enforcing a due performance of the obligation, and the control acquired thereby in many important

portant affairs of the Government, it may rather be considered as a beneficial engagement, and the risk must be trifling, as, generally, adequate funds are provided for its liquidation.

15. This last circumstance is what distinguishes the personal from that bhanderry which relates to property.

16. Although the circumstances first stated may be the strict interpretation of the engagement, yet, in ordinary language, it is nothing more than a declaration of a person of credit of the degree of confidence which he himself places on the engagement entered into. As it relates to money, it is an assurance of solvency, united with a power to prevent abuse, and may be compared to the associations which are occasionally made among English merchants to receive the notes of the bank, and thereby quieting the apprehensions of those who are alarmed at a scarcity of specie; khater jumma and khater tusli being almost synonymous with bhanderry.

17. In fact, a bhanderry is very seldom or never broken. It is the support of a weak government, and a breach would threaten a dissolution of it.

18. From what has been said, the bhanderry will be found to have many advantages.

19. In the case of the substitution of the Company's for the Arab bhanderry, the Honourable Company became possessed of a very extensive influence, and at the same time deprived the Guicowar Sirdars of a powerful means by which they derived a right of controlling their Government.

20. It would not, however, be politic to reduce the value of this security by too easy or too general a use; neither would it be advisable to render it so difficult of attainment as to cause the Government to have recourse to their own officers. By a middle course the Honourable Company will preserve their influence in the country, with the credit of the Government unimpaired.

21. It also affords another mode of extending the Company's influence, for as the bhanderry on their side is perfectly disinterested and gratuitous, it must be considered as an act of condescension and favour, and establishes a connexion with the monied men, which the Company have reaped much benefit from in their pecuniary transactions in Baroda.

(signed) *A. Walker,* Resident.

(No. 4,384.)

MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor.

THE pending discussions with the Guicowar being in several instances connected with the general question as to the nature and effect of bhandarees, I think this an useful and interesting paper, though it does not decisively determine the point referred to us by the Government of India.

2. It certainly never was my idea that a bhandaree was hereditary as a matter of course; and, though some want of explicitness on this point in my minute of 22d June 1836, and in our letter to the Government of India of 24th October, which was drafted from that minute, has unfortunately led to the conclusion that we ascribed to a bhandaree that character, yet it will be observed, that both the minute and letter in question particularly and prominently refer to Mr. Chief Secretary Norris's memorandum of the 18th September 1835, as an authentic exposition of the facts of the case; and that, in that memorandum, it is more than once implied to be a matter of discussion, from the want of words of inheritance in Govind Rao Guicowar's letter of 1793, referring to the Company's bhandaree given to the Dessoy of Nowsaree, whether that bhandaree was or was not hereditary.

3. The same thing may be said of Mr. Williams' letter of 4th January 1835, a copy of which was also, I conceive, sent to the Government of India. I allude especially to paragraph 6 of that letter, in which Mr. Williams, though he does not absolutely decide the point, intimates it to be his own opinion that the guarantee was meant to be hereditary. This is clearly also the impression of Mr. Norris, throughout his memorandum, and his authority is considerable.

 4. With

4. With regard to the evidence on the subject, it must be recollected that the original bhandrey, granted by Futty Sing Guicowar, who died in December 1789, is not forthcoming. The subsequent letter of guarantee or bhandary from Govind Rao Guicowar, which bears date in October 1793, recognises, and thus confirms, but does not quote the former bhandary; and, though it gives assurance of safety to the Dessoy and his "family," does not contain any decided words of inheritance.

5. Under these circumstances, it becomes material to ascertain the construction which has been put on the bhandaree or bhandarees given to this family; and on this head the utmost deference is due to the statement of Colonel Walker, who, in an official return to Government of the year 1808, referring to the second bhandary, states it to be "a continual bhandary." At the period when this statement bears date, many persons were alive at Baroda to whom all the circumstances of the original bhandrey must have been well known. That Colonel Walker had the best opportunity, therefore, of learning the true facts, cannot be doubted, and the known accuracy of that officer vouches for his having made the best use of the means within his reach.

Appendix II. & IV., Mr. Norris's Report.

6. The next evidence is that of Mr. Williams, who, speaking of this bhandary in a list of "all bhandaree engagements, from the commencement of 1801 to the end of 1826," which list he sent to Government in May 1827, states as follows: "The family still claim and enjoy protection in virtue of the engagement;" and again, "The guarantee, to the extent specified, is considered to be enjoyed by the son of Muncherjee (the original grantee), who generally resides at Baroda."

Appendix I. to Mr. Norris's Report.

7. This report from Mr. Williams is the more remarkable, from this circumstance, that, having mistakenly read (as Mr. Norris clearly shows) the statement of Colonel Walker, already mentioned, he had supposed that officer to assert that the bhandary referred to had already been "discharged and cancelled;" and it is in order to disprove such fancied statement of Colonel Walker's that Mr. Williams brings forward the conclusive fact, that at the period of his writing, 40 years at least after the grant of the original bhandary, and 33 years after the grant had been confirmed to the original grantee and his family, the son of the original grantee, who had survived his father, was living under the acknowledged protection of the grant at the Guicowar's capital.

8. There is no evidence that the validity of the grant was ever disputed till 1828, and even then it was not disputed on the ground of its not having been hereditary. It was disputed, however, on other grounds; but, on being apprised of this fact, the Bombay Government immediately acknowledged the guarantee, and gave a written certificate of such acknowledgment to the person actually claiming the benefit of the grant.

Mr. Norris's Report, para. 5.

9. In February 1830, Major Barnewall, the Acting Resident at Baroda, forwarding to Government a list of bhandaries, enters that of the Dessoy of Nowsaree as "hereditary," and in December in the same year, Mr. Erskine, the Assistant Political Commissioner in Guzerat, acting under the orders of Government, solemnly renewed to the actual Dessoy that written acknowledgment of his bhandary which he had before received.

Ditto, para. 10.

Ditto, para. 15.

10. The bhandary in question was, 1832, again recognised by Lord Clare, acting personally as the organ of the British Government, by being entered in a list of bhandaries delivered by his Lordship to the Guicowar on the 30th March; and the claims in that list the Guicowar promised to settle within a year.

Ditto, para. 19.

11. All this time, it will be observed, it was never denied by the Baroda Government that a bhandary existed, and that the son of the original grantee, the father being dead, was entitled to the benefit of it. The chief question that had been raised was, whether those possessions of the person on which the Guicowar had encroached, were included within the bhandary; a question which impliedly admitted the bhandary to be still in force, or, in other words, to be hereditary. It was not till May 1834, 40 years after the grant from Govind Row, and probably 50 after that of Futty Sing, that the bhandary was totally denied,

Ditto, para. 30.

denied, one of the arguments being, that the alleged confirmation by Govind Row wanted words of inheritance.

12. The continued enjoyment of the bhandary as a hereditary privilege, through so long a period, by the grantee and his family, and the uniform recognition of it during the whole of that period by both the Governments concerned, appears to me to constitute such an argument as it would be difficult to resist, even if the language and purport of Govind Rao's letter in respect to the question of hereditary or not hereditary were altogether equivocal and inconclusive. But I do not think that the letter in question can be so described; for it expressly extends the protection to the family of the grantee, and this with reference to property which was by its very tenure hereditary.

13. The consideration last noticed has, I think, much weight; and I should think so, even if the instrument in question had never mentioned the family of the grantee. Mr. Willoughby alludes to this argument in his 25th paragraph, but states it more doubtfully than I should be inclined to do. The claimant himself, perhaps, overstates it in his petition of the 29th December 1824, when he says that words of inheritance are in no way requisite in the bhandaree of a zamindar. It seems to me that the use of such words makes the intent clearer; but, even without them, it strikes me that the more natural construction is to read the grant as hereditary, more especially when the word "family" is inserted; and if the enjoyment has, as in the present case, been conformable to such construction, I do not see how any other interpretation can be sustained.

14. Should the Board be pleased to concur in these remarks, they might, together with a copy of Mr. Willoughby's memorandum, be transmitted to the Government of India, as a sketch of the grounds on which we have represented the bhandary under consideration as hereditary, while, at the same time, we are far from regarding all bhandarees as entitled to that character.

15. There is one observation which I cannot help adding, founded on the fact of the wutun itself in this case being clearly hereditary, whatever may be thought of the guarantee. It is this, that by holding the guarantee hereditary, no injustice can, on any supposition, be done. Where a property is bestowed on an individual by words which denote only a life grant, then the addition of a hereditary guarantee would extend the gift beyond the original purpose, and therefore in such a case the instrument of guarantee, if doubtful on the face of it, ought not lightly to be construed as hereditary; but where the property is clearly hereditary, the guarantee at the most does no more than ensure its devolution in the manner originally intended.

(signed) *R. Grant.*

8 September 1837.

(No. 4,385.)

From the Chief Secretary to Government of *Bombay* to the Secretary to the Government of *India*.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of the 5th December last, acknowledging the receipt of my communication, dated the 24th of October preceding, with its accompaniments, being extracts from Proceedings in Case No. 5 of the Dessoy of Nowsaree, relative to the violation by his Highness the Guicowar of a guarantee granted to him, and requesting information as to the sense in which a bhandaree is understood under the Bombay Presidency, I am directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to state as follows:—

2. It never was the idea of this Government that a bhandaree was hereditary as a matter of course, and, though some want of explicitness on this point in the Right honourable the Governor's minute of 22d June 1836, and in my letter to your address of the 24th October following, which was drafted from that minute, has unfortunately led to the conclusion that this Government ascribed to a bhandaree that character, yet it will be observed that both the minute and letter in question particularly and prominently refer to Mr. Chief Secretary Norris's memorandum of the 18th September 1835, as an authentic exposition

of the facts of the case, and that in that memorandum it is more than once implied to be a matter of discussion, from the want of words of inheritance in Govind Rao Guicowar's letter of 1793, referring to the Company's bhandaree given to the Dessoy of Nowsaree, whether that bhandaree was or was not hereditary.

3. The same thing may be said of Mr. Williams's letter of the 6th January 1835, a copy of which was also forwarded to the Government of India, with my letter of the 24th October last, and you are requested to draw the particular attention of the Right honourable the Governor-general of India in Council to the 6th paragraph of that letter, in which Mr. Williams, though he does not absolutely decide the point, intimates it to be his own opinion that the guarantee was meant to be hereditary. This is clearly also the impression of Mr. Norris throughout his memorandum, and his authority may be considered as valuable.

4. With regard to the evidence on the subject, it must be recollected that the original bhandaree, granted by Futty Sing Guicowar, who died in December 1789, is not forthcoming. The subsequent letter of guarantee or bhandaree from Govind Rao Guicowar, which bears date in October 1793, recognises, and thus confirms, but does not quote the former bhandaree, and though it gives assurance of safety to the Dessoy and his "family," does not contain any decided words of inheritance.

5. Under these circumstances, it becomes material to ascertain the construction which has been put on the bhandaree or bhandarees given to this family; and on this head the Governor in Council thinks the utmost deference is due to the statement of Colonel Walker, who, in an official return to Government of the year 1808, referring to the second bhandaree, states it to be "a continual bhandaree;" and I am desired to observe, that at the period when this statement bears date, many persons were alive at Baroda to whom all the circumstances of the original bhandaree must have been well known. That Colonel Walker had the best opportunity therefore of learning the true facts cannot in the opinion of this Government be doubted, and the known accuracy of that officer vouches for his having made the best use of the means within his reach.

Appendix II. & IV. Mr. Norris's Report.

6. The next evidence, I am instructed to state, is that of Mr. Williams, who, speaking of this bhandaree in a list of "all bhandaree engagements from the commencement of 1801 to the end of 1826," which list he submitted to Government in May 1827, states as follows: "The family still claim and enjoy protection in virtue of the engagement;" and again, "The guarantee, to the extent specified, is considered to be enjoyed by the son of Muncherjee, the original grantee, who generally resides at Baroda."

Appendix I. to Mr. Norris's Report.

7. This report from Mr. Williams is, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, the more remarkable, from this circumstance, that having mistakenly read (as Mr. Norris clearly shows) the statement of Colonel Walker, already mentioned, he had supposed that officer to assert that the bhandaree referred to had already been "discharged and cancelled;" and it is in order to disprove such fancied statement of Colonel Walker's that Mr. Williams brings forward the conclusive fact, that at the period of his writing, 40 years at least after the grant of the original bhandaree, and 33 years after the grant had been confirmed to the original grantee and his family, the son of the original grantee, who had survived his father, was living under the acknowledged protection of the grant at the Guicowar's capital.

8. There is, the Governor in Council desires me to remark, no evidence that the validity of the grant was ever disputed till 1828; and even then it was not disputed on the ground of its not having been hereditary. It was disputed, however, on other grounds; but on being apprised of this fact, the Bombay Government immediately acknowledged the guarantee, and gave a written certificate of such acknowledgment to the person actually claiming the benefit of the grant.

Mr. Norris's Report, para. 5.

Ditto, para. 10.

9. In February 1830, Major Barnewall, the Acting Resident at Baroda, forwarding to Government a list of bhandarees, enters that of the Dessoy of Nowsaree as "hereditary," and in December in the same year, Mr. Erskine, the

Ditto, para. 15.

the Assistant Political Commissioner in Guzerat, acting under the orders of Government, solemnly renewed to the actual Dessoy that written acknowledgment of his bhandaree which he had before received.

10. The bhandaree in question was in 1832 again recognised by Lord Clare, acting personally as the organ of the British Government, by being entered in a list of bhandarees delivered by his Lordship to the Guicowar on the 30th of March, and the claims in that list the Guicowar promised to settle within a year. Mr. Norris's Report, para. 19.

11. All this time, it will be observed, it was never denied by the Baroda Government that a bhandaree existed, and that the son of the original grantee, the father being dead, was entitled to the benefit of it. The chief question that had been raised, was whether those possessions of this person on which the Guicowar had encroached were included with in the bhandaree; a question which, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, impliedly admitted the bhandaree to be still in force, or in other words, to be hereditary. It was not till May 1834, 40 years after the grant from Govind Rao, and probably 50 after that of Futty Sing, that the bhandaree was totally denied, one of the arguments being, that the alleged confirmation by Govind Rao wanted words of inheritance. Ditto, para. 30.

12. The continued enjoyment of the bhandaree, as a hereditary privilege, through so long a period by the grantee and his family, and the uniform recognition of it during the whole of that period by both the Governments concerned, appear to the Governor in Council to constitute such an argument as it would be difficult to resist, even if the language and purport of Govind Rao's letter in respect to the question of hereditary or not hereditary were altogether equivocal and inconclusive; but the Governor in Council does not think that the letter in question can be so described, for it expressly extends the protection to the family of the grantee, and this with reference to property which was by its very tenure hereditary.

13. The consideration last noticed has, the Governor in Council thinks, much weight; and I am desired to add, that he would think so, even if the instrument in question had never mentioned the family of the grantee. In the 25th para. of the accompanying copy of a memorandum by Mr. Willoughby, the Political Secretary, dated the 4th August last, he alludes to this argument, but states it more doubtfully than the Governor in Council would be inclined to do. The claimant himself, perhaps, overstates it in his petition of the 29th December 1824, when he says that words of inheritance are in no way requisite in the bhandaree of a zemindar. It seems to the Governor in Council that the use of such words makes the intent clearer; but, even without them, it strikes him that the more natural construction is to read the grant as hereditary, more especially when the word "family" is inserted; and if the enjoyment has, as in the present case, been conformable to such construction, he does not see how any other interpretation can be sustained.

14. There is one more observation which the Governor in Council directs me to add, founded on the fact of the wutun itself in this case being clearly hereditary, whatever may be thought of the guarantee. It is this, that by holding the guarantee hereditary, no injustice can on any supposition be done. Where a property is bestowed on an individual by words which denote only a life grant, then the addition of a hereditary guarantee would extend the gift beyond the original purpose, and, therefore, in such a case, the instrument of guarantee, if doubtful on the face of it, ought not, in the opinion of this Government, lightly to be construed as hereditary; but, where the property is clearly hereditary, the guarantee, at the most, does no more than ensure its devolution in the manner originally intended.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Wathen,*
Chief Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle, 3 October 1837.

(True extract.)
(signed) *J. P. Willoughby,*
Secretary to Government.

(No. 5,464.)

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, 29 November 1837.

From the Secretary to the Government of *India* to the Chief Secretary to Government, *Bombay*.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right honourable the Governor-general of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 3d instant, submitting, with reference to my letter of 5th December last, regarding the case No. 5 of the Dessoy of Nowsaree, information as to the sense in which a bhandaree is understood under the Bombay Presidency.

2. In reply, I am desired to acquaint you that, after a full consideration of the whole of the circumstances connected with this case, the Governor-general in Council concurs in the opinion expressed in the 12th paragraph of your letter, to the effect that the continued enjoyment of the bhandaree, as a hereditary privilege, through so long a period by the grantee and his family, and the uniform recognition of it during the whole of that period by both the Governments concerned, appears to constitute such an argument as it would be difficult to resist; and I am directed therefore to request that the necessary measures may be taken for securing to the Dessoy of Nowsaree the full benefits of the guarantee to which he is entitled.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. H. Macnaghten*,
Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William,
20 October 1837.

(No. 5,465.)

MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by Mr. *Farish*, without date.

COPY of this letter should be sent to Mr. Malet, with a request that he will intimate the decision of the Government of India in this case to the Guicowar, and inform him distinctly that it is final.

A period of one month should be given to his Highness in which to restore the Dessoy's rights, after which we must adopt the measures necessary to ensure restitution.

The Dessoy should be informed of these orders.

(signed) *R. Grant.*

(No. 5,466.)

From the Secretary to Government of *Bombay* to the First Assistant Political Commissioner for *Guzerat*.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to transmit to you the accompanying copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, dated the 20th ultimo, conveying the instructions of his Lordship in Council in the case of the Dessoy of Nowsaree, and to request that you will intimate the decision of the Government of India to his Highness the Guicowar, and inform him distinctly that it is final.

2. In communicating to you the above orders, the Governor in Council instructs me to state, that a period of one month is to be allowed to his Highness, within which he must restore the Dessoy's rights; on the expiration of this period, should his Highness have failed to do so, Government will be reluctantly compelled to adopt measures to enforce restitution.

3. A communication to the above effect has been made to the Dessoy of Nowsaree.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. P. Willoughby*,
Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle,
25 November 1837.

(No. 5,467.)

From the Secretary to Government of *Bombay* to *Temooljee Jamsetjee.*

WITH reference to Mr. Chief Secretary Wathen's letter, dated the 16th September last, I am directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to acquaint you, that the Government of India, after a full consideration of the whole of the circumstances connected with your case, has directed that the necessary measures be adopted for securing to you the full benefits of the guarantee of the British Government, to which you are considered entitled.

2. I am further directed to refer you to the First Assistant Political Commissioner in charge at Baroda, to whom instructions to carry the above orders into effect have been issued.

By order, &c.
(signed) *J. P. Willoughby,*
Secretary to Government.

Bombay Castle,
25 November 1837.

(True extract.)
(signed) *J. P. Willoughby,*
Secretary to Government.

EXTRACT Letter from Lieutenant-colonel *J. Outram*, C.B., Resident at Baroda, to *Arthur Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 31st August (No. 209) 1848.

Extract Bombay Political Cons., December 1848, No. 10,432.

7. A PERUSAL of the examination of Hurree Bughtee's goomashta, on the 26th instant, and of Baba Nafra, subsequently (marked C.), in addition to what is stated above, will, I think, leave no doubt on the mind of the Right honourable the Governor in Council of the dishonesty of that firm in this transaction, and I hope, therefore, that, although the amount which is justly due to it must be gradually discharged by the instalments annually deducted from Govindrow's income, his Lordship will deem it just and politic to visit the firm with the only mark of displeasure which it is in the power of Government to inflict for the gross attempt to defraud a chief living under the protection of the British Government, by withdrawing our guarantee, which it has enjoyed since 1809. To this measure I can see no reasonable objection, the pecuniary conditions, in consideration of which the guarantee was originally granted having long since been fulfilled, although the generous protection of the British Government, which the firm has enjoyed therefrom for 40 years, has been thus shamefully repaid.

8. The following is the condition of the guarantee:—"In pursuance of the verbal assurance given by me on the 5th August 1809, and the authority of Government on the 23d of the same month, the family of the deceased (Hurree Bhugtee) shall be preserved in their rights and privileges, residence in the Guickwar territories, subject to their own merits. Baroda, 17th March 1820. (signed) *J. R. Carnac*, Assistant Resident." Which guarantee, therefore, as "subject to the merits" of the party holding it, it is now in the power of Government justly to revoke, for the family (by which is understood not merely the widows and children of the late Sowkar, but also his banking firm, which they carry on in his name), by dishonesty in their pecuniary transactions through their managing partner and representative, Baba Nafra, has fairly forfeited the protection which, under that stipulation, they were only entitled to so long as their conduct continued to merit it. The family and its firm, therefore, should now be told to look solely to their own sovereign for the protection which they could not, as Guikwar subjects, otherwise claim from the British Government.

9. I am as strongly impressed with the policy as with the justice of such a manifestation of displeasure on the part of the British Government at the disgraceful conduct of this firm, because in consequence of no example of the sort having ever yet been inflicted on any one of the many Guikwar subjects who

who are similarly supported by the British against their own Government; the "bhandries," as they are called, seem to the public, and appear to think so themselves, to enjoy an immunity from all law. When complained against to their own sovereign, he is powerless to enforce justice, because they are under British protection, while, at the same time, the British Government has apparently no power effectually to punish them (so far as has yet been proved, for the revocation of the guarantee (bandree), the only punishment that could be inflicted, has never heretofore been resorted to). I beg leave respectfully to submit my opinion, moreover, that considering the origin of these bhandries, and that the pecuniary obligations out of which they arose have so long been discharged, every occasion, such as this, wherein the guarantee is justly forfeited by fraudulent and criminal acts, should be taken advantage of to annul the engagement, and thus gradually may be decreased the unnatural control over subjects of a so-called independent prince, and the obnoxious petty interference with this Durbar, which the British Government is so frequently called upon to exercise in consequence of these guarantees, from which arose all the vexatious opposition of the late Guikwar to every measure proposed by us for the good of the country, however beneficial to his own subjects, and which, so long as they exist, must ever be a bar to that good-will and thorough cordiality on the part of the Durbar which is so essential to the welfare of Guzerat generally. Thus the subjects of both Governments sometimes suffer, and general interests are sacrificed, from upholding these troublesome ties with a few individuals. I trust I may not be mistaken as advocating the slightest departure from good faith towards any person holding our guarantee, however inconvenient or disadvantageous its maintenance may be. I mean to express that where, as in this instance, the other party virtually frees us by his misconduct from an engagement resting on his merit alone, we should avail ourselves of the opportunity to annul the guarantee which he holds.

10. Of all the guaranteed Sowkar firms of Baroda, that of Hurree Bhugtee is least entitled to any consideration from Government, having been convicted on former occasions of great misconduct, which heretofore has passed with impunity, to some instances of which I beg to draw the attention of the Honourable Board. In A.D. 1837, the Assistant Resident in charge had occasion to expose a conspiracy between Hurry Bhugtee's firm, through its agent, Baba Nafra, and certain members of this establishment, to defraud and ruin Gorajee Pole, a guaranteed chief. In reply, the secretary to Government remarked, "Mr. Malet states that the settlement was obtained through a conspiracy of influential members of the establishment with the other party, Baba Nafra; and the facts detailed in his report go far to prove the allegation." After further investigation of this case, the Political Commissioner, the Honourable Mr. Sutherland, recorded his opinion, "That there was unfair play, and unjustifiable conduct on the part of Baba Nafra, and his abettor, the Guickwar, there can be no doubt." On the same occasion, the Assistant Resident in charge complained of the obstructions which Baba Nafra interposed to his investigation of the frauds against Gorajee Pole, by refusing to produce the books of the firm. Afterwards, on investigating other cases of bribery, having reason to know that the same books would prove that large bribes had been given, during some years previous, to members of the Residency establishment, the Acting Resident gave the choice to the firm of either producing their books (which he proved they had no scruple to do before the Durbar), or forfeiting their guarantee. This penalty they preferred risking to the worse consequences which they well knew would result from the certain exposure which must have followed, of enormous corruption effected through their agency. The penalty was not at that time enforced, however, on the following ground: "With regard to the production of chopras, or account books, it is not conceived that Government have power to enforce the course pursued by Mr. Malet, against the Guickwar's will, though by refusing to aid the inquiry, a suspicion is created that his Highness is anxious that the truth shall not be elicited." Your report here referred to leaves no moral doubt of this firm having been the medium through which the corruption of the Residency establishment had been effected, by bribery, for many years previous; and it appears to me that, according to the terms of the guarantee, being subject to the "merits" of the holder, Government might justly have enforced the penalty which was then held out as the consequence of

Letter to Government, dated 15 Dec. 1837, No. 893.

Letter, dated 27 March 1838, No. 568.

Report, dated 31 May 1838, No. 565.

Letter, dated 22 Nov. 1837, No. 335.

Letter, dated 18 January 1838, No. 104.

of refusing to produce their books, which must at once have legally proved the fact, and brought the guilty servants of Government to justice. The firm escaped with impunity at that time, owing to the doubts which Government entertained as to the legality of the demand for the production of these books; and I have reason to believe that the evil practice has continued unchecked consequently, and that it will be continued, unless the same penalty be now inflicted which you deemed the firm deserving of ten years ago; for such an example is the only thing likely to put a stop to it.

EXTRACT Minute by Lord *Falkland*, dated 20 November 1848.

9. MIXED up with this question is the behavour of the firm of Hurree Bhugtee, who have advanced a claim on the bonds I have above considered, to a sum amounting to *Rs.* 3,03,130. 9. 9., the amount I consider now due, sufficiently marks the view I take of the transaction; and I am much disposed to adopt Colonel Outram's recommendation to cancel the guarantee formerly extended to the firm; but on the whole of the question I should wish to be favoured with the opinion of my colleagues.

(No. 10,434.)

EXTRACT Minute by the Honourable Mr. *Reid*, dated 24 November 1848.

13. I QUITE concur with the expediency of withdrawing our bhandarees, wherever their duration depends on the conduct of the parties holding them, and when that conduct shall be such as to justify our adopting this extreme measure; but I cannot think that the mere demand of a debt, however exorbitant, is a sufficient breach of good conduct. The firm is not without some grounds for all its demands. We may not admit them, but we have no right to punish it for having advanced them. There have been no forgeries, no denials of payments made to the firm, and no frauds, if we except the abstraction of the correspondence from the Residency records, for which, in the absence of all proof, we have no right to make the firm responsible. Commercial morality is, I fear, not at so high a standard among our countrymen in India that we could with any reason visit so severely the offence committed by a native banker, of trying to exact from his creditor every pie which he thinks might be screwed out of him by the wildest interpretation of his bonds.

14. In this case, I would entirely abandon the idea of interfering with the bhandaree.

(No. 10,437.)

EXTRACT Minute by the Honourable Mr. *Willoughby*, dated 2 December 1848.

7. THEIR conduct on the occasion is certainly not free from blame and reproach; but I entirely coincide in opinion with Mr. Reid, "that the mere demand of a debt, however exorbitant, is not a sufficient breach of good conduct" to justify the extreme measure of cancelling the bhandaree or guarantee of protection granted to the firm in 1809.

(No. 10,438.)

EXTRACT Minute by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Messrs. *Reid* and *Willoughby*, dated 5 December 1848.

As my colleagues concur in opinion that there is nothing in this case which ought to induce us to deprive Hurree Bhaugtee of the advantage of the Government guarantee, I defer to their opinion."

EXTRACT Minute by the Honourable Mr. *Willoughby*, dated 20 February 1849.

* Case of Bulwunt Row Guicowar.

6. I CANNOT abstain on this occasion * from expressing my regret at observing how lightly the Baroda guarantees are regarded by the local political authorities of the present day, for this is the fourth instance, within a very short space of time, in which their annulment has been recommended; at all events, in three out of the four, on the most inadequate and untenable grounds; Captain French, in one of his late reports, going so far as to state that they impede the advancement of civilisation at Baroda. The sooner he banishes from his mind a crotchet of this nature the better.

7. On a former occasion I recorded my opinion regarding these embarrassing engagements, and adverted to the peculiar circumstances under which they were contracted. They form part and parcel of our original alliance with the Baroda state, and I should as soon think of cancelling any articles of our treaties, because in operation they were found inconvenient, as I should think of annulling, without sufficient cause, these engagements, because in the present day they are productive of embarrassment. No one can be more sensible than myself of the evils and inconvenience which have resulted from them, for I experienced them personally in former years, when attached to the Baroda Residency, during the violent struggles made by the late Guicowar to emancipate himself from the control their existence required, and which he not unnaturally felt irksome. But I have always contended that, although some evil has resulted from these guarantees, we are bound to uphold them to the utmost of our power, unless we are prepared to relinquish the valuable consideration for which they were exacted; that is to say, our richest and most fertile possessions in Gujerat.

8. Our political officers at Baroda should be reminded that our connexion with the Guicowar state was formed during the reign of a prince, himself incompetent, through ministers, bankers, and Arab jemindars, who in return for the aid and support they afforded us, demanded and received these troublesome guarantees of person and property for themselves and families in perpetuity, and it must not be imagined that Amud Row's successors can with reason complain of this or any other condition of the alliance; for had we not opportunely interfered at the precise period we did, there is every reason to believe that their inheritance would have passed into other hands; probably into those of Mulhur Row Guicowar, whom we afterwards subdued. The administration of Baroda, in fact, at the beginning of the present century, was entirely under the control of a turbulent body of Arab mercenaries, ready to sell their services to the highest bidder, whom we likewise expelled from power, one of the conditions on which they capitulated being, that various guarantees, to which they were a party, should be transferred to, and upheld by, the Honourable Company.

For further information regarding the origin and nature of these guarantees, and the obligation we are under to uphold them, I would refer the Board to an elaborate and able minute recorded by the late Sir John Malcolm, when he presided over the administration of this Presidency.

9. In the present day we merely see and feel the inconveniences arising from these pledges, as rendering necessary occasional interference between a sovereign and his subjects. If, however, we desire to maintain our character for good faith, we must maintain these, and resist every attempt to violate them, though of course we should extinguish them whenever we can honestly do so; for instance, by the perfectly legitimate mode of declining to perpetuate them by adoption, and by which, in fact, the number of guarantees still remaining in force has within the last few years been considerably reduced.

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Reid*, concurred in by the Members of the Board.

I CONCUR, and think it would be well to communicate to Captain French the purport of the 6th and 9th paras. of Mr. Willoughby's minute.

(signed) *L. R. Reid.*
Falkland.
W. Cotton.
22 February 1849. *J. P. Willoughby.*

EXTRACT Letter from Captain *P. T. French*, Acting Resident at Baroda, to *Arthur Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, dated 19 May (No. 128) 1849.

10. I WILL not, I trust, be considered as about again to offend, by questioning in this despatch the general subject of guarantees. I tried to act with "unflinching honesty" towards my Government, this Durbar, and myself, and quoted the words of the above given despatch regarding these "anomalies which have already caused so much evil to the Guicowar's state, and embarrassment to us," but my views met with the disapprobation of Government, and I submit to the penalty. Yet as the Resident is expected to make the "most unreserved communications," I would beseech a full consideration of the whole subject, on the basis laid down in the Court's despatch,* just quoted, or on any other. In my opinion, the interpretation put on the word "bhandaree" is not that of the soil, and did I give the words of the first Mahomedan at this court of the use for which guarantees may be held, Government would see how little our honourable intent of vindicating the pledge was appreciated; and of the vexation and annoyance these pledges have already caused, I need make no mention.

EXTRACT from a Resolution on Paragraphs 8 to 11, from a Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated 14 March (No. 13) of 1849.

THESE paragraphs (8 and 11) should be communicated to the Officiating Resident at Baroda, with instructions to report whether he has reasons, beyond those noticed by Colonel Outram, to believe that, as surmised by that officer, a forged bond was substituted by the firm of Hurree Bhugtee, for the sum of 9,000 rupees in the place of the original bond for 9,001 rupees, the wording and character of the original bond being changed in the alleged fabricated document, and if so, whether any circumstances beyond those mentioned by Lieutenant-colonel Outram can be adduced in substantiation of that opinion.

Lieutenant-colonel Outram was in error in the opinion entertained that persons holding the British guarantee, possessed in virtue thereof an immunity from punishment; such a doctrine has never been set forth by Government, nor entertained by holders of the guarantee. In fact, had Lieutenant-colonel Outram been acquainted with the records of his office, he would not have entertained such a sentiment, since the punishment inflicted some years since upon Bhasker Rao Wittal, who, with the concurrence of both Governments, was compelled to pay a fine of 70,000 rupees for cruelty to one of his dependents, was a proof to all holders of the British guarantee that they are amenable to punishment on offences being substantiated against them. Government has always considered that parties holding the guarantee are liable to punishment on proof of sufficient misconduct.

No. 2,262, of 1849.—Political Department.

(No. 4,340.)

From *A. Malet*, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Captain *P. T. French*, Acting Resident at Baroda.

Sir,

WITH reference to Lieutenant-colonel Outram's letter, dated the 31st August last, No. 209, and the reply of Government, dated the 15th December following, No. 5,249, relative to the pecuniary claims of the firm of Hurree Bhugtee against Govind Rao Guckwar, I am directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to transmit to you an extract, paras. 8 and 11, from a despatch from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated the 14th March, No. 13, of 1849, and to request that you will report whether you are aware of any grounds beyond those mentioned by Lieutenant-colonel Outram, for believing that a forged bond was substituted by the firm of Hurree Bugtee for the sum of 9,000 rupees, in the place of the original bond for 9,001 rupees, the wording and character of the original bond being changed in the alleged fabricated document.

9,000 rupees.
9,001 rupees.

2. The Honourable the Court of Directors will be informed that Lieutenant-colonel Outram was in error in entertaining an opinion that persons holding the British guarantee, possess in virtue thereof an immunity from punishment; such a doctrine has never been set forth by Government, nor, it is believed, has been entertained by the holders of the guarantees.

3. On the contrary, if Lieutenant-colonel Outram had carefully consulted the records of his office, he would have satisfied himself that Government has always considered parties holding the British guarantee amenable to punishment, on proof of sufficient misconduct.

I have, &c.

(signed) *A. Malet*,
Chief Secretary.

Bombay Castle, 26 May 1849.

(No. 6,229.)

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, 8th August 1849.

No. 143, of 1849.—Political Department.

From Captain *P. T. French*, Acting Resident at Baroda, to *William Courtney*, Esquire, Acting Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter, No. 2,262, 26th ultimo, with enclosure from the Honourable the Court of Directors, paras. 8 and 11, of No. 13, dated 14th March 1849, I have the honour to state, no further steps have been taken to ascertain if the bond produced by Hurry Bhugtee was forged or not.

In reply to your 2d and 3d paras., and with reference to the Court's despatch, I beg to state that the condition in which the records of this office are has been often submitted for the consideration of Government. I cannot, of course, state the extent of Colonel Outram's reading in it, but I should be betraying my duty, did I not give it as my opinion, that the ideas he expressed in the despatch of the 31st August 1848, No. 209, para. 9., were identical with my own; and as far as I can see, all here entertain the same opinions.

3. In saying this, I beg to remind you of the state of our records, and to add that I have, as far as may be, carefully consulted them; but by this I do not mean to say it has ever been laid down that guarantees have an immunity from punishment, though practically they certainly would seem to have enjoyed it.

4. When addressing Mr. Chief Secretary Malet, on the 5th January last, No. 9, regarding the erasement from the roll of some actually expired guarantees, I had to make inquiries of the native assistants in the office, from whence

whence the purport of my letter was gathered, and I was at once told it was no use writing; that I should only incur the displeasure of Government; that guarantees, though expired, would never be expunged, and that none of my predecessors had ever ventured on such dangerous ground. From this, Government will gather the impression, even in our own office; and the 10th para. of my letter of the 19th ultimo, No. 128, on the currency of Soonder Nillajee pension, tells that abroad.

5. The advocacy of my views has brought down on me the displeasure of Government; they are those of Colonel Outram and all here; but I should have probably refrained from further urging them, were it not that it appears your letter and the Court's despatch now again present a favourable opportunity. In fact, they call for an opinion, as silence would be tantamount to assent.

6. The house of Hurree Bhugtee, noticed in Colonel Outram's despatch, holds a guarantee "during good conduct." In the records I have perused it holds a prominent place. As far back as the 20th February 1827, in para. 15, I find the Honourable J. P. Willoughby, Esq., then Assistant Resident here, informing Government, that through this firm the late prince was carrying on intrigues in Bombay to upset the financial reforms then in progress here.

7. In a khurreeta from the Honourable the Governor to the Guicowar, under date the 8th February 1841, his Highness is advised never again to employ certain "evil-disposed persons," one of whom is Baba Nafra (so often mentioned by Colonel Outram), the mooneem of Hurree Bhugtee's house, and another is Gunesh Punt; but to this day the former holds our guarantee, and the latter is in the service, and has ever since been, of the Durbar.

8. Again, in the 39th para. of the Honourable the Governor's khurreeta to the Guicwar, under date the 13th July 1843, on Dhackjee Dadajee's case, his Highness is told the Resident has been directed to exclude from the Residency the above-named persons, Hurree Bhugtee's mooneem, and Gunesh Punt; and in the 2d para. of the Chief Secretary's letter forwarding the khurreeta, same date, and No. 1,229 A., he is told to report if his Highness excludes them his councils. This letter is again referred to in Mr. Secretary Willoughby's despatch of the 10th January 1844, No. 17, and the Resident is directed to continue to exclude Hurree Bughtee's mooneem from all intercourse with the Baroda Residency.

9. On the 30th April 1846, the then Resident proposed removing the above prohibition, and was reprimanded for the suggestion.

10. Now, I would ask, if this be immunity or not? and what the Durbar, the guarantees, and people at large, naturally must think? When intrigue, bribery, and corruption were rife, the firm of Hurry Bhugtee was in the van, and, with other "evil-disposed persons," its mooneem was held up to his Highness as a man to be avoided by two Governors of Bombay; yet he and the firm, though acting thus since 1827, hold our guarantee during "good behaviour."

11. I need not remind you of the late voluminous correspondence regarding this said Hurree Bhugtee and Joitabaee.

12. In further elucidation of the feeling abroad regarding guarantees, and Government holding by them tenaciously, I would remind you that on the 14th September 1827, in letter No. 414, the Honourable J. P. Willoughby, Esq., then Assistant Resident here, reported Jemsetjee Dessaee (a guarantee) as "one of the most active of those concerned in the machinations still in progress in this durbar," and he suggested the pledge being revoked. Government, in reply, said, 11th October 1827, No. 1,278, "If guilty, he will be deprived of the guarantee of the British Government, and be left to the Raja to punish;" yet he retains to this day our guarantee.

13. What can it be supposed the people think of the case of Bulvuntrow Guicowar, a man of whose conduct Government over and over expressed disapprobation, and of whom his Highness complained as defrauding his subjects? The people say, "Here is a man of dissolute, depraved, and extravagant habits; he runs in debt some lacs of rupees that he can never

liquidate; but because he is a guarantee, his Highness can't confiscate his wealth, and the British Government allows him 12,000 rupees a year for his personal support, his 200 creditors not having the remotest chance of ever being paid one rupee; while, were he a British subject, and residing in the Company's country, he would not be above the law.

14. I speak the words and sentiments of the people; on them Colonel Outram, I presume, formed his opinion, as I do mine, that the guarantees do virtually enjoy immunity.

15. Bhaskur Row Withul was guilty of a most cold-blooded murder; yet he is still a guarantee, and the Resident's escort receives him with presented arms, the only punishment inflicted being a fine of 70,000 rupees (as yet unpaid), and the cessation of the ruffle when the guard presents arms. Were he a British subject, what would have been his punishment, or a Guicowar's not enjoying our guarantee? Surely the fine would have been greater, and he would have been deprived of all hereditary honours.

16. I could give you many instances in further elucidation of this point, but it were at present needless. Nothing struck me more forcibly in the records than the entire absence of all aid and support from the guarantees when any intrigues or machinations were going on in this Durbar; all seem to have played a fast and loose game, but ever ready to join the Durbar when called. Our pledge insured them protection, and the call of the prince was an additional gain, of course. Of us they were sure; and having seen no instance of the pledge being forfeited, although allied with the Durbar to upset our reforms, they joined the prince so long as he rewarded their services.

17. Having seen something of native Durbars in other parts of India, and making great allowances for the defective education of the late Guicowar, and certainly a very obstinate, perverse nature, it still seemed to me that much of the disaffection that had for so long existed here came out of our pledge to the guarantees, and it would be a denial of the most ordinary powers of perception to suppose that the people at large think our support of these persons arises out of the simple reasons we assign. The weaker power ever dreads the mightier, and sees in all things a tendency to absorption, and, in a Mahratta Durbar, led by Deccanie Brahmins, the influence is strong, and colours all. Between the two Governments there ever will be international matters of discussion enough to arouse the suspicions and dread of the weaker. This I see now even frequently evinced, to the serious injury of that advance in civilization, and hearty cheerful confidence in the good intentions of Government, which would avert the folly that might beget the event most dreaded.

18. My period of incumbency has already more than half expired, and I cannot conceal from myself that political wisdom would dictate my not so frequently and urgently, however imperfectly, pleading the removal of that which seems to me a bar to cheerful confiding reliance on the good intentions of Government; but there is some consolation in the belief that I am doing what I consider my duty, as well as in the reflection that Government will so view it, however the want of judgment displayed may bar my future prospects.

19. As stated in my letter of the 5th January, the four extinct guarantees may safely be at once struck off the roll, and most, if not all the bankers, without causing any excitement. Let me remind you of the case of Damodhur Jumnabaee, now pending. Lacs of rupees are in the settlement involved, and either party would gladly spend very large sums in corrupting those in any way concerned in its disposal. This is by no means the only instance in which our guarantee has been attended with evil to all concerned. His Highness is drawn into the discussion of its actual bearings; he cannot himself, of course, know anything, but the papers prepared by his karbarees he signs, and they are, as usual, adverse to those going from the Residency; when, as in this instance, the services of the karbarees may be purchased, we cannot cope with them, nor can we conceal from ourselves that instances are on record of our own people being as unmindful of probity as those of the Guicowar. The discussion regarding Jumnabaee *versus* Damodhur being, if ever, closed, the firm of Khooshallchund might be at once erased from the roll of guarantee, and all other banking establishments at once, now, in my opinion.

20. The

20. The pledge to Govindrow and Bulvuntrow Guicowar is not hereditary, and thus gradually we will be released of pledges which hitherto have had a very baneful influence.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. T. French,*
Acting Resident.

Baroda Residency, 1 June 1849.

(No. 8,379.)

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, October 1849.
No. 208 of 1849.—Political Department.

From Captain *P. T. French*, Acting Resident at Baroda, to *Arthur Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

IN reply to your letter of the 23d ultimo, No. 3,122, I have the honour of reporting, for the information of Government, that I am not aware of any grounds, beyond those reported by Colonel Outram, for supposing that Hurree Bhugtee & Co. endeavoured to defraud Govind Rao Guicowar through forgery.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. T. French,*
Acting Resident.

Baroda Residency, 30 July 1849.

(No. 8,380.)

MINUTE by the Right Honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Mr. *Willoughby* and the Honourable Mr. *Blane*.

PARAS. 8 to 11, of the Honourable Court's despatch, No. 13, of the 14th March 1849, may now be replied to, as it does not appear that there is any proof to corroborate Colonel Outram's suspicion of the substitution, as noticed in the 9th para. of the Honourable Court's letter, "of a false bond (bearing interest) for 9,001 rupees, in the room of a mere acknowledgment of a balance of debt."

2. Captain French has, in his letter of the 1st June last, stated that the orders for the exclusion of Baba Nafra from the Residency, conveyed in Mr. Chief Secretary Reid's letter, No. 1,229 A, of the 13th July 1843, have not been acted on. This was a great error on the part of the Resident, but I am not inclined now to interfere in the matter; what has passed so long may be continued, I presume, without much evil, and the interdict need not be renewed.

3. I do not think that any other portion of Captain French's letter merits particular notice. He was informed, on the 6th March last, of the views of Government concerning the guarantees, and by them he must be guided. Should anything arise during his incumbency affecting the character of any of the guaranteed parties, it will be his duty to report it to Government, with his opinion.

(signed) *Falkland.*
J. P. Willoughby.
D. A. Blane.

1 October 1849.

No. 3,122, of 1849.—Political Department.

(No. 6,231.)

From *A. Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Captain *P. T. French*, Officiating Resident at Baroda.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st ultimo, No. 143, connected with the pecuniary claims of the firm of Hurree Bhugtee against Govind Rao Gackwar; and in drawing your attention to the 1st para. of Mr. Acting Secretary Courtney's communication of the 26th May last, No. 2,262, to request that you will reply particularly to the reference made in the latter part thereof.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Malet*, Chief Secretary.

Bombay Castle, 23 July 1849.

(No. 5,640.)

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, 11 July 1849.

No. 9, of 1849.—Political Department.

From Captain *P. T. French*, Acting Resident at Baroda, to *Arthur Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

THERE being now on the throne of the Gaekwars a young sovereign, perhaps Government may think this a fitting opportunity for gradually considering a reduction in the number of His Highness's subjects who have our guarantee, and acting on the spirit of the orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors, under date the 2d July 1840, No. 13.

2. Of those guarantees the late Mr. Boyd, Resident at this place, forwarded to Government a return on the 18th November 1840; and here, I may mention, entry No. 24 requires correction, the pledge not being hereditary. *Vide* accompaniment to Government letter, No. 2,949, 18th June 1845, regarding the Gungadhur Shastree's family.

3. The entries in the return I would now wish Government to consider, with a view to the withdrawal of our guarantee, are Nos. 4, 6, 7, and 12. Regarding them there will not, I imagine, be any difficulty; and in most, the present occupants, if such they be, are two and more generations removed from the original holder, who had no hereditary guarantee, but yet are borne on the return, and from which I would beg authority for erasing their names.

4. No. 4, "Imrut Lall Tooljaram," lives and has lived for years out of the Gaekwar's state, at Ahmedabad. No. 6, "Khandass Patell," and "Bhychund Dessaee," are long since dead, and the present representatives are their grandchildren. The "guarantee is not hereditary." No. 7, "Samul Bechur" and "Mungul Sukeedass," long since dead, and now represented by their grandchildren. "This guarantee is not hereditary." No. 12, "Manuckchund Roopchund," has been long dead, and the firm is at Surat, though there is a small shop here also. The guarantee "will remain in force while the firm exists at Baroda."

5. It will, perhaps, be said I am needlessly troubling Government, these cases being all so plain; yet it was but yesterday that the goomasta of the last named claimed my assistance to recover money due him here.

6. Unless Government is disposed to take up the entire subject of the guarantees, I shall, if permitted, from time to time, as above, represent such cases as may appear devoid of difficulty; thus to a measure meeting the orders of the Honourable Court, without creating any sensation, reducing in each instance a cause of vexatious correspondence, it may be, with this Durbar.

7. I have

7. I have lately (letter No. 310, of 26th December last) reported on the case of Bulwunt Row Gaekwar, a guarantee, who is indebted to upwards of 200 persons, a sum, the mere principal of which he can never liquidate, and thought it my duty to suggest stringent measures, because of his shameful betrayal of the protection afforded him, and because it is well known he is possessed of wealth to a considerable amount. He defies and defrauds his creditors, and though a pensioner of his Highness, and residing in the city of Baroda, neither the constituted courts of the country, his sovereign, or the usual mode of enforcing payment by "dhurna," can compel him to pay back even the principal of the sums he has borrowed, for he is a guarantee, and knows that with his death the bonds he gave become waste paper, or nearly so. The Government has ordered that the property he may die dispossed of shall go to his creditors.

8. I may here earnestly beg to recommend to the serious consideration of Government, Colonel Outram's suggestion of a "proclamation," given in full in the 5 and 6 paras. of his letter to your address of the 29th July last No. 185.

I have, &c.
(signed) *P. T. French*,
Baroda Residency, 5 January 1849. Acting Resident.

(No. 5,641.)

MINUTE by the Right Honourable the Governor, dated 24 May 1849.

1. IN the accompanying letter, Captain French, Officiating Resident at Baroda, has drawn the attention of Government to the existing guarantees held from the British Government by subjects of the Baroda Durbar, with the view to a reduction being made in their number, in the event of the present being deemed a fitting period for effecting the same.

2. For the clear elucidation of this subject, I purpose, before noticing the points mentioned in Captain French's letter, to take a brief review of the past proceedings of Government connected with this subject; and in doing so, I am greatly aided by an elaborate memorandum prepared by my able colleague, the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, dated the 4th August 1837, framed by that gentleman when Political Secretary to Government, at the request of the late Right Honourable Sir Robert Grant, then Governor of this Presidency.

3. In the above memorandum, the Honourable Mr. Willoughby has given the following history of the origin and nature of our bhandaree or guarantee engagements at Baroda:—

"These embarrassing engagements," observes Mr. Willoughby, "originated in the very peculiar circumstances under which our connexion with the Guicowar state was formed. Our intercourse with the Baroda state is of ancient date, and the engagements entered into with it were of a more intimate nature than those usually concluded with the native Governments of India. Upwards of 60 years ago, by a treaty entered into with the Sirdars of the Mahratta empire, the Guicowar family were placed under the protection of the Honourable Company.

"It was not, however, until the year 1801–2 that the active interference of the British Government was called for. In that year a formidable band of conspirators seized and placed under restraint Anund Row, the reigning Guicowar, and usurped the whole powers of his Government. Anund Row was the eldest son of the Govind Row Guicowar, and on the death of his father, in 1800, succeeded to the musnud. He was a prince of weak intellect, and in no way qualified to conduct the Government. An illegitimate son of Govind Row's, by name 'Canojee Row,' rebelled against Anund Row, and obtained temporary possession of the Government. His administration, however, being marked with violence and oppression, he was soon deprived of power and placed under restraint, chiefly through the instrumentality of Rowjee Appajee, Anund Row's minister. No sooner, however, was this rebellion crushed, than another was fomented by Morar Row, who was also an illegitimate son of Govind Row. This was likewise suppressed by the minister, Morar Row being also seized and imprisoned.

"Canojee Row and Moorar Row, however, had many partisans, whose open opposition or secret intrigues proved a constant source of anxiety to the minister, who was in consequence induced to solicit the aid of the Bombay Government, as the surest if not the only means of maintaining himself in power. As the political events of the day rendered a more intimate alliance with the Baroda state highly desirable, his advances were met with great cordiality on our part.

"About this time, events occurred at Baroda which appeared to threaten the very existence of the Guicowar state. Mulhar Row, a man of influence and enterprise, and a cousin of Govind Row Guicowar's, possessing a considerable jagheer in the vicinity of Ahmedabad, assembled a large force, with the ostensible design of releasing Canojee, and ejecting Rowjee Appajee from the Baroda ministry.

"The minister's anxiety to form an intimate alliance with the British Government was thus greatly strengthened. His own resources were inadequate to resist so formidable an opponent as Mulhar Row, and he therefore despatched envoys to Bombay to call upon that Government to assist him with money and troops, and to conform to the treaty of Salbhye, whereby the Honourable Company bound themselves to protect the just rights of the lawful successors of Futteh Sing Guicowar.

"It is unnecessary to relate with minuteness the events which followed. It is sufficient to state that the aid solicited was granted; hostilities ensued between the British force equipped for the occasion and the troops of Mulhar Row, which terminated in his complete subjection on the 5th May 1802, when he gave up possession of the town and fort of Kurree to Colonel Walker.

"It is now unnecessary to refer to the treaties which were about this time entered into between the two Governments. The Governor of Bombay, the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, proceeded to Cambay, for the purpose of conferring with Rowjee Appajee, and on the 15th March 1802 a convention was concluded between the parties, whereby the British Government agreed to employ its troops for the reduction of Mulhar Row, on condition that the Guicowar should defray the expenses of their equipment whilst so employed.

"The Minister, however, had another object in view, namely, to obtain the co-operation of the British Government in effecting a reduction of the Arab force maintained at Baroda, who had become far too powerful for him to reduce by the means at his own disposal. By the same convention, therefore, the Guicowar agreed to accept a British subsidiary force of about 2,000 sepoys, one company of European artillery, and two companies of Lascars, on condition that it should be employed in effecting the above object. It is important to bear this fact in mind, for, as will hereafter be seen, most of our bhanderry engagements originated in this agreement.

"Immediately after the reduction of Mulhar Row, another convention, dated the 6th June 1802, was agreed upon by the same parties; which, after confirming that of March preceding, stipulated that the British Government should advance a loan to the Guicowar, to enable him to liquidate the arrears of pay due to the Arabs about to be disbanded. This loan amounted to 11,75,000 rupees, and the revenues of certain districts were assigned for its repayment.

"In the course of the operation against Mulhar Row, it was discovered that that chief had entered into a correspondence with the principal Arab jemadars at Baroda, with the view of enticing them to depose their lawful prince, and to establish Canojee Row on the musnud. This class of mercenaries had exercised a great ascendancy over the Baroda Government for more than 40 years before the British Government established its influence in Guzerat; and at the time I am writing of, their influence and power were so great that the entire administration of the state was in their hands, and both Annund Row Guicowar and his minister were in continual danger of their lives. They had taken possession of Baroda, Borsud, and other places. They had also occupied the fort of Sunkaria, under the direction of a relation of the Guicowar's, named Gunput Row. Their numbers did not, however, exceed 1,000 men, besides 900 Hindoostani sepoys attached to them; but they were very formidable, from the positions they occupied, the great influence they possessed in the capital, and from the circumstance of their having gained possession of the person of Annund Row Guicowar, whom they kept under restraint. To add to the difficulties

difficulties of the British Government, Canojee Row, with the connivance of the Arabs, who held him in custody, about this time effected his escape, and re-hoisted the standard of rebellion.

"The British Government having assembled a considerable force at Baroda, a negotiation was immediately opened with the Arabs, to obviate the necessity of an appeal to arms. Liberal terms were offered; they were informed that all their just claims would be satisfied, and all arrears of pay due to them liquidated; but in consequence of the treacherous and insubordinate conduct they had been guilty of, it was resolved that they should be no longer permitted to remain in the service of the Guicowar's Government.

"After a protracted negotiation, it became evident that the jemadars had no intention of submitting to these terms. With the consent of the Guicowar, it was therefore determined, that the Arabs should be expelled from Baroda by force, and that on this being effected, the town should be occupied by British troops. On the 18th December 1802, the town of Baroda was invested by the allied troops; the siege was prosecuted with vigour, and after having sustained a considerable loss, both in officers and men, the breach was reported practicable; at this crisis the Arabs themselves renewed the negotiation, which terminated in a capitulation, by which they bound themselves to evacuate the fort, to release Annund Row Guicowar, to abstain from all future intercourse with the enemies of his Government, and to quit Guzerat after their arrears of pay, amounting to about 14 lacks of rupees, had been paid, upon condition that the bhanderry of the Honourable Company should be substituted for theirs, wherever it had been granted either to persons or property.

"In elucidation of the nature of the obligations which thus devolved upon the British Government, I beg to refer to the annexed explanatory statement by Colonel Walker, which I have extracted from the Diary of the Bombay Government, of the 2nd April 1806. From the three last paragraphs of this document, it will be seen that Colonel Walker regarded the transfer of these engagements to us to be very advantageous, from the great influence which they gave to Government in Guzerat, and more particularly at Baroda.

"In further illustration of the subject, the following remarks by the late lamented Sir John Malcolm may prove useful:—

"The difficulties attending this connexion were inherent in its original formation. We did not obtain our influence and power in Guzerat, and over the court of Baroda, as we had in other cases, by a war or treaty with a sovereign in the enjoyment of authority; we came in as mediators between parties in a country torn by factions, and in which all rule was disorganised. The prince was in a state of imbecility, and a prisoner in the hands of Arab mercenaries, whose strength and influence rested as much upon their giving guarantees of protection to his principal subjects and creditors as upon their military power. When we expelled them, we not only adopted their guarantees, but also committed ourselves in new pledges to ministers and others, who actually exercised the civil authority of this state, and with whom all our first engagements and treaties were virtually, though not nominally, concluded. These persons stipulated, as they had a right to do, for their personal security, and for a provision suitable to their rank, before they could be induced to promote our objects. Guarantees, similar to those which we gave on these occasions, had for a long time prevailed in Guzerat, and formed a prominent feature of the system of the government of that country. These guarantees were, on our first establishment, granted on various occasions, and while we continued, as we did until 1820, to exercise a controlling influence over the Guicowar state, no inconvenience was experienced from these engagements; but on the death of Annund Row, whose natural defects had made him a cipher in that state, of which he was the nominal head, when his brother Syagee succeeded, and assumed the direct rule, we began to experience serious embarrassments from our guarantees; and in a very short period this ill-advised prince violated the conditions of an engagement he had voluntarily entered into, and refused to listen to the advice or remonstrances of the British Government, though bound to do so by express stipulations of the treaty under which he had been seated on the musnud.—'Government of India, page 8.'

"It must not, however," continues Mr. Willoughby, "be supposed that the British Government maintained the bhanderry system in force to the same extent as prevailed during the dominion of the Arabs. Our guarantee was, for

the most part, confined to loans raised for the purpose of relieving the Baroda Government from the embarrassments in which it had become involved in suppressing the disturbances to which I have briefly alluded. The principal exceptions were guarantees granted to Rowjee Appajee and his adherents, in return for the aid which they had afforded us in accomplishing our views at Baroda. Some of these are hereditary, and not only extend to person and property, but guarantee the continuance of office to particular families. No one can dispute that as a system this is most vicious, for as talent is not hereditary, situations of trust and importance may devolve to persons wholly incompetent for the due performance of their duties. As justly remarked by Sir John Malcolm, no inconvenience was felt from these engagements so long as we continued to control the Baroda administration; but when, in 1819, the imbecile reign of Anund Row Guicowar closed, and he was succeeded by his brother, the present Guicowar, the evils of the system became apparent, I apprehend that in considering these, and in endeavouring to extricate ourselves from them, we have forgotten their origin, and the advantages which we derived from them, for they ought to be viewed as part of the price which we paid for the valuable and extensive cessions which we obtained under the treaties negotiated with the Guicowar Government from 1802 to 1805.

"During the time that I was attached to the Baroda Residency, or from 1819 to 1829, I can only recollect one instance in which the guarantee of the British Government was granted, viz., that given to Bulwunt Row Guicowar, and Pillajee Row Guicowar, two illegitimate sons of Anund Row Guicowar. This sufficiently proves that Government has evinced no desire to encroach upon the rights and privileges of the present Guicowar; but when Mr. Elphinstone vested that prince with the independent charge of the Government, one of the few restrictions which were imposed upon him was, 'That the guarantees of the British Government to ministers and other individuals must be scrupulously observed.' 'Engagement with Seeajee Row Guicowar, dated 2d April 1820.'"

4. The above information was laid before the Board by Mr. Willoughby (at the request, as I have already remarked, of the late Right honourable Sir Robert Grant), in consequence of the following reference having been made to this Government by the Government of India, under date the 5th December 1836, in connexion with the numerous demands against the late Gaekwar, with which his Highness had refused to comply, and which had, in consequence, been referred by this Government for the final orders of the Right honourable the Governor-general in Council.

"I am directed to request information as to the sense in which a bhandaree or guarantee is understood under the Bombay Presidency, and further, that any evidence as to the accuracy of such construction or precedents in favour of it may be cited. It would appear to be the opinion of the Right honourable the Governor in Council, that a bhandaree is in its nature hereditary, but I am desired to observe, that on this side of India, it is never considered to endure beyond the life of the person guaranteed, unless its continuance to his descendants may have been expressly provided for."

5. A copy of Mr. Willoughby's memorandum was, on the 3d October 1837, forwarded to the Government of India, with an intimation that it had never been, as presumed by that authority, the opinion of this Government that a bhandaree was hereditary as a matter of course, and that the Government of India must have been led to this impression from a want of explicitness in the previous correspondence of this Government.

6. On the 25th March 1840 the Resident at Baroda was directed to submit to Government a complete statement of all subsisting guarantees held by Gaekwar subjects from the British Government, with the view of, if practicable, effecting some compromise with his Highness in regard to them. The Honourable the Court of Directors, in a despatch to the address of this Government, dated the 2d July 1840, in reference to this call, and to the subject of the Baroda guarantees generally, observed as follows:

"While we feel with you the impossibility of disregarding such claims on our good offices, we see with great uneasiness the prospect of further extensions of those obligations to protect individuals against their lawful sovereign which have already

already caused so much evil to the Guicowar state, and so much embarrassment to us.

" It indeed appears fruitless to hope for the permanent maintenance of a good understanding between our Government and its ancient ally while this anomalous state of things continues to exist; although the system was created for purposes beneficial to the Guicowar state, and not directly to us, there are circumstances in the case which make it equitable that we should take our share in whatever sacrifices may be necessary in order to get rid of the mischievous consequences.

" The guarantees were granted either for the attainment of some object which, at the time, was considered of paramount importance to the Guicowar state, or in compliance with the request of the reigning Guicowar, and had they extended no further than the lives of the first grantees, they would have been, perhaps, in every instance justifiable, and productive of comparatively little inconvenience. But we undertook not only to protect, in all times to come, the lives, honour and property of the descendants of certain persons against their sovereign, but also to enforce for ever the payment to them of large and onerous allowances from the Guicowar state, as the salary of nominal offices, of which the duties were not performed by them. This cannot have been necessary for the objects of policy which were in view, and as the burthens were such as the reigning Guicowar could not justifiably impose upon his successors, and would not have had it in his power to do so through any other means than our guarantee, on having given that guarantee at the request of the reigning princes, does not render it the less a subject of just complaint on the part of subsequent rulers.

" With these sentiments we have been much gratified by finding that you have called for a complete statement of all subsisting guarantees to Guicowar subjects, with a view, as you state, of endeavouring to effect some compromise with the Guicowar. We earnestly hope that this attempt will be successful; we shall be prepared to sanction an arrangement for taking upon ourselves a part of the burthen, provided the Guicowar will consent to assign to us, from the tributes, a fixed annual sum equivalent to the remaining portion. The nemnooks and other allowances would then be paid from our treasury, and the time of your Government would not hereafter be taken up with the reception and discussion of complaints of their being withheld. Moreover, the relief thus afforded to the Guicowar's finances may probably induce him to lend a more willing ear than could otherwise be expected to the proposition for the reform of his contingent; and if he should accede to that proposition, the formation of the new corps will afford you an opportunity of providing for many of the individuals who have suffered through their adherence to our interests, and will proportionally state the necessity of making additional demands on their account from the Guicowar.

7. With reference to the above remarks of the Honourable Court, the late Sir James Carnac, then Governor of this Presidency, in a minute dated the 13th November 1840, observed as follows: " I long since, indeed so far back as the 25th of March last, called for a detailed statement of all subsisting guarantees to Guicowar subjects, with a view to effect some compromise with the Guicowar in regard to their payment.

" The statement has never been furnished, but perceiving by the letter of the Honourable Court that its members fully approve of my intentions as developed to them, I mean to propose that, without waiting longer for the statement called for, we declare ourselves willing at once to enter on some arrangements with the Guicowar as to these bhandarries, in accordance with my opinions as expressed to the Honourable Court, and sanctioned and approved of in their letter of the 2d July.

" Considering, then, that when we shall have obtained security that the contingent of horse be placed on the precise footing defined by the treaty of 1817, the Guicowar will have conceded all the most material points demanded of him, I shall be prepared to propose that we take steps for the immediate renewal of our friendly relations with him."

8. With reference to these sentiments, the Honourable Mr. Farish, then a member of this Government, in a minute dated the 20th November 1840, observed as follows: " The further measure of effecting a compromise, whereby we should take the payment of all subsisting guarantees upon ourselves,

relieving his Highness of a portion of their burden, if adopted without requiring first the reforms of contingent, would, as far as I can judge, be too much of the nature of our advantage resulting to him as the fruits of the course he has of late years pursued. On the measure itself, before offering any opinion, it would be desirable to know the real state of all the subsisting guarantees, on which we are still waiting for information, and the details of the compromise to be proposed. There will moreover be, besides the question of pecuniary compromise, that connected with our responsibility to afford protection to person and property of those under such bandaree; and it is in points of this description, I apprehend, his Highness is most likely, directly or indirectly, to show his animosity, whenever it may be excited; and in dealing with them the greatest difficulty is experienced."

9. The Honourable Mr. (now Sir George) Anderson, then a member of this Government, in a minute, dated 21st November 1840, recorded the following sentiments on this subject: "I think it a subject of great regret that so excellent a measure as that of converting the contingent in a question from a very inefficient to an efficient military body, should be lost.

"The free and voluntary consent, however, of Syajee to this measure is not to be expected; the instructions of the Honourable Court's despatch of the 2d July forbid that it should be effected without that free consent; it seems to me, therefore, that the reform of this contingent in the manner we had contemplated must be given up.

"It is to be observed, however, that the Honourable Court, in the 10th para. of their despatch, suggested that the Guicowar might, under the relief afforded by our taking upon ourselves a portion of the burthen of the guarantees, be induced to lend a more willing ear to the proposition of the reform of this contingent. The measure may therefore be still held in this way to be a subject of negotiation in connexion with the guarantee question.

"It might, under such circumstances, be a just measure to our finances, to take upon ourselves the burthen in part of these guarantees; but without some such equivalent, I should be with difficulty brought ever to consider that measure just or right to the interests of the British Government.

"The difficulties arising in the guarantees have not been, nor are ever likely to be, serious as respects the money payments to be made to the persons guaranteed; it is in other rights or in other questions that the most perplexing difficulties are presented, as, for instance, the late case of Bhasker Row Wittul. From these difficulties we can never relieve ourselves, for it is not alone the Gaekwar, but the rights of others, for which we are bound and have always to consider.

"If, however, a perfect reform of the contingent can be brought about, and that it will then be not only effective as a military body, but that we shall have the right to use, when and wherever we please, it may very well be considered good policy, as well financially as upon other considerations, to burthen the state with part of the cost of these allowances and pensions of the Gaekwar state."

10. On the 1st December 1840, the above proceedings were submitted for the instructions of the Government of India; and in reply, this Government was, on the 4th January 1841, informed as follows by that authority: "He (the Right honourable the Governor-general in Council) would certainly wait for a complete statement of all subsisting guarantees to the Gaekwar subjects, and of the origin and circumstances of each, before he would consider the propriety of taking upon the British Government the payment of a portion of the pecuniary obligations devolving by them upon the Guicowar. There may be guarantees given upon insufficient and merely personal grounds, on which it may be equitable to afford some relief to his Highness, but it is apprehended that, for by far the greater part, the benefits, in return for which the guarantees were agreed to, or even solicited by the reigning prince, were of a permanent nature, and have materially tended to the preservation to this day of the existence and prosperity of the Baroda state. It is to be remembered, also, as is justly remarked by Mr. Farish and Mr. Anderson, that the embarrassments attending the guarantees would be little alleviated by a partial diminution of the direct pecuniary charge arising from them. It is by the assurance given, on general terms, to life, honour and property, that the independent authority of the Gaekwar is chiefly fettered, and the occasions of collision multiplied; but from this part of its obligations it is not possible for the British Government to

to free itself, except with the unforced consent of the individuals to whom our protection has been promised.

"At least his Lordship in Council would not, without the most deliberate examination, give effect to a scheme of the extent which has been proposed, involving, as it does, many grave considerations. He would suspend his opinion until the receipt of the information which has been called for, and be in further correspondence upon it with the Honourable Court; in the meantime, he would not delay the endeavour to effect an arrangement of the questions actually in discussion with the Gaekwar on the footing which has been above sanctioned, and he will hear with much satisfaction that the measures of the Bombay Government for that purpose have been successful."

11. "On receipt of the above letter, Sir James Carnac recorded a further minute, dated the 16th January 1841; the 6th para. (of the letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, above quoted) adverts to the question of the bhandarees:

"The letter of the Honourable Court had authorised me to endeavour to make some arrangement by which the Guicowar Government should be relieved from part of this burthen, and the payment itself cease to be a source of appeal to us, and of remonstrance with the Guicowar. The Governor-general in Council has, by his present communication, intimated that he would wait for a detailed analysis of the existing guarantees before he would authorise the adoption of any such scheme as is pointed out in the letter of the Court, and requires time for further correspondence with the Honourable Court before he can sanction any arrangement consequent on the reception of that plan. Under these restrictions, I cannot put in execution my own views on this head, which must consequently be postponed till his Lordship in Council shall have time to receive the statement regarding the bhanderries from us, and to communicate on that statement with the Honourable Court. This puts a stop to the hope which I had entertained of satisfactorily adjusting this question without more delay; yet I am anxious to record the course I had meant to pursue, had I acted at once on the receipt of the letter of the Honourable Court. I should, in accordance with the spirit of that letter, have endeavoured in the first place to obtain the Guicowar's assent to a modified reform of the contingent (probably the very measure now made imperative by the Governor-general in Council); and as an incentive to his Highness's favourable reception of this proposition, I should have held out as a boon not only the renewal of our ancient amicable relations, including the conditional restitution of the sequestrated districts, but also an arrangement for the future payment of the bhanderries favourable to his Highness in proportion to the disposition he should manifest with regard to the contingent. This arrangement would have consisted, first, in obtaining a correct valuation of the existing bhanderries, based on a strict analytical review of the circumstances attending each individual case. Having ascertained the value of the whole, I should have then proposed to his Highness to take upon ourselves the entire annual payment of every claimant, on receiving from his Highness's treasury, not their entire value, but such a portion of it as I should consider right, probably a half, or perhaps two-thirds, after throwing back to him, as a boon for his concessions, so much of the whole sum as I might deem those concessions were worth, on a rough estimate. I believe the sums paid by the Guicowar to the annuitants guaranteed by us amount to about four lacs annually; many of these are perpetual, others for life only, and on an average the whole together may not be worth more than eight or 10 years' purchase. On receiving (as authorised by the spirit of the letter of the Court, in case of ample concessions on the part of Syajee) one-half of the value of the capital (say 20 lacs), I should have engaged to take the entire annual payment on ourselves, by which arrangement the nemnookdars would have received their allowances without let or hindrance, and one constant source of disagreement would have been thus at once cut off.

"I think that this sort of arrangement would not have proved very burthensome to the Honourable Company; and though I fully admit that the Guicowar state has received great and important benefits from its alliance with the British Government, I am not insensible, from the results of my own experience, that benefits have been derived by ourselves from that connexion. I confine myself in this observation to financial considerations; and in support

of my opinion, Mr. Newnham furnishes us, in his minute of the 30th January 1832, with a statement of the gross collections, charges, and net receipts derived from the Guicowar state, compared with the military charges of the Baroda subsidiary force, taken from the accounts from 1826 to 1830 inclusive, the surplus being in these five years, *Rs.* 38,59,195. 2. 15. Independent of this, Mr. Newnham further observes, that for several years previous the revenue of the districts ceded to us by the Guicowar had exceeded the military charges of the Guicowar subsidiary force in the annual sum of between six and seven lacs of rupees, and that in future the annual excess might be calculated at 12 lacs, as was the case in 1830–31.

"This we may ascribe, in part, to our own improved system of management; and it is true, as Mr. Sutherland remarks, in his minute of the 6th February 1832, that it does not take into consideration local charges; but it, at all events, in my opinion, proves that we can afford to be a little liberal to the Guicowar, without being unjust to ourselves, where his conduct may deserve it. As to military charges, I may observe that, by the arrangements of Sir John Malcolm, when he visited Guzerat, in 1829, they were in some part provided for in these ceded districts, by his having merged the subsidiary force into the northern division of the army, employing a portion of it in our own possessions.

"With regard to the holders of personal guarantees, I am of opinion that the local authorities, if active and vigilant, ought always to be capable of arranging individual cases of complaint, without allowing them to become the source of important disputes between the two Governments. These are the arrangements into which I was prepared to enter, and I now circulate this minute, together with the letter of the Supreme Government, as explanatory of my views with regard to our relations with the Guicowar.

"We should now submit to the Government of India and to the Court of Directors, copies of the report, with which Mr. Boyd has lately furnished us, of our existing guarantees, with the grounds upon which they have respectively been granted."

12. The above minute was, on the 21st January 1841, submitted to the Government of India, and in reply this Government was, on the 8th of the following month, informed as follows:—"The Governor-general in Council continues to feel that the question of the guarantees is one to be separately disposed of on its own merits. In the form in which the proposition was originally submitted to the Supreme Government, namely, that of taking on ourselves a portion of the costs of the guaranteed payments, and of inducing, by negotiation, the Gaekwar to charge himself with the maintenance of the Guzerat Irregular Horse, it is obvious that the plan could only have been acceptable to him if he had gained more from the concession made to him than he would have lost by that which was to be obtained from him. It now appears that there are 17 guarantees, with hereditary obligation, and involving pledges for personal protection, after extending to agents and dependants, and that the expense which would fall on the British Government by the plan referred to would amount to nearly two lakhs of rupees per annum, or to that value, redeemed by a single payment. If upon general considerations of policy, and notwithstanding the circumstances favourable to the Gaekwar state, in which many of these guarantees originated, the Honourable Court would be desirous that this expense should be added to the charges upon the revenue of British India, the Governor-general in Council will, of course, upon the receipt of their final orders, be prepared to give effect to them. But this is a point on which he need not make any further remark at present. It will be sufficient to notice that the pecuniary part of the guarantees is that which, in his opinion, can be most easily enforced, as we have in our hands the collection of considerable revenues on the part of the Gaekwar, and that experience has shown that it is from the pledges of personal protection, from which we cannot free ourselves, that the greatest hazard of embarrassment and collision is to be apprehended."

13. Previous to the above letter reaching this Government, Sir James Carnac had, at the urgent request of the Gaekwar, proceeded to Baroda, with the view of adjusting, in personal communication with his Highness, the matters in dispute

dispute between the British Government and the Gaekwar state; and in a minute of his proceedings on this occasion, dated the 13th February 1841, Sir James Carnac stated as follows, relative to the communication he had made to his Highness during the negotiation on the subject of the guarantees:—"I then took occasion to advert to several subjects on which I desired to speak to his Highness. The first regarded his conduct to the holders of our guarantees, in respect to whom I gave him strictly to understand that the British Government would insist on the fulfilment of all our guarantees in the minutest particular. His Highness promised that he would faithfully observe all such engagements, but represented that the possessors of our guarantees should be enjoined to treat him with respect, and to forget that, although the British Government might be bound to protect them against injustice, he was still their sovereign. I replied that I had every desire to uphold his authority as the head of the state, and that I had warned all our guarantees against such behaviour as could be construed into even slight or disrespect towards him; that I fully recognised his right over these men, as over the rest of his subjects, and that the British Government would never object to its exercise in a just and upright manner, though it could not relinquish its privilege of interference in order to secure them from injustice and oppression.

"I assured his Highness that the British Government did not desire to interfere in behalf of any of the individuals holding our bhandaree, except when such a proceeding became imperiously necessary in vindication of our own good faith, and that they would be made to understand their entire subordination to him; while in all other respects the British Government would abstain from all interference in the internal concerns or management of his dominions, in which he was free and unrestrained to act as he might think proper, trusting that his general rule would secure the welfare of his people, and conduce to the maintenance of his own honour."

"In regard to my opinions of the state of our guarantees, I can add nothing to what I expressed in my minute of the 16th ultimo. I there explained why the question as to the final settlement of the claims dependent on these guarantees must remain undecided until we receive more specific instructions from the Supreme Government and the Home Authorities for their adjustment. In the meantime, I have impressed most solemnly on the Gaekwar that the British Government will insist on the strict and entire fulfilment of every article for which we stand pledged. I have received his assurances that he will, on his part, settle, in communication with the Resident, existing differences, and refrain from acts which may oblige us again to interfere between him and those of his subjects, by virtue of our guarantee, whom we are bound to protect from oppression.

"I fear that the possessors of our guarantee have, in many instances, presumed on their right to claim our interposition, and have been wanting in that respect and obedience which they are bound to pay to the Gaekwar as their sovereign. We have recognised him as the head of the state, and we ought to insist that every individual from among his subjects who can demand our protection should regard him in that light. Our guarantee does not remove such persons from within the pale of his Highness's authority, but merely obliges us to see that that authority is fairly and justly exercised towards them. It does not establish a tribunal by which alone these privileged persons are to be judged, and although it may be impracticable to avoid interposing, even in their private transactions, where the Gaekwar Government does not deal impartial justice in their disputes with their fellow subjects, yet it should be our principle to avoid interfering, as much as possible, wherever the Gaekwar state is not itself a party in the dispute.

"The Resident should be guided by these views; on the one hand, he must be careful that no imputation can be made against our good faith by our neglect to act up to our engagements, while, on the other, he must be equally cautious to maintain the dignity and honour of the Gaekwar state, and to refrain from interference in every case where we are not solemnly bound to adopt this course. In short, the Resident is to consider him, except in those particular cases, as the free and independent sovereign of his dominions.

"I have felt that the state of the question regarding our bhandarees, and the uncertainty of what may be the final decision respecting them, precluded my doing more in my various interviews with his Highness Syajee Rao; that insisting in general terms on our determination to uphold all our pledges, and requiring from him an acknowledgment that he also would respect them, I could not enter upon individual cases, nor indeed, had I desired to do so, would the shortness of my stay in Goozerat have enabled me to look into such questions of minute and intricate details. This must be left to the management of the Resident, Mr. Boyd, and under the altered disposition of Syajee, his satisfaction at having gained the important point of the restoration of Pitland, and the state of confidence and cordiality which, I am happy to observe, exists between him and Mr. Boyd, I trust that that gentleman will not find an insuperable difficulty in a satisfactory settlement of all pending disputes."

14. A copy of the above minute having been submitted to the Government of India, that authority, in replying, under date the 15th March 1841, expressed satisfaction at Sir James Carnac having succeeded in replacing the relations between the British Government and the Baroda state on an amicable footing; but with reference to the remarks contained in that minute regarding the guarantees and other matters, it was observed, that it would remain for the Honourable the Court of Directors, on a review of the proceedings, to convey, for the guidance of the Government of India, their final instructions on all the matters to which they related.

15. The above proceedings having been reported to the Honourable the Court of Directors, that authority, in reply, in a despatch to the address of this Government, dated the 21st December (No. 21) of 1842, observed as follows: "No mention has been made to the Gaekwar of the plan for taking upon ourselves a portion of the payments made under our bhandarry, on receiving from the Gaekwar an annual assignment upon the tributes sufficient to cover the remainder of the amount. The Government of India did not feel itself justified in taking such a step without further consideration, and a fresh reference to us. We have not, however, up to this time received any communication of their sentiments on the subject, except so far as these are expressed in their correspondence with you."

"The Supreme Government appears disinclined to the proposition, as involving an additional burden on our finances without obviating future embarrassment in our relations with the Gaekwar, inasmuch as that embarrassment arises less from our guarantee of the nemnooks than from our obligation to protect the persons, property, and honour of certain individuals or families; an obligation from which we cannot relieve ourselves without the consent of the parties so guaranteed. We admit the force of these objections, and, considering the long differences we have had with the Gaekwar, all now happily for the present terminated by the late arrangements, and his Highness's repeated promises to respect our guarantees, we are disposed to think that it would be most prudent to refrain from opening a new subject of negotiation, and to leave his mind in repose. We enjoin you to use the greatest forbearance in all your future intercourse with his Highness, which should be uniformly conducted in a spirit of friendliness and confidence, and with entire forgetfulness of the past."

16. The following resolution was, in July 1843, passed by Government on the subject of the above paras.: "Since the date of the despatch from this Government, which the Honourable Court now acknowledge, no further correspondence has taken place between this Government and the Government of India, or with the Political Commissioner for Guzerat, on the subject referred to in these paras., and no steps have, in consequence, been adopted in regard to this proposition. The Honourable Court express themselves averse to any new subject of negotiation being now opened with his Highness the Gaekwar, and no measures are therefore called for on these paras., which, in common with the rest of this despatch, will be forwarded to the Political Commissioner for Guzerat, for information." The above extract was accordingly forwarded to the Political Commissioner for Guzerat on the 15th July 1843, but Captain French

French appears, in his letter of the 5th January last, to have entirely lost sight of the Honourable Court's instructions therein contained, which, in a great measure, dispose of his present reference.

17. I am of opinion, therefore, that, with reference to the sentiments already communicated to this Government by the Government of India, and subsequently by the Honourable the Court of Directors, on the subject of these guarantees, we are precluded from entertaining the suggestion now made by the officiating Resident at Baroda, of re-considering the measure formerly contemplated by this Government, in the absence of those orders, of effecting "a reduction on the number of his Highness's subjects who have our guarantee, and acting on the spirit of the orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors, under date the 2d July 1840, No. 13," these orders having, we may consider, been rescinded by the subsequent order of the Court of the 21st December 1842, above quoted.

18. We are not, however, I consider, in any measure precluded by the above orders from correcting any errors which may be shown to exist in the lists of guarantees furnished to Government by the late Mr. Boyd, on the 18th November 1840.

19. In the 2d para. Captain French points out that the guarantee to the Shastree family is not of an hereditary nature, as stated in the above list. The Honourable the Court of Directors, in their despatch to this Government, dated the 15th January, No. 3 of 1845, have distinctly refused to acknowledge their obligations to this family as extending beyond the guarantee for their joint lives of their annual nemnook from the Gaekwar Government of 60,000 rupees. This bhandaree is terminable, therefore, with the lives of the holders of this nemnook, and the requisite correction should be made in the lists, in which it is entered as an hereditary guarantee.

20. In the 3d and 4th paras., Captain French, for the reasons which he assigns, recommends the withdrawal of the British guarantee from Nos. 4, 6, 7, and 12, of the late Mr. Boyd's list, above mentioned. I now proceed to notice each of these cases *seriatim*.

21. No. 4. Amrut Lall Tooljaram.—The ground on which Captain French suggests that this guarantee shall be cancelled is, that this individual "lives and has lived for years out of the Gaekwar state, at Ahmedabad." Captain French has evidently not consulted his records with any great care, or he would have discovered that this person was dead prior to the list furnished by Mr. Boyd in the year 1840, as will be seen from the following extract from this list:

Name of the Person Guaranteed.	Substance of Agreement.	Date of Guarantee.	REMARKS.
Amrut Lall Tooljarem.	- - Protection for himself and family, and certain goomashtas, specified by name, while trading as merchants in any part of the Gaekwar's territories, either at Ahmedabad or Baroda, and the village of Mukhtoompoor, in the Duskroee pergunnah of the zillah of Ahmedabad, formerly granted in enam from the Peshwa's share, to be continued in his possession.	11 Feb. 1803	- - This person was karbaree of Seloonkur, Soobadar of Ahmedabad, when dispossessed of the place. He was originally under Arab guarantee, but on their discharge this was exchanged for one of a similar nature by the British Government. Amrut Lall Tooljaram is deceased, but Sooruj Koonwur, his son's wife, is living at Ahmedabad, and enjoys the village of Mukhtoompoor, in that zillah, by virtue of the guarantee. But as Ahmedabad is now a British possession, there is little ground for considering any guarantee to be now in force, particularly as heirs are not mentioned in the original agreement.

The village of Muktoompoor, alluded to in the above extract, was confirmed to the late Amrut Lall Tooljeram by the following Article (II.) of the sunnud granted to him by the Gaekwar Government in 1801 :

"The village of Muckdoompoor, in the Duservoea purgunnah, in the Peishwa's share of the city of Ahmedabad, which was formerly given you in enam by the camavishdar of that district, shall, according to your request, still continue in your possession from Sunnut 1858."

22. This guarantee, it will be seen by Article I. of the Sunnud, is of an hereditary character, and as "Ahmedabad" is specially mentioned as one of the places in which the privileges it conferred should be continued, it appears extraordinary that Captain French should, because the present holder is residing at Ahmedabad, recommend its being cancelled.

"You are permitted to reside peaceably either in Baroda, Ahmedabad, or in any other place in the Gaekwar territories which you prefer, along with your family, and your gomashtehs, Purshotum Tatia, Runchore Coobere, Sevakram Karulram, and Gunnesh Mehta, in the capacity of a merchant, and no one shall injure you, which the Government will take care of as long as you conduct yourself properly. For the due performance of this article the perpetual bhanderry of Government is given."

23. The next guarantee of which Captain French recommends the withdrawal is No. 6, granted in 1803 to Kandass Patel and Bychund Dessaee. The following entry in regard to this guarantee is given in the list furnished by the late Mr. Boyd :

Name of the Persons Guaranteed.	Substance of Agreement.	Date of Guarantee.	REMARKS.
Kandass Patel and Bhychund Dessaee.	- - Kandass Soor Ameen, patel of the Baroda purgunnah. The guarantee is for personal protection for himself and family, agents, and dependants, and security in the possession of pusaeta lands, houses, and all other just rights. This person and Bhychund Dessaee are both deceased, but the guarantee is still enjoyed by their families. The protection guaranteed is not declared hereditary, and the nature of the property, being meeras or wuttun, seems not to have required it in respect to the inheritance.	20 Jan. 1803	- - These persons possessed the guarantee of the Arabs, which, on their dismissal, was confirmed by the British Government, and now extends to their families.

24. Captain French recommends that this guarantee be withdrawn, on the ground that, although now held by the grandchildren of the individuals to whom it was originally granted, "it is not hereditary." Captain French, I presume, has formed this conclusion from the extract above quoted, but if he had consulted the original grantee, he would perceive that it is of an hereditary nature. This bhandaree is to the following effect:

"In former times the Government disputed your money account, and on that account, you being fearful, left the city of Baroda; some time after this, the Government issued a perwanna recalling you, upon which you returned and settled your account, and gave you a separate memorandum, containing 10 articles, which shall be strictly conformed to, for which bhandary is given you in the names of Narrain Rao Rajah Pandreh, Almanee Jemadar, Hydur Jemadar, and Nasir Jemadar. After this no more notice shall be taken of the former dispute, for which perpetual bandary is given."

25. The nature of the next guarantee (No. 7) of which Captain French suggests

suggests the withdrawal, is stated in the following extract from the list submitted by the late Mr. Boyd:

Name of the Persons Guaranteed.	Substance of Agreement.	Date of Guarantee.	REMARKS.
Samul Bechur and Mungul Sukeedass.	- - Guaranteeing them to reside where they please, and conduct their banking transactions; guarantees their just claims against their debtors, and secures them from injury. This is not an hereditary guarantee.	- - -	- - They were the bankers of the Arabs, on whose removal from Baroda the guarantee of the British Government was granted for their personal safety, as well as their agents and dependants. Samul Bechur is dead. His heirs, Hurree Lall and Motee Lall are now living, and carry on their business. Mungul Sukeedas also is dead. His son, Lulloo Mungul, conducts his father's business in Baroda.

26. The following is a translation of the sunnud granted to the original holders of this guarantee:—

"This paper is given to Samul and Mulgul Paruck, on account of the Arab jemadars and sebundy.

"1. If any of the Arab jemadars, &c., now in the service of this Government should either be dismissed by the Government or leave its service of its own accord, they shall be paid all arrears of pay, as well as the value of all horses killed or wounded; and likewise money shall be given, according to the usual custom, to the killed and wounded sebundy.

"2. Samul and Mungul Paruck, and the vakeels of the dismissed jemadars, as well as their attendants, shall have their accounts settled in a just manner by Government, for the due performance of which bhandary may be given.

"3. Samul Bechur and Mungul Sukeedass, for whatever money they may lend to the Government or to any person in the city of Baroda, or in the Guicowar districts, shall have it repaid to them upon the terms of the original agreement, and whatever bhanderry is given to them by any of the Arabs, shall be settled accordingly; and if there still remains any doubt, the bhandary of the Honourable Company may be given likewise.

"4. Both the shroffs of the jemadars who are dismissed, as well as their vakeels and attendants, &c., may remain quietly wherever they please, and carry on the business of merchants in peace, and the Government will not in any way injure them, and let them remain under the authority of this Government. If there is any doubt of this, bhandary may be given.

"For the due performance of the four articles above written, the bhandary of Major Walker, on the part of the Honourable Company, is given, and therefore let the Arab jemadars, &c., as well as the two shroffs, faithfully serve the Government.

"Dated 12 Shauban, in the year of Fuslee Sullas Meeateen woh Ullif, corresponding with A.D. 1802.

(signed) "Major *Walker*,
"on the part of the Honourable Company." (Seal.)

(signed) "*Meer Kumaul-ood-deen Hoossain Khan Bahader*." (Seal.)

27. There is no stipulation in the above guarantee that it shall extend beyond the lives of the parties to whom it was granted; and as they are stated by Captain French to be both dead, the guarantee should, I am of opinion, be considered to have lapsed, and be erased from the list submitted by the late Mr. Boyd in 1840.

28. Captain French, however, in recommending the entire withdrawal of the British guarantee from the present representatives of both these parties (being their grandchildren), appears to have lost sight of the fact, that a separate

guarantee of an hereditary nature, was on the 7th January 1803, granted by Colonel Walker to the latter of them, Mungul Sukeedass. This guarantee is to the following effect :—

"Baroda, 7 January 1803.

"Whereas Mungul Sukeedass, late of Ahmedabad, now residing at Baroda, hath not only given a proof of his disposition to render himself worthy of the Honourable English East India Company's good-will and protection, but has fully answered the expectations entertained by the Honourable the Governor of Bombay, as expressed in his certificate, bearing date the 8th June last, hereunto annexed, and having readily and amply contributed towards accomplishing the Company's views in this country, I do hereby declare for myself, and on behalf of the Honourable Company, that he is deserving of their favour and protection, and that they do by these presents assure and bind themselves to protect and defend his house, trade and property at this place, at Ahmedabad, Dollerah, Surat and Bombay, against any unjust attack or claim from the English or Gaekwar Government, and that this protection shall extend to him, his wife, children, and their posterity for ever. Given under my hand, and the Company's seal, in Baroda, the day, month and year above written.

(signed) "*A. Walker*, Resident."

"Cambay, 8 June 1802.

"This is to certify that Mungul Sukreedass, shroff at Baroda, and who has also a house of business at Ahmedabad, and another at Surat, is entitled to the Honourable English East India Company's good-will and protection, from the disposition he has hitherto shown to render himself worthy of their favour, in which I have great confidence that he will persevere.

(signed) "*J. Duncan.*"

29. The other guarantee (No. 12), granted to Manukchund Roopchund, is described as follows, in the list submitted by the late Mr. Boyd :—

Name of the Person Guaranteed.	Substance of Guarantee.	Date of Guarantee.	REMARKS.
Manuckchund Roopchund.	- - The Gaekwar Government granted to this person, an inhabitant of Surat, a perwannah or permit to establish a commercial house at Baroda, promising that he should not be molested. It will remain in force while the firm exists at Baroda, under the guarantee of the British Government.	- - 23d March 1809.	- - This banking-house still exists at Baroda, under the guarantee of the British Government. The heir of this person resides at Surat.

30. With reference to this guarantee, Captain French in his present letter observes, "Manuckchund Roopchund has been long dead, and the firm is at Surat, though there is a small shop here also (Baroda). The guarantee will remain in force while the firm exists at Baroda. It will, perhaps, be said I am needlessly troubling Government, these cases being all so plain ; yet it was but yesterday that the goomasta of the last-named claimed my assistance to recover money due him here."

31. This guarantee is to the following effect :—"You wish to come to reside in Baroda, to carry on the business of a merchant in that place, and have requested a guarantee from the Government that you shall not be in any way molested or injured.

"This purwanah is given, therefore, to you for your satisfaction, and for its due performance the bandary of Captain Carnac, on the part of the Honourable Company, is affixed to it, as well as a promise to that effect from this Government.

"Dated Sunwunt 1865, the 7th of the month of Chyter Shud, corresponding with A.D. 1808-9.

(Seal) "Of *Mooroothut Shood*,

(signed) "*J. R. Carnac*, Resident."

(Honble. Company's Seal.)

32. As

32. As there is no mention made in this bhandaree that it shall be continued beyond the life of the party to whom it was granted, I doubt whether it has not by his death lapsed. Neither the late Mr. Boyd nor the present Acting Resident appear, however, to consider it to have done so. I, therefore, shall be glad to be favoured by the opinion of my colleague, the Honourable Mr. Willoughby, upon this point.

33. The 6th para. of Captain French's letter has been disposed of in a former part of this minute, and the 7th in our resolutions on Bulwunt Rao's case, now before the Board; and I purpose to dispose of the 8th paragraph with Lieutenant-colonel Outram's report of the 29th July last (alluded to in the latter para.) which is now engaging my attention.

(signed) *Falkland.*

24 May 1849.

(No. 5,642.)

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Willoughby.*

I CONCUR, generally, in the Right honourable the Governor's minute, but I cannot avoid expressing my apprehension that the renewed discussion of the question of the guarantees, without a complaint from any party, may lead to evil, and encourage the present Guicowar to pursue the same course adopted by his father in resisting these obligations; and I think the Acting Resident should be explicitly informed, that beyond the correction of manifest errors in the existing lists, Government is of opinion that the further agitation of the question would at the present moment be unwise, as likely to disturb the harmony now happily existing between the two Governments.

The question raised in regard to the bhandary alluded to in paras. 29, 30, and 31, is not without difficulty. It might either be at once declared cancelled, the banker being allowed, if he thinks fit, to move his shop into British territory, or it might be continued for life to the present head of the firm, he being informed in writing that it will end at his death. Under all the circumstances, I am disposed to recommend the adoption of the latter course.

28 May 1849. (signed) *J. P. Willoughby.*

(No. 5,643.)

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Blane.*

ANYTHING elicited affecting the accuracy of Mr. Boyd's return of guarantees ought, I think, to be duly reported and noted in that document; but it appears to me to be inexpedient to bring the merits of particular guarantees under discussion until some question be raised upon them.

(signed) *D. A. Blane.*

29 May 1849.

(No. 5,644.)

FURTHER MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor.

I CONCUR in Mr. Willoughby's suggestion, that the Resident should receive intimation that Government consider it highly inexpedient to agitate questions of this nature until we are compelled by circumstances to enter on them; but I differ from my honourable colleague in respect to which he deems the best of the three courses to be pursued with regard to the guarantee formerly granted to the house of Manuckchund Roopchund, which, I think, should be at once declared cancelled; the banker being allowed, if he think fit, to remove his shop into British territory.

(signed) *Falkland.*

7 June 1849.

(No. 6.)

(No. 5,645.)

FURTHER MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Willoughby*.

I HAVE no further remark to offer.

(signed) *J. P. Willoughby.*

9 June 1849.

(No. 7.)

(No. 5,646.)

FURTHER MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Blane*.

I SEE no particular objection to its being intimated to the heir or representative of Manuckchund Roopchund, that the "bhandary" is not considered to be any longer in force, since the adoption of this course is considered by the Right honourable the President to be advisable.

(signed) *D. A. Blane.*

11 June 1849.

(No. 5,647.)

FURTHER MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Messrs. *Willoughby* and *Blane*, without date.

THE course I have preferred should now, I think, be followed.

(signed) *Falkland.*
J. P. Willoughby.
D. A. Blane.

No. 2,851, of 1849.—Political Department.

(No. 5,648.)

From *A. Malet*, Esquire, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, to Captain *P. T. French*, Officiating Resident at Baroda.

Sir,

1. I AM directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 9, dated the 5th January last, soliciting attention to the existing guarantees held from the British Government by subjects of the Baroda Durbar, with the view to a reduction being made in their number, in the event of the present being deemed a fitting period for effecting the same.

2. In reply, I am desired to inform you, that the measures you suggest in the 1st para. of your letter are opposed to the sentiments of the Government of India, and of the Honourable Court, an extract from whose despatch of the 21st December, No. 21, of 1842, was transmitted to the Political Commissioner for Guzerat on the 15th July 1843. I am also directed to state, that the Right honourable the Governor in Council considers it highly inexpedient to agitate questions of this nature until circumstances compel Government to enter on them.

3. Any inaccuracies which may exist in the list of guarantee furnished to Government by the late Mr. Boyd, on the 18th November 1840, do not come under this prohibition.

4. I am

4. I am therefore desired, with reference to the 2d paragraph of your letter, to inform you that the Honourable the Court of Directors having distinctly refused to acknowledge their obligation to the Shastree family as extending beyond the guarantee for their joint lives, of the annual nemnook from the Gaekwar of 60,000 rupees, this guarantee is terminable with the lives of the holders of this nemnook. 60,000 rupees.

5. The Right honourable the Governor in Council accordingly authorises the requisite correction being made in the lists, in which it is entered as an hereditary guarantee.

6. Adverting to the 3d and 4th paragraphs, recommending, for the reasons therein given, the withdrawal of the guarantee from Nos. 4, 6, 7 and 12 of the late Mr. Boyd's list, above alluded to, I am instructed to communicate to you the following observations and instructions.

7. The ground on which you recommend the withdrawal of Amrut Lall Tooljaram's guarantee is, that this individual lives and has lived for years out of the Gackwar state at Alunedabad. A reference to Mr. Boyd's list, an extract from which is entered in the margin,* would have shown you that this person has been dead many years, but that a member of his family survives. No. 4. Amrut Lall Tooljaram.

* *See* below.

8. The village of Mukdoompoor, alluded to in the above extract, was confirmed to the late Amrut Lall Tooljeram, by the following Article II. of the sunnud granted to him by the Gaekwar Government in 1801.

"The village of Mukdoompoor, in the Duseroee pergunnah, in the Peshwa's share of the city of Ahmedabad, which was formerly given you in enam by the camavishdar of that district, shall, according to your request, still continue in your possession from Sumvut 1858."

9. This guarantee you will perceive, from Article I. of the sunnud, entered in the margin,† is perpetual, and as "Ahmedabad" is specially mentioned as one of the places in which its privileges were to be enjoyed, the residence there of the person entitled to succeed to the guarantee can be no reason for its being cancelled.

† *See* below.

10. The next guarantee of which you recommend the withdrawal, is that granted in 1803 to Kandass Patell and Bychund Dessaee. The entry given in the No. 6. Khandass Patell and Bychund Dessaee.

*

* Name of the Person Guaranteed.	Substance of Agreement.	Date of Guarantee.	REMARKS.
Amrut Lall Tooljaram.	- - Protection for himself and family, and certain goomashtas, specified by name, while trading as merchants in any part of the Gaekwar's territories, either at Ahmedabad or Baroda, and the village of Mukdoompoor, in the Duskroee pergunnah of the zillah of Ahmedabad, formerly granted in enam from the Peshwa's share, to be continued in his possession.	- - 11 February 1803.	- - This person was karbaree of Seloonkur, Soobadar of Ahmedabad, when dispossessed of the place. He was originally under Arab guarantee, but on their discharge this was exchanged for one of a similiar nature by the British Government. Amrut Lall Tooljaram is deceased, but Sooruj Koonrour, his son's wife, is living at Ahmedabad, and enjoys the village of Mukhtoompoor, in that zillah, by virtue of the guarantee. But as Ahmedabad is now British possession, there is little ground for considering any guarantee to be now in force, particularly as heirs are not mentioned in the original agreement.

† "You are permitted to reside peaceably either in Baroda, Ahmedabad, or any other place in the Gaekwar territories which you prefer, along with your family, and your gomashtehs, Purshotum Taita, Runchore Coobere, Sevakrum Kavulram and Gunnesh Mehta, in the capacity of a merchant, and no one shall injure you, which the Government will take care of as long as you conduct yourself properly. For the due performance of this article, the perpetual bhanderry of Government is given."

* *See* below.

the margin * is extracted from Mr. Boyd's list, above referred to, and relates to this guarantee. Its withdrawal is recommended by you on the ground that, although now held by the grandchildren of the individuals to whom it was originally granted, it is not hereditary.

11. I am directed to state, that if you have formed this conclusion from the extract above quoted, you will perceive, from the translation of the original guarantee, entered in the margin,† its exact nature, and that it is perpetual.

† *See* below. No. 7. Samul Bechur, and Mungul Sukeedass.

12. The nature of the next guarantee of which you recommend the withdrawal, is stated in the extract from Mr. Boyd's list, entered in the margin.‡

‡ *See* below.

13. There is no stipulation in the above guarantee that it shall extend beyond the lives of the parties to whom it was granted, and as they are stated by you to be both dead, the guarantee should be considered to have lapsed.

14. It appears, however, that the present representatives (grandchildren) of Mungul Sukedas possess a separate guarantee of an hereditary nature, which was, on the 7th January 1803, granted by Colonel Walker, and which, of course, extends to them.

15. With

*

Names of the Persons Guaranteed.	Substance of Agreement.	Date of Guarantee.	REMARKS.
Kandass Patel & Bhychund Dessaee.	- - Kandass Soor Ameen, Patel of the Baroda pergunnah. The guarantee is for personal protection for himself and family, agents and dependents, and security in the possession of pusaeta lands, houses, and all other just rights. This person and Bychund Dessaee are both deceased, but the guarantee is still enjoyed by their families. The protection guaranteed is not declared hereditary, and the nature of the property, being meeras or wuttuns, seems not to have required it in respect to the inheritance.	- - 26 January 1803.	- - These persons possessed the guarantee of the Arabs, which, on their dismissal, was confirmed by the British Government, and now extends to their families.

† "In former times the Government disputed your money account, and on that account you, being fearful, left the city of Baroda. Sometime after this the Government issued a perwana recalling you, upon which you returned and settled your account, and gave you a separate memorandum, containing 10 articles, which shall be strictly conformed to, for which bandary is given you in the names of Narrain Rao Rajah Bandreh, Almanee Jemedar, Hyder Jemedar, and Nassir Jemadar. After this no more notice shall be taken of the former dispute, for which perpetual bandary is given."

‡

Names of the Persons Guaranteed.	Substance of Agreement.	Date of Guarantee.	REMARKS.
Samul Bechur and Mungal Sukeedas.	- - Guaranteeing them to reside where they please, and conduct their banking transactions. Guarantees their just claims against their debtors, and secures them from injury. This is not an hereditary guarantee.	- - -	- - They were the bankers of the Arabs, on whose removal from Baroda the guarantee of the British Government was granted for their personal safety, as well as their agents and dependents. Samul Bechur is dead; his heirs, Hurree Lall and Motee Lall are now living, and carry on their business. Mungul Sukredass also is dead; his son, Lulloo Mungul, conducts his father's business in Baroda.

15. With reference to the guarantee (No. 12) granted to Manukchund Roopchund, which is described in the margin,* as extract from the list furnished by the late Mr. Boyd, I am desired to state, that as no mention is made in this bhandary that it shall be continued beyond the life of the party to whom it was granted, the Right honourable the Governor in Council directs that it be considered to have lapsed by his death; an intimation to that effect being made to the heir or representative, who appears by the 5th para. of your letter to have claimed the guarantee, and who can, if he think fit, remove his shop into British territory.

No. 12. Manukchund Roopchund.

* *See* below.

16. With reference to the 7th para. of your letter, I am directed to refer you to the orders of Government in the case of Bulwunt Rao Gaekwar, contained in my letters, dated the 6th March and the 7th and 31st ultimo.

17. Adverting to the 8th para. of your letter, I am desired to inform you that the recommendation therein contained will be disposed of with Lieutenant-colonel Outram's letter of the 29th July last, which is now engaging the attention of Government.

I have, &c.,
(signed) *A. Malet*, Chief Secretary.

Bombay Castle,
30 June 1849.

(True extract.)
A. Malet, Chief Secretary.

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, 20 March 1850.

No. 38 of 1850.—Political Department.

(No. 2,119.)

From Lieutenant *M. Battye*, Assistant Resident in Charge at Baroda, to *Arthur Malet*, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

1. ADVERTING to the 13th para. of your letter, under date 30th June last, No. 2,851, to the address of the Officiating Resident, stating, for reasons therein specified, that the British guarantee granted to Samul Bechur "should be considered to have lapsed," I do myself the honour to submit to Government copies of two papers, extracted from a chopra produced by the karcoon of the firm, one of which, bearing Colonel Walker's signature, distinctly pronounces the guarantee to be perpetual. The original document, I am given to understand, was burnt when Samul Bechur's house caught fire some years ago; and the papers now forwarded are exact copies of the manuscript in the chopra, which purport to be copies of the original on this subject; therefore I beg to solicit the orders of Government.

2. With reference to the 15th para. of the same letter, I have the honour to state, that the instructions therein contained relative to the guarantee to Manuckchund Roopchund, have been communicated to the present representative of the firm.

I have, &c.
(signed) *M. Battye*,
Assistant Resident in Charge.

Baroda Residency,
16 February 1850.

*

Name of the Person Guaranteed.	Substance of Guarantee.	Date of Guarantee.	REMARKS.
Manukchund Roopchund.	- - The Gaekwar Government guaranteed to this person, an inhabitant of Surat, a perwannah or permit to establish a commercial house at Baroda, promising that he should not be molested: it will remain in force while the firm exists at Baroda, under the guarantee of the British Government.	- - 23 March 1809.	- - This banking-house still exists at Baroda, under the guarantee of the British Government. The heir of this person resides at Surat.

Cambay, 8 June 1802.

THIS is to certify, that Samul Bechur, shroff at Baroda, and who has also a house at Ahmedabad, and another at Surat, is entitled to the Honourable East India Company's good-will and protection, from the disposition he has hitherto shown to render himself worthy of their favour, on which I have great confidence that he will.

(signed) *J. Duncan.*

(True copy.)

(signed) *M. Battye,* Assistant Resident.

(Copy.)

Baroda, 7 January 1803.

WHEREAS Samul Bechur, late of Ahmedabad, now residing at Baroda, had not only given a proof of his disposition to render himself worthy of the Honourable English East India Company's good-will and protection, but has fully answered the expectations entertained by the Honourable the Governor of Bombay, as expressed in his certificate, bearing date the 8th June last, hereunto annexed, and having readily and amply contributed towards accomplishing the Company's views in this country, I do hereby declare for myself, and on behalf of the Honourable Company, that he is deserving of their favour and protection, and that they do by these presents assure and bind themselves to protect and defend his house, trade, and property at this place, at Ahmedabad, Dollerah, Surat, and Bombay, against any unjust attack or claim from the English or Gaekwar Governments, and that this protection shall extend to him, his wife and children, and their posterity, for ever.

Given under my hand and the Company's seal, in Baroda, the day, month and year above written.

(signed) *A. Walker,* Resident.

(True copy.)

(signed) *M. Battye,* Assistant Resident.

(No. 2,120.)

MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Board.

1. THE papers handed up by Mr. Battye are identical with those alluded to in the 28th para. of my minute of the 24th May last, with the exception of the substitution of the name of "Samul Bechur" for that of "Mungul Sukeedas."

2. It is, of course, possible that similar papers might have been given simultaneously to the two partners, but as it cannot be found from the records of the Secretariate that such a paper was given to Samul Bechur, and as Mr. Boyd, in his list, accompanying his report of the 18th November 1840, distinctly states that the guarantee given in the joint names of Samul Bechur and Mungul Sakeedas was not hereditary, I would not, without corroborative proof, admit the validity of this document.

3. In the list transmitted by the Resident at Baroda, on the 13th December 1831, it is stated that Samul Bechur's guarantee is hereditary; no paper of guarantee, however, was forwarded with this list, and an examination of Captain Carnac's letter of the 10th August 1809, tends to the inference that the hereditary guarantee now produced did not then exist, more especially as that given to Mungul Sakeedas is specially noticed in the same list, in which no notice is inserted of a similar paper given to Samul Bechur.

4. The Resident must, therefore, institute a strict search into the records of 1802 and 1803, for any notice of the grant of these guarantees; without which

or

or some other convincing proof, I shall not be inclined to alter the opinion already recorded by Government, that the nature of Samul Bechur's guarantee is not hereditary.

(signed) *Falkland.*
W. Cotton.
J. P. Willoughby.
D. A. Blane.

26 February 1850.

No. 1,172 of 1850.—Political Department.

(No. 2,121.)

From *A. Malet*, Esquire, Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Lieutenant *M. Battye*, Assistant to the Resident at Baroda, in charge.

Sir,

1. I AM directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 38, dated the 16th ultimo, submitting copies of two papers produced by the carkoon of the firm of Samul Bechur, in support of its claim to the hereditary guarantee therein alluded to.

2. In reply, I am desired to inform you that the paper now submitted by you is precisely the same as the hereditary guarantee granted to Mungul Sakeedas, excepting that in this the name of Samul Bechur is substituted for that of Mungul Sakeedas.

3. It is possible that similar papers might have been given simultaneously to the two partners; but as it cannot be discovered, from the records of the Secretariate, that such a paper was given to Samul Bechur, and as the late Mr. Boyd, in the list accompanying his report of the 18th November 1840, distinctly stated that the guarantee given in the joint names of Samul Bechur and Mungul Sakeedas was not hereditary, the Right honourable the Governor in Council cannot, without corroborative proof, admit the validity of this document.

4. His Lordship in Council, therefore, requests that a careful search may be instituted into the Residency records of the years 1802 and 1803, for any notice of the grant of this guarantee, reporting the result to Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Malet*, Chief Secretary.

Bombay Castle,
11 March 1850.

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, 4th April 1851.

(No. 1,899.)

No. 259 of 1850.—Political Department.

From Lieutenant-colonel *J. Outram*, C.B., Resident at Baroda, to *Arthur Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

AGREEABLY to the instructions contained in the 4th para. of your letter, No. 1,172, dated 11th March last, to the address of my assistant, I have the honour to report that the records of the years 1802 and 1803 have been carefully searched for the information regarding the hereditary guarantee said to have been conferred on the firm of Samul Bechur, and I herewith beg to forward extract of some notes of conference made by Major Walker, on the 1st of February 1802, from which it appears that Samul Bechurdass was "assured of the Company's protection, in proportion as his services should merit it." This is the only notice we can find of the guarantee to this individual in the records of our office which has not before been laid before Government; and I have now to solicit the orders of the Right honourable the Governor in Council, as to whether this guarantee is to be considered hereditary, or otherwise.

When Mr. Boyd reported on this subject, in November 1840, he doubtless was not aware of the document, copy of which Mr. Battye submitted to Government, with his letter, No. 38, dated 16th February 1850, being in the possession of the firm, no copy of it having been found in the office.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. Outram*, Resident.

Baroda Residency,
29 October 1850.

EXTRACT from Notes of Conference by Major *Walker*, dated Baroda, February 1802.

No. 1. Monday, 1st February 1802.—THIS day, at half-past one o'clock, Samul Parikh Becherdass, a wealthy shroff, unto whom I had a letter from the Governor, accompanied by a number of other merchants, came to visit me; Aka Mahomed, Kehmaul-ud-deen and Hafesjee were present at this interview.

Becherdass acknowledged the receipt of the Honourable the Governor's letter, and promised to act in conformity with his injunctions. He professed himself ready to serve the Company with money to an unlimited extent, and even to assist them with an armed force if necessary. He proposed that one of his clerks should accompany the detachment, if I required it, to attend to the supply of its pecuniary wants; a proposal which was civilly declined.

Becherdass made the strongest professions of attachment to the Company, and said that it had been the first object of his desire to see the legal heir seated on the Guicowar gaudee. He expressed his hope that we would not be long in taking Kurree, after which event he would hearken to and obey whatever commands might be laid on him.

Becherdass proceeded to state the particulars of a loan of money entered into with him by the Resident at Cambay, on the Company's account. On this subject he was referred to the Honourable the Governor at Surat, who would do him justice if he had any just cause of complaint.

After repeated declarations of fidelity and attachment, he was assured of the Company's protection in proportion as his services should merit it.

Having again expressed his entire subserviency, Samul Parickh asked leave to make a present of certain articles, and was dismissed with the usual ceremonies. *Vide* A.

(True extract.)
(signed) *M. Battye*,
Assistant Resident.

(No. 1,900.)

MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Mr. *Blane*.

As there appears to be no record whatever of the grant of a guarantee to Samul Bechur, similar to that granted on the 7th January 1803 to Mungul Sukeedass, I cannot think that one was ever given; for I am of opinion that the copy, which is stated to be that of an original destroyed by fire, is not sufficient evidence to warrant a different conclusion. Should my colleagues concur with me, the hereditary guarantee claimed by Samul Bechur's descendants on that document may be disavowed.

(signed) *Falkland.*
D. A. Blane.

11 November 1850.

(No. 1,901.)

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Willoughby*.

BEFORE we finally decide on this case, I would suggest that a careful summary be prepared, of all the information our records contain respecting this guarantee, and how it is entered in the acts of bhandarrys, or guarantees. which have from time to time been submitted to Government.

14 November 1850. (signed) *J. P. Willoughby.*

(No. 1,902.)

MEMORANDUM by the Chief Secretary to Government.

1. WITH reference to the call made in the Honourable Mr. Willoughby's minute of the 14th November last, the Chief Secretary begs to submit the following information, being the whole that can be traced on the records of Government, relative to the guarantees formerly given to the late Samul Bechur Parukh and Mungul Sukhedass Parukh.

2. Under date the 15th March 1802, certain articles of convention were entered into at Cambay by the Honourable Mr. Duncan, Governor of Bombay, "for and on behalf of the Honourable East India Company, of the one part, and Raojee Appajee, for and on behalf of Anund Rao Gaekwar, Senakhaskel Sumsher Bahadoor, of the other part, for the security of the dominion and government of the Gaekwar in Guzerat.

3. The first and second articles of this convention were to the following effect:—

Art. I. "The said Raojee Appajee having solicited the assistance of the English troops against Mulhar Rao, with a view of bringing him to reason, either by peaceable or hostile means, so as to prevent his ruining the country of the state of the Gaekwar, of which Anund Rao is the proper and legitimate heir and head, and the English troops, under the command of Major Walker, having accordingly arrived in the territories of the Gaekwar, and the said Raojee Appajee having also come to Cambay to meet the Honourable the Governor, it is hereby agreed by and between them, that the expense already incurred, and such others as may hereafter be occasioned, for the pay, allowances and transportation of stores, ammunition, &c., shall be accounted for and paid, with interest, at the rate of three-quarters per cent. per month of 30 days, by the said Raojee Appajee, on account of Anund Rao Gaekwar, and the state aforesaid, in two instalments, the first to become due on or before the 5th of October next, and the second on or before the 5th of January 1803; for the security of which he assigns and mortgages the Gaekwar's share of the district of Uthavisee, near Surat, hereby agreeing, that on failure of the first instalment the English are to take possession of the said country, and to retain the same under their own collection and management, until the whole be fully cleared and made good to the Honourable Company, with interest."

Art. II. "It is further hereby stipulated between the Honourable East India Company and the Gaekwar state, that the latter shall permanently subsidise from the Honourable Company a force of about 2,000 sepoys, one company of European artillery, and its proportion, consisting of two companies, of Lascars; the estimated expense of which, including establishment of stores, being about 65,000 rupees per month. It is hereby agreed that landed jaédad, or funds, be assigned, so as fully to cover this expense, and whatever it may amount to, from such part of the Gaekwar territories as may be hereafter fixed on, in view to the greatest convenience of both parties; but this article is not to be carried into effect till the war against Kuree be closed, when it is also proposed, through the co-operation of the English, to effect a reduction in the number of the Arab force now kept up; and, meanwhile, this is to be considered as an eventual, and to remain at present an entirely secret article."

4. As connected with the last-mentioned of the above "Articles," the following further stipulation was entered into at Cambay, by Mr. Governor Duncan, with Raojee Appajee, the Dewan of Anund Rao Gaekwar:—

Art. IV. "The second Article of the Convention of the 15th March last, proposing to effect a reduction in the number of the Arab force under the Gaekwar Government, the principal obstacle to which consists in want of ready money funds for the liquidation of the arrears of such part of the said establishment as it is proposed to disband, and the Honourable Company meaning to extend to this effect some pecuniary assistance to the Gaekwar state, the repayment of this amount is to take place and be secured in the manner following; namely,

"The first payment of interest by Mrig of 1860, or June 1803, the second

year's interest, and one-third of the principal, by Mrig of 1861, or June 1804, and all the remaining principal and interest by Mrig of 1862, or June 1805.

"But in the event of failing in the above stipulated payments, the revenue of the pergunnas of Baroda, Koral, Senor, Petlad and Ahmedabad, to the full amount of the rusud, which will be about 11,75,000 rupees per annum, shall be collected by the Company, in proportion to the advance that may be made by them; and when this debt is fully paid, the collection of that part of the revenue from the above-named pergunnas, shall revert again to the administration of the Government of Baroda."

5. At the above period, as appears from the following extract from a letter from the late Colonel Walker, dated the 30th July 1802, Samul Bechur and Mungul Sukeedass, who in the correspondence of that time are generally conjointly alluded to as the "parukhs," possessed very considerable power and influence at Baroda. "It is not, however, in my opinion, owing either to motives of regard or of obligation that Rowba yields to the measures of the paruks. The assistance which he requires from them, and the absolute direction which they have of the Arabs, are the causes of his submission. The first is, indeed, a real and substantial cause. It is these parukhs who furnish the disbursements of the state, and much of the domestic expenses of the Raja and the minister. They have, by degrees, obtained possession of every source of supply, and may either forward or suspend any operation of government.

"Rowba is not insensible to the disgrace of this kind of dependence, but he feels it less than the ferocious sword of the Arab; this has rivetted the power of the parukhs, and the Dewan dreads its exercise through their intrigues. His fears however on this head must subside, as his natural good sense will discover to him that the period of their influence is expiring. The interposition of the English detachment they all know will render revolutions less easy, and many of the Arabs are dissatisfied with the parukhs. As the government recovers itself, these men will fall to their proper standard, and be reduced to the functions of their profession.

"A regard for their persons and property will prevent them attempting anything dangerous, but they will continue to obstruct, by their intrigues, and the influence which their money gives them, any attempt to reduce the expenses of government. Everything promises that they will not be long successful; some of the most respectable of the Arab chiefs have become sensible of their selfish and dishonest conduct in respect to them. They are sensible that the English power must predominate, and are willing to secure themselves under its shelter. Two of the principal chiefs have already, in fact, deserted the parukhs and embraced our side, by a secret convention which they have concluded with Rowba."

6. In two letters addressed about this by Babajee Appajee (brother of the Dewan) to Colonel Walker, he observes, "Raojee cannot control the two parukhs or the Arabs. Hitherto we had, to the utter ruin of the Sirkar, kept ourselves on the best of terms with the Arabs and their two parukhs."

7. On the 8th September 1802, Colonel Walker submitted to Government the statement given in the margin,* of the amount of the arrears of pay then due

* *See* Below.

* ESTIMATE of the Arrears due to the discharged Sebundy, including Babajee's Levies and Rowba's Promissory Note.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*
Balance of arrears due to the old Sebundy - - -	14,83,545	1	–			
„ due on Rowba's note - - - - -	5,00,000	–	–			
„ to Babajee's levies - - - - - -	3,00,000	–	–			
				22,83,545	1	–
„ Funds for defraying this sum:						
By the Honourable Company - - - - -	10,00,000	–	–			
„ the two Parukhs - - - - - -	5,00,000	–	–			
„ as not having been credited by the Parukhs on a former account - - - - - - -	1,75,000	–	–			
„ Samul Bukhty - - - - - - -	3,00,000	–	–			
				19,75,000	–	–
Deficiency - - - *Rs.*				3,08,545	1	–

due by the Baroda state to the discharged Arab sebundee, observing, "I am sorry that the amount considerably exceeds the original calculation, and although Rowba says that he will find funds to answer the deficiency, I must own that I do not see any certain available means within his power. The excess has principally arisen from the artful management of the parukhs, by discharging those who have been longest in the service, and unto whom the largest arrears were of course due."

8. It had been resolved by Government, that the Arab Sebundee, in consequence of their treacherous and insubordinate conduct, should no longer be permitted to remain in the service of the Baroda state; they refused, however, to leave Baroda, and having secured the person of Anund Rao Gaekwar, they obtained possession of Baroda and other places. A considerable British force was in consequence assembled at Baroda, and a protracted negotiation having failed to bring them to terms which were prescribed by Government, it was finally resolved by Government, in concert with Anund Rao Gackwar, to expel them by force. Accordingly, on the 18th December 1802, the town of Baroda was invested by the allied troops; the siege was prosecuted with vigour, and the breach was reported practicable, when the Arabs renewed the negotiation, which terminated in a capitulation on the 26th December 1802, by which they bound themselves to evacuate the fort of Baroda, to release Anund Rao Gaekwar, to abstain from all future intercourse with the enemies of his Government, and to quit Gujerat after their arrears of pay, amounting to about 14 lacks of rupees, had been paid, it being at the same time stipulated that the bhanderry of the Honourable Company should be substituted for theirs, wherever it had been granted, either to persons or property.

9. On the 15th October 1805, Colonel Walker submitted to Government "a detailed statement of loans or other pecuniary advances made to the Gaekwar Government, under the bhanderry or guarantee of the Honourable Company, or which became guaranteed by the Company in consequence of the engagement with the Gaekwar, including some personal bhanderries."

ENTRY No. XI. of this List, is as follows:

No.	Description of the Bhanderry.	REMARKS, explanatory of the Nature of the Engagement, and the Authority under which it was contracted.
XI.	A security to Samul Bechur, that he should not be displaced from the mamlutdarry of Baroda for two years, 1860–1.	The deed has now become invalid, by the expiration of the period for which it was given. It was necessary, in order to quiet the apprehensions of Samul Bechur, lest he should be deprived of the mamlut, and in consequence exposed to loss, from having accepted the warrat for six lacs of rupees, given in favour of the Company, to discharge their first loan.

10. No mention is made in the above list of any separate bhandary of "favour and protection," having, as is asserted by the present representatives of Samul Bechur's firm, been granted to Samul Bechur on the 7th January 1803, on hereditary tenure.

11. In a report, dated the 1st January 1806, on the administration of the Gaekwar's minister, Sectæram, and containing information on various subjects connected with the financial affairs of the Baroda state, Colonel Walker observes, "At the period of the first arrival of the British mission at Baroda, the factions and parties in the capital had almost deprived the Dewan of the exercise of the functions of his office; the interior acts of government were transacted by Raoba, but the influence of the parukhs, Samul Bechur and Mungul Sakeedass, who were the agents of the two rival parties of the Arabs, directed every operation, and the ferocious superiority which the Arabs had obtained rendered it dangerous to pursue any cause at variance with their interests."

12. In a further statement, which accompanied a subsequent report from Colonel Walker, dated the 26th November 1808, enumerating the pecuniary

transactions of the Gaekwar Government, in which the Honourable Company's bhandary was involved, Samul Bechur is mentioned as follows:

Number.	Description of the Bhandaree.	Remarks.
XI.	- - A security to Samul Bechur that he should not be displaced from the mamlutdary of Baroda for two years, 1860-61.	Discharged and cancelled.

* *Note.*—This entry is identical with that quoted in para. 9 of this memorandum.

13. Under date the 31st May 1827, the late Mr. Williams, Resident at Baroda, submitted an alphabetical list of all bhanderry engagements entered into by the "British Government, from the commencement of the year 1801 to the end of 1826, incident to its connexion with the Gaekwar Government, specifying the date and purpose for which each was granted, the nature of each, and where redeemed, and the date of redemption, compiled from the English and Native Records of the Baroda Residency." In this list the seven following entries occur with respect to Samul Bechur:

Number.	Names of the Persons Guaranteed, and Date of Guarantee.		Nature of Guarantee, Purpose for which it was originally Granted, and Date of Redemption.
	Redeemed.	Unredeemed.	
93	- - - -	Samul Bechur, 5 February 1803.	- - This person, in conjunction with Mungul Parakh, was the banker of the Arabs, on whose removal from Baroda, the guarantee of the British Government was granted for their personal security in Baroda and Ahmedabad, including in the same all their agents and dependents. The two parukhs are deceased, but their families still enjoy the pledge originally granted.
94	Samul Bechur, 10 November 1803.	- - - -	- - This person obtained the mamlut, or charge of the district of Baroda, for Sumvuts 1860 and 61, which was secured to him for that period by our guarantee, on his agreeing to appropriate the revenues in liquidation of a certain loan. It is reported redeemed in Colonel Walker's Report, dated the 26th November 1808.
95	Samul Bechur, 11 November 1803, *Rs.* 9,23,601. 2. 50.	- - - -	- - A joint loan was obtained by the Gaekwar Government, from the British Government and the bankers of Baroda, on the entire discharge of the Arabs from Baroda. The latter advanced of this loan *Rs.* 9,23,601. 2. 50, the repayment of which was guaranteed by us, and confirmed by Government, the 2d January 1804. For further particulars, refer to Colonel Walker's Bhandary Reports, dated the 29th March 1805, and the 26th November 1808, in the last of which the guarantee is reported redeemed.
96	Samul Bechur, 21 February 1804, *Rs.* 3,00,000.	- - - -	- - A loan of 300,000 rupees, advanced to the Gaekwar Government, to liquidate certain arrears on account of its Moodee Kaneh, or commissariat establishment. Refer to the Reports above quoted, in the last of which our guarantee is reported redeemed.
97	Samul Bechur, 26 November 1808, *Rs.* 6,24,000.	- - - -	- - Refer to guarantees Nos. 60 and 79 of this list, of which loan this person advanced 6,24,000 rupees. Redeemed.
98	Samul Bechur, 26 June 1811, *Rs.* 2,08,348.	- - - -	- - Refer to guarantees 4, 12 and 80 of this list, of which loan this person advanced 2,08,348 rupees. Redeemed.
99	Samul Bechur, 9 July 1825, *Rs.* 4,12,001.	- - - -	- - A loan of 4,12,001 rupees was advanced, in April 1825, to the Gaekwar Government, to enable it to defray the expenses of the marriage of Eshodabhaee, the eldest daughter of his Highness Syajee Row, the reigning Gaekwar, and the same was guaranteed by the British Government. For further particulars refer to Mr. Willoughby's Report to Government, dated the 27th June 1825. On the 6th November, this contract having been annulled, a fresh one was entered into; consequently the security for the due performance of the former is to be of no effect, a report of which circumstance was made by the Resident to the Government, on the 31st May 1827.

14. The following entries occur in this list with respect to "Mungul Sukeedass," who in this and other subsequent lists is referred to in connexion with "Samul Beechur:"

Number.	Names of the Persons Guaranteed, and Date of Guarantee.		Nature of Guarantee, Purpose for which it was originally Granted, and Date of Redemption.
	Redeemed.	Unredeemed.	
58	- - - -	Mungul Sukeedass, 8 June 1802.	- - The late Mr. Duncan, when at Cambay, in 1802, gave a written paper to this person, granting to himself and family the guarantee of the Honourable Company, for protection and safety in Ahmedabad and Baroda. This pledge is hereditary, and is at present enjoyed by his son, Lulloobhoy Parikh, who is one of the principal bankers of Baroda.
59	- - - -	Mungul Sukeedass, 24 August 1808.	- - This person entered into a contract with the late Kurnal-ood-deen Hussein Khan, to become his potedar, or banker, on condition that the whole of his official salary should be paid into his bank. This engagement was guaranteed by the British Government, and remains unredeemed.
60	Mungul Sukeedass	- - - -	- - A loan of 6,24,000 rupees was advanced by him to the Gaekwar Government, to liquidate arrears due to its military establishments, the repayment of which was guaranteed by us. It is reported redeemed in Major Carnac's Report, dated the 6th February 1817.
61	Mungul Sukeedass, 22 June 1811, *Rs.* 2,08,000.	- - - -	- - Refer to guarantee No. 4 of this list, of which loan he advanced 2,08,000 rupees under our guarantee, which is reported redeemed in Major Carnac's Report, dated 6th February 1817.

15. Under date the 14th February 1828, the late Mr. Williams, with a report on various matters connected with the Baroda state, submitted, amongst other enclosures, an historical account of the circumstances which had led to the introduction of the system of bhandary engagements in Guzerat. Mr. Williams then enumerated the bhandarys then existing, observing, "The record-room in which these documents were kept was destroyed by fire, so that a regular series of these is not procurable; but by inquiry of the holders of these guarantees a list has been procured as follows."

16. The bhandary engagements enumerated by Mr. Williams in the above paper are 21 in number; amongst these, Samul Bechur's name is not enumerated, but mention is made of the perpetual bhandary given on the 7th January 1803 to Mungul Sunkerdass, alluded to in the Right honourable the Governor's minute of the 26th February 1850.

17. On the 24th February 1830, Major Barnewell, then in temporary charge of the office of Resident at Baroda, submitted a report on the existing Baroda guarantees, accompanied by a list of the same. In this list the two following entries occur:

Number.	NAMES.	Whether for Life or in Perpetuity.	Extent to which each Bhandary pledges Government.
21	Samul Bechur and Mungul Parukh.	Hereditary -	- - Guarantees protection to them and dependent.
23	Mungul Sukeedass Purukh -	Hereditary -	- - Guarantees his trade, person and property from all unjust acts.

18. The above was the first occasion on which the bhandary of Samul Bechur had, in any report or list forwarded to Government, been specifically alluded to as being held on hereditary tenure.

19. On the 13th December 1831, Mr. Williams forwarded to Government two lists of the Baroda bhandarys; one professing to contain a statement of the

redeemed, and the other of the unredeemed guarantees. In the latter of these lists the name of Samul Bechur is entered as follows:

Number.	Names of Persons.	Nature of the Guarantee.
25	Samul Bechur, 5 February 1803.	- - This person, *in conjunction with* Mungul Paruk, was the banker of the Arabs, on whose removal from Baroda the guarantee of the British Government was granted for their personal security in Baroda and Ahmedabad, including in the same all their agents and dependents. The two parukhs are deceased, but their families still enjoy the pledges originally granted.

20. In a list of the Baroda guarantees submitted to Government by the late Mr. Boyd, under date the 18th November 1840, the name of Samul Bechur is, in conjunction with Mungul Sukeedass, entered as follows:

*Number.	Names of the Persons Guaranteed.	Date.	Substance of Agreements.	REMARKS.
7	Samul Bechur and Mungul Sukeedass.	- 5 Feb. 1803. 12 Shaban.	- - Guaranteeing them to reside where they please, and conduct their banking transactions; guarantees their just claims against their debtors, and secures them from injury. This is not an hereditary guarantee.	- - They were the bankers of the Arabs, on whose removal from Baroda the guarantee of the British Government was granted for their personal safety, as well as their agents and dependents. Samul Bechur is dead; his heirs, Hurry Lall and Motee Lall, are now living, and carry on their business. Mungul Sukeedass also is dead; his son, Lulloo Mungul, conducts his father's business in Baroda. The late Mr. Duncan gave him a separate guarantee, dated the 8th June 1802, securing to him in perpetuity the British protection for the defence of his house and property, and for the safety of himself, wife, and family, and property, so that the heirs of Mungul Sukeedass are differently situated from those of Samul Bechur so far.

21. The above entry is identical with that alluded to in the 25th para. of the Right honourable the Governor's minute, dated the 24th May 1849.

(signed) *A. Malet*,
Chief Secretary.

24 February 1851.

(No. 1,903.)

MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

THIS memorandum has been prepared in consequence of the Honourable Mr. Willoughby's minute of the 14th November, and may be referred therefore to him.

(signed) *Falkland.*
J. Grey.

25 February 1851.

---

* This entry is evidently identical, as regards Samul Bechur, with entry No. 93, at para. 13 of this memorandum. In this entry this guarantee is stated not to be hereditary, but in the entry at para. 13 it is alluded to as being "unredeemed."

(No. 1,904.)

MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Willoughby*.

1. HAVING carefully considered these proceedings, I think that it would be premature to declare the bhandarry claimed by the firm of Samul Bechur null and void.

2. Although the entries in the lists of guarantees relating to the firm are contradictory, I think a strong presumption must exist that a guarantee, similar to that granted to Mungul Sukeedass, was granted to Samul Bechur; the hereditary nature of the former is not disputed.

3. I say that such a presumption exists, because in our earlier transactions with the Baroda state, both firms were similarly situated; they possessed the same influence, and the same reason existed for conciliating and obtaining the good-will and co-operation of both firms alike.

4. Although no original sunnud exists, and no positive testimony of the perpetual nature of the guarantee is now to be found in the records of the Baroda Residency, the copy produced from the chopras or records of the firm, if genuine, ought to decide the point in their favour. The absence of proof in Residency records may be accounted for, by the fact stated in para. 15 of this summary.

5. The question at issue, therefore, mainly depends on whether the copy in the chopras is genuine or not. On this point the Resident's further report should be required, after a careful inspection of the chopra in which it is recorded.

6. If that chopra is a trustworthy record, written some 40 years ago, and having no appearance of having been tampered with, the copy, coupled with the presumption above alluded to, would be sufficient evidence to satisfy my mind that the claim to the bhandarry is a valid one.

28 February 1851. (signed) *J. P. Willoughby.*

(No. 1,905.)

No. 10.—Further MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Mr. *Blane*.

I CONCUR in the call for the report on the copy of the guarantee in the chopras of the banker.

(signed) *Falkland.*
D. A. Blane.

4 March 1851.

(1,906.)

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, 4 April 1851.

No. 1,102 of 1851.—Political Department.

From *A. Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to Lieutenant-Colonel *J. Outram*, C.B., Resident at Baroda.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated the 20th October last, No. 259, relative to the bhandary claimed by the firm of Samul Bechur, of Baroda.

2. In reply, I am desired to state, that before coming to a final decision on this subject, his Lordship in Council is desirous of being satisfied whether the copy in the chopra is genuine or not, and therefore request that you will most carefully inspect the chopra, and report your opinion on the document alluded to.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Malet*, Chief Secretary.

Bombay Castle, 14 March 1851.

(No. 3,334.)

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, 28 April 1851.

No. 45 of 1851.—Political Department.

From Lieutenant-colonel *J. Outram*, C.B., Resident at Baroda, to *Arthur Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

AGREEABLY to the instructions contained in your letter of the 14th instant, No. 1,102, I have the honour to report that I have carefully inspected the chopra of the firm of Samul Bechur, and that the copy of the document alluded to is, to the best of my belief, genuine. The chopra is a very old one, and the writing has every appearance of having been formed many years ago; I see therefore no reason to doubt its validity.

I have, &c.

(signed) *J. Outram*, Resident.

Baroda Residency, 25 March 1851.

(No. 3,335.)

No. 13.—MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor.

NOTWITHSTANDING this favourable opinion as to genuineness of the copy of the guarantee in the books of Samul Bechur, I retain my opinion that the absence of any record of it in Colonel Walker's list of 1805, made only two years after it is asserted he had given such guarantee, is presumptive proof that it was never given, and is fatal to the claim; I would, however, refer the matter to the Honourable Court.

19 April 1851. (signed) *Falkland.*

(No. 3,336.)

No. 14.—MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Willoughby.*

I BEG to refer to my minute of the 28th February last, and to observe that the validity of the chopra being placed beyond doubt, the strong presumption which exists in favour of the guarantee becomes much stronger, and confirms me in my opinion that it ought not to be cancelled. I concur, however, in the proposed reference to the Honourable Court of Directors.

12 April 1851. (signed) *J. P. Willoughby.*

(No. 3,337.)

No. 15.—MINUTE by the Honourable Mr. *Blane.*

I ENTIRELY concur with the Right honourable President in the opinion, that the omission of the alleged guarantee by Colonel Walker, in the return furnished by that officer in 1805, is conclusive against such a guarantee having been given by him.

2. That Governor Duncan had no intention of conferring a similar guarantee to that granted to Mungul Sukeedass is evident, from the totally different tenor of the certificate of which the original has been produced. The form of the alleged guarantee from Colonel Walker would seem also, from the translation furnished, with the Assistant Resident's letter of 16th February, to be irregular, as it purports to secure the firm against any unjust attack or claim by the English as well as the Guikwar Government.

(signed) *D. A. Blane.*

12 April 1851.

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, 19 January 1853.

EXTRACT Paras. 49, 50 and 53, from a Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, dated 10 September (No. 22) of 1851.

[Paras. 49, 50 and 53 should, in the first instance, be communicated to the Resident at Baroda, for any remark he may have to offer with reference to sentiments of the Honourable Court, contained in para. 53.]

Para. 49. GUARANTEES of protection were granted in 1802 and 1803 to two influential bankers of Baroda, Samul Bechur and Mungul Sukeedass. The guarantee to the latter has always been admitted to be hereditary; that to Samul Bechur has generally been stated not to be hereditary; but it appears that the sons of that individual were allowed practically to succeed to its benefits. Recently, however, on a report from Captain French, while Officiating Resident, it has been declared to have ceased.

Para. 50. The family of Samul Bechur now produce a document of guarantee, with words of inheritance, purporting to be a copy of an original, signed by Colonel Walker, which original is declared to have been burnt when Samul Bechur's house caught fire some years ago. Lieutenant-colonel Outram reports, I have carefully inspected "the chopra of the firm of Samul Bechur, and the copy of the document alluded to is, to the best of my belief, genuine. The chopra is a very old one, and the writing has every appearance of having been formed many years ago; I see, therefore, no reason to doubt its validity."

53. Colonel Walker, however, though several times mentioning Samul Bechur as holding a guarantee, never alluded to any hereditary right, and, on the whole, we are of opinion that the evidence of a copy not authenticated, and contained only in the books of the claimant himself, cannot be taken as conclusive in his favour, unless strong corroborative evidence can be produced; therefore, if no such evidence should be adduced, the guarantee must be considered to have ceased.

No. 206 of 1853.—Political Department.

From *A. Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Resident at *Baroda*.

Sir,

WITH reference to Lieutenant-colonel Outram's letter, No. 259, dated 29th October 1850, relative to the bhandary claimed by the firm of Samul Bechur, of Baroda, and to subsequent correspondence, I am directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to transmit to you an extract, paras. 49, 50 and 53, from a despatch from the Honourable the Court of Directors, No. 22, dated the 10th September last, and to request that you will favour Government with any remarks you may have to offer with reference to the sentiments of the Honourable Court contained in the 53d para.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Malet*, Chief Secretary.

Bombay Castle, 14 January 1852.

(No. 335.)

No. 188 of 1853.—Political Department.

From *A. Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay, to the Resident at *Baroda*.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Right honourable the Governor in Council to draw your attention to my letter, No. 206, dated the 14th January 1852, relative to the bhandary claimed by the firm of Samul Bechur, of Baroda.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Malet*, Chief Secretary.

Bombay Castle, 15 January 1853.

No. 59 of 1853.—Political Department.

From *John Marshall Davies*, Esq., Resident at Baroda, to *A. Malet*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government, Bombay.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 188, of the 15th instant, drawing my attention to your previous communication, No. 206, of the 14th January 1852, on the subject of the guarantee claimed by the firm of Samul Bechur.

2. In reply, I beg to state, for the information of his Lordship in Council, that notwithstanding a letter was addressed to the firm in January 1852, apprising it of the precise state of the case, and suggesting the production of whatever other correlative proofs there might be forthcoming in support of the alleged hereditary nature of the guarantee, nothing up to this date has been adduced by the firm, nor has the letter been ever replied to.

3. Under these circumstances, it would appear that the conclusion derived by the Honourable Court becomes inevitable.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. M. Davies*, Resident.

Baroda Residency, 29 January 1853.

(No. 477.)

MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Mr. *Blane* and the Honourable Mr. *Bell*.

IT is now one year since the firm of Samul Bechur was called on for corroborative evidence of the existence of an hereditary guarantee to them; none, as reported by Mr. Davies, has been adduced. We may therefore report to the Court of Directors that we shall take no further steps, but consider that the family possesses no guarantee, unless clear proof be adduced.

(signed) *Falkland.*
D. A. Blane.
A. Bell.

8 February 1853.

(True extract.)
H. E. Goldsmid,
Secretary to Government.

(No. 5,500.)

EXTRACT Bombay Political Consultation, 16 July 1851.

PETITION from *Bhunsallee Doolachund Wumulchund*, Heir and Manager of the Firm *Manulkchund Roopchund*, and Inhabitant of Surat, to the Right honourable *Lucius Bentinck* Viscount *Falkland*, Governor and President in Council, Bombay,

Respectfully showeth,

THAT a very large amount of unrecovered balances has been outstanding in favour of the firm, established in Baroda under the guarantee of the British Government, with a view to recover which, your Lordship's memorialist has had the honour to submit to Mr. Andrews, the then agent for the Right honourable the Governor at Surat, on application, a copy of which was forwarded by that officer along with a letter to Captain French, Acting Resident at Baroda, requesting him to afford to your Lordship's memorialist the necessary assistance towards the recovery of the balances in question. What representations Captain French has submitted to Government on the subject your memorialist does not know; but an answer, bearing date the 9 July 1849, No. 621, was soon after received from that officer, stating that your memorialist's application for the recovery of the money due to his firm at Baroda, forwarded to him by the agent at Surat, had been laid before Government for their consideration; in reply to which an order dated 30 June 1849 was received from Government, intimating that

that the warrant of permission to open the firm in question under the guarantee of the British Government was granted by his Highness the Guickwar to your memorialist's ancestor, Maneckchund Roopchund, who was (now) dead, and that as no provision was made therein for its (guarantee's) continuance to his descendants, it became null and void. The Acting Resident at the same time offered to your Lordship's memorialist the alternative of either continuing his firm and other shops situated within the jurisdiction of his Highness the Guickwar, or shutting them up at once.

That your Lordship's memorialist, dissatisfied with this decision, which is calculated to entail a great pecuniary loss on him, was about to appeal to your Honourable Board, when a protracted illness to which he was subj[illegible] vented him from taking any further steps in the matter until th[illegible] 1851, when he made another application to Colonel Outram, [illegible] in reply thereto, under date the 15th idem, No. 224, that t[illegible] conveyed in the letter No. 621, dated 9th July 1849, [illegible] final.

That having now no other resource left to him, yo[illegible] most respectfully begs to lay his case before your [illegible] requests that it may be again taken into consider[illegible] below.

The warrant of permission granted by his [illegible] guarantee of the British Government, was [illegible] chund Roopchund," at a time when that in[illegible] having died nearly 50 years before. It was co[illegible] in force till the firm which was established at Ba[illegible] retain that title; but as it does so to this day, your [illegible] prays that your Honourable Board will be graciously [illegible] by issuing an order to the Resident at Baroda to aff[illegible] necessary assistance in recovering the balance due [illegible] which act of kindness, your Lordship's memorialis[illegible] pray for your Lordship's long life and prosperity.

Dool

2. In coming to this conclusion, however, Captain French would appear to have acted hastily. No such person as Manuckchund Roopchund appears, from all my inquiries, to have been alive when the British guarantee was extended to the firm in A. D. 1809, that being simply the title under which the firm, a branch of a very old and respectable one at Surat, became established at Baroda, at a time when the resort to that capital of respectable bankers was considered to be an object of sufficient importance to be brought about by the guarantee of the British Government.

3. The petition speaks for itself, so that I shall only here add, that since the guarantee extended to this firm purports to "remain in force while the firm [illegible]oda," and as it can be most clearly and satisfactorily shown that [illegible]l as Manuckchund Roopchund was in existence when the [illegible] it follows, in my most respectful opinion, that the late [illegible]rantee would not have been sanctioned by Government, [illegible]f this fact before it at the time.

[illegible]val of the Government's guarantee from a banking-[illegible]ment such as that of Baroda, very much the effect [illegible] the realisation of its debts becomes from that [illegible]h are, to the best of my belief, the actual circum-[illegible]n at this present time.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. M. Davies,* Resident.

[illegible]*und Vomulchund,* Managing Goomashta of [illegible]*opchund,* dated 24 September 1852.

[illegible] (A. D. 1809), the fir[illegible]
[illegible]nd, under[illegible]
[illegible]te Sir[illegible]

(No. 9,294.)

MINUTE by the Right honourable the Governor, concurred in by the Honourable Mr. *Blane*.

1. MR. DAVIES may be informed that we have already replied to a petition on this subject direct. Copy of the petition, with the reply, should be furnished to him.

2. I am quite indisposed to re-open this question; we determined that the guarantee was not hereditary, and nothing new is brought to show that the firm is composed of the individuals to whom the guarantee was originally granted.

3. In the event of any specific complaint of obstruction [illegible] outstanding debts of the firm, it can be considered, on its own

(signed)

31 October 1852.

(No. 9,295.)

MINUTE by the Honourable [illegible]

FEELING disinclined to re-open the question determined [illegible] French's recommendation, to which I defer, I cannot [illegible] recording my fullest concurrence in the Resident's observations [illegible] inconvenience likely to result to the firm by the withdrawal [illegible] which was to secure the partners from molestation [illegible] Baroda.

5 November 1852.

[illegible]urable

3. The Right honourable the Governor in Council is not disposed to re-open this question. It has been determined that the guarantee was not hereditary, and nothing new is now brought forward to show that the firm is composed of the individuals to whom the guarantee was originally granted.

4. In the event of any specific complaint of obstruction in realising the outstanding debts of the firm, it can be considered on its own merits.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Malet,*
Chief Secretary.

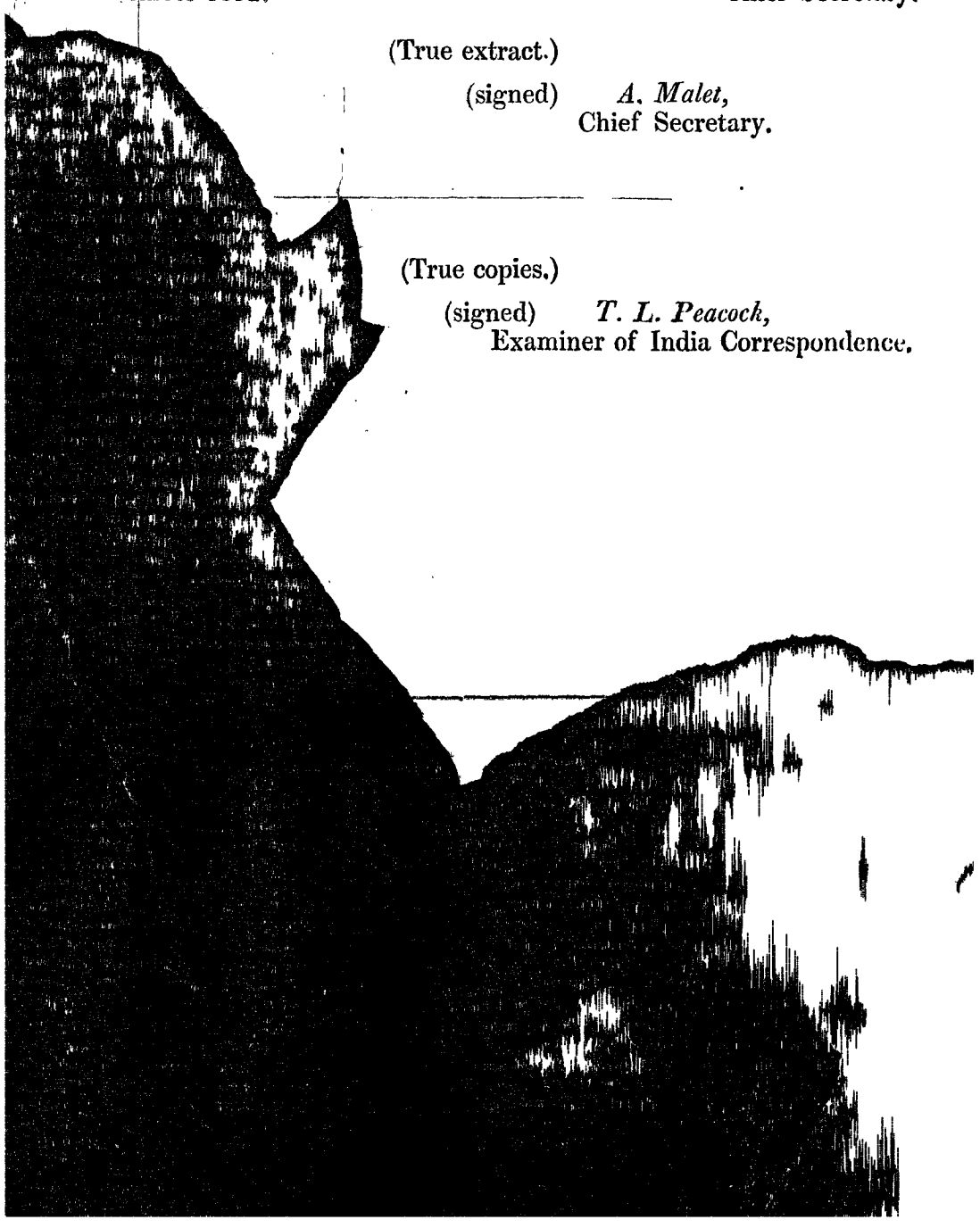
Bombay Castle,
24 November 1852.

(True extract.)

(signed) *A. Malet,*
Chief Secretary.

(True copies.)

(signed) *T. L. Peacock,*
Examiner of India Correspondence.



Fusly 1210 to 1262, with the Annual Expenditure on Irrigation and Communication—*continued.*

Total Collection, Land and Extra Sources too, or Columns 23 and 37.	Average Price of Wet Land per Valey, as shown by the Sale Deeds passing through the Cutchery.	Loss in Consequence of Drought.	PARTICULARS OF MARAMUT.				
			Expended on Irrigation Works.	Expended on Roads and Bridges from the Government Treasury.	Total of Columns 2 and 3.	Expended on Roads and Bridges from the Surplus Pagoda Funds.	Total of Columns 3 and 5.
37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.
44,51,285	98 5/16	52,571	59,196	4,908	64,104	- - -	4,908
38,84,651	59 5/8	15,740	32,983	17,751	50,734	- - -	17,751
37,21,113	60 5/16	55,264	25,268	7,526	32,794	- - -	7,526
47,61,797	165 1/4	1,42,631	28,636	3,586	32,223	- - -	3,586
43,78,571	84 1/2	1,62,723	32,880	4,247	37,127	- - -	4,247
211,97,417	467 3/4	4,28,929	1,78,964	38,018	2,16,982	- - -	38,018
42,39,484	93 9/16	- - -	35,793	7,603	43,396	- - -	7,603
43,39,258	96 3/8	1,50,579	81,982	9,643	91,625	- - -	9,643
44,11,147	108 7/8	1,28,515	98,640	9,969	1,08,607	- - -	9,969
46,70,058	84 15/16	99,458	1,04,497	1,759	1,06,256	- - -	1,759
48,42,108	126 1/4	95,282	98,279	7,781	16,060	14,129	21,610
45,93,223	122 13/16	94,116	1,13,737	342	1,14,079	- - -	342
228,55,794	539 1/4	5,67,950	4,97,135	29,492	5,26,627	14,129	43,621
45,71,159	107 13/16	- - -	99,427	5,598	1,05,325	2,826	8,724
44,73,532	122 1/4	1,96,678	59,06	3,787	62,850	- - -	3,787
46,27,667	123 9/16	4,78,637	1,49,902	4,180	1,54,172	1,728	5,908
46,51,945	150 1/2	57,905	85,620	21,838	1,07,458	14,561	36,399
48,10,877	131 7/8	58,375	88,617	924	98,341	1,824	11,548
48,27,462	148 11/16	56,505	91,703	19,061	1,10,764	1,310	20,371
233,61,483	676 7/8	8,48,100	4,74,995	58,590	5,33,585	19,423	78,013
46,72,297	135 3/8	- - -	94,999	11,718	1,06,717	3,884	15,603
46,21,102	181 3/16	70,671	78,096	357	78,453	420	77
43,93,440	180 3/16	46,376	81,238	1,754	82,992	23,577	25,3
46,09,602	171 3/16	99,775	97,100	7,770	1,04,870	- - -	7,
46,90,646	164 5/16	1,20,290	93,657	1,708	95,365	- -	1
46,54,630	173 3/8	1,03,746	97,868	3,280	1,01,148	- - -	
229,69,420	870 3/4	4,40,858	4,47,959	14,869	462,828	23,997	38,86
45,93,884	174 1/8	- - -	89,591	2,974	92,565	4,800	7,77
51,01,314	- - -	70,279	1,34,724	768	1,35,492	18,074	18,842
51,45,405	- - -	30,804	93,305	6,527	99,832	9,054	15,581
48,24,413	- - -	54,495	63,654	7,799	7,14,093	- - -	7,799
46,30,270	- - -	52,506	91,458	14,258	1,05,716	16,950	31,208
47,96,273	- - -	44,821	62,027	8,794	70,821	44,389	53,183
244,97,675	- - -	2,52,905	4,45,168	38,146	4,83,314	88,467	1,26,613
48,99,535	- - -	- - -	89,034	7,629	96,663	17,693	25,322
48,95,142	- - -	51,029	1,35,495	11,844	1,47,339	22,174	34,018
49,19,503	- - -	78,097	1,37,901	22,059	1,59,960	20,714	42,773
47,70,414	261 1/2	68,940	1,57,751	13,210	1,70,961	11,761	24,971
145,85,059	- - -	2,06,066	4,31,147	47,113	4,78,260	54,649	1,01,7
48,61,686	- - -	68,689	1,43,716	15,704	1,59,420	18,216	

REMARKS explanatory of a STATEMENT of the REVENUES of *Tanjore* as Collected from all Sources, from Fusly 1210 to Fusly 1262.

General.

As the figures in this statement differ in some respects from those entered in former accounts, it is necessary to explain the difference.

In the accounts formerly prepared, the revenues of the province were converted from pagodas to rupees, by calculating that there were 24 fanams in a pagoda, and 22 ½ fanams in 3 ½ rupees, the value of a pagoda having fallen from the former to the latter in fusly 1217. In the present accounts no notice has been taken of fanams, and pagodas have been converted into rupees, at 3 ½ of the latter to 1 of the former, whereas by the calculation before made, the pagoda was made to represent *Rs.* 3. 11. 8 ¾. A change in the value of the pagoda was thus, in the former accounts, made to represent a difference in the state of the province.

Cavil fees, which were to be collected from fusly 1223, were not included in the jummabundy of that year, but brought forward as a balance, in the demand and collection of fusly 1224. In the present accounts they are included in the revenues of fusly 1223, which was not the case in the accounts formerly sent.

In fusly 1233, the principal collector applied for leave to remit 10 per cent. of the land revenue, and prepared his accounts accordingly, but the request was not acceded to by the Board of Revenue; the amount, formerly entered as a balance in the accounts of fusly 1234, is now included in the revenues of fusly 1223.

The figures in the column of extra revenue will be found to differ from former accounts, in consequence of the erroneous calculation of the value of a pagoda, referred to above.

Column-war.

Column 2. The increase in the extent of land in fusly 1256, arose from the incorporation of the Tranquebar territory with the rest of the district.

Column 3. There are no accounts on record to show the gross produce of the province, from fusly 1210 to fusly 1215.

Columns 4, 5, 6, 8. These columns refer to the Woloongoo rent, which was introduced only in fusly 1232.

Column 9. The current prices of grain from fusly 1210 to 1231 have been entered according to old accounts; from fusly 1232 to 1254, the prices in the aumanie villages have been entered, and as their number has been much reduced since that date for subsequent years, the gross produce of the Woloongoo rented villages has been divided by their beriz, without deducting the 10 per cent. in high, or adding the 5 per cent. in low priced years, and the result entered as the current selling rates.

Column 10. There is no account to show the extent of land under aumanie in fusly 1214–1215 and 1216.

Column 16. Cavil fees were not collected up to fusly 1224, from that time to fusly 1261 they are entered, and for fusly 1262, they have been by order of the Board of Revenue incorporated with the Ayen revenue.

Colum 21. In order that a just comparison might be made between one period and another, the following deductions have been made from the accounts of those years to which they properly belong.

1st. The beriz of certain villages attached to the Poodoocottah state, which are entered in the district accounts for fusly 1210–1211 and 1212.

2nd. The beriz of some villages made over to the Muktumba Poorum Chuttrum in fusly 1235, has been deducted from previous years.

3rd. The beriz of the Karrical state has been deducted from account up to 1225.

4th. The beriz of some villages has been deducted up to fusly 1226, when they were exchanged with the Rajah for some saltpans belonging to his highness.

5th. The beriz of the Tranquebar territory has been deducted from the accounts of fusly 1211, but is added for fusly 1256, when it was permanently annexed; its amount is about 20,000 rupees.

Columns 23, 24. The statement of collection and remissions is up to April, fusly 1263.

Column 26. The annual amount for which land has been sold for arrears of revenue could be ascertained only after much delay; a general statement has therefore been given.

Column 27. The sayer duties were abolished in fusly 1253, from that time to the date of the incorporation of Tranquebar, the frontier duties between that state and Karrical, and the Tanjore province, have been entered, and subsequent to the annexation, the frontier duties for Karrical only.

Column 28. Salt was sold at 80 rupees the garce from fusly 1215 to 1219, at 105 rupees from fusly 1220 to fusly 1229, at 70 rupees from fusly 1230 to fusly 1238, at 105 rupees from fusly 1239 to 1253, and at 120 rupees subsequently.

Column 34. No house tax was collected up to fusly 1222; the tax was included in the cavil fees from fusly 1223 to fusly 1242, and since has been included in moturpha.

Column 36. The stamp revenue is entered from the year of its first collection.

Column 39. The sale value of land has been entered for such years as accounts were forthcoming for; the values are taken from the deeds of agreement filed by the seller and purchaser when application is made for a new registry of the meerass.

Fusly War.

Fusly 1210. The province came under the British Government in fusly 1210, and for that year the whole district being under amaunie, the produce of the wet lands was divided in the proportion of 40 to the meerassdars and 60 to the circar; in subsequent years the division of the produce varied from 50 to 57 per cent. to the circar, according to the means of irrigation afforded to the land, until fusly 1233, when, on the introduction of the Woloongoo rent by Mr. Cotton, the produce of all irrigated lands was equally divided between the meerassdar and the circar. The extraordinary high beriz of fusly 1210 is thus accounted for, and no fair comparison can be made between it and the beriz of subsequent years, unless one-fifth be first deducted from the former on account of the 20 per cent. extra warum; its accounts include, indeed, as the accounts of all years up to fusly 1233 include, a warum of more than 50 per cent. for many villages; comparisons can hardly be accurately made with any year prior to that fusly.

Fuslies 1214, 1215, 1216. The whole of the villages were given on one year's rent in fuslies 1214, 1215, and 1216.

Fuslies 1217 to 1219. In fusly 1217 the villages were all rented for three years.

Fuslies 1220 to 1224. From fusly 1220 to fusly 1224 inclusive, a five-years' rent of the villages was given, a deduction of 10 per cent. from the previous year's beriz being made in some villages.

Fusly 1230. The villages were given on rent for this year; deductions from the beriz of the previous year varying from 2 to 10 per cent. being allowed.

Fusly 1231. One year's rent, the standard grain amount, was fixed on all villages prior to the introduction of the Woloongoo settlement.

Fusly 1232. The Woloongoo beriz was fixed, and the Meerasswarum in all Neerarumbum villages settled at 50 per cent. of the gross produce.

Fusly 1233. Very high prices prevailed, but produce being exceedingly scanty, large remissions were granted.

Fusly 1234. Another year of high prices.

Fuslies 1235 to 1239. A five-years' rent was given in fusly 1235, 10 per cent. being deducted from those villages which did not receive the deduction in fusly 1220.

Fuslies 1235, 1236. Two years of low prices.

Fusly 1237. Another year of low price; produce was also scanty, in consequence of a violent storm, which occurred in April of fusly 1236; the land in Tanjore never produces freely unless thoroughly baked and cracked in the land wind season.

Fusly 1238. A rise in price caused an increase of revenue in the Woloongoo rented villages. The field assessment was commenced this year, and addition was made to the beriz of some villages in consequence of extra cultivation having been discovered in the survey, and of an increased assessment having been placed on some lands.

Fuslies 1239, 1240, 1241. The field assessment was continued; heavy losses sustained by the meerassdars and the Government in consequence of drought.

Fuslies 1242, 1243, 1244. A rise in price increased the collections in the Woloongoo rented villages.

Fusly 1245. Large remissions were given in consequence of losses by drought.

Fusly 1246. Although prices were high this year, remissions were required on account of losses by drought.

Fusly 1246. The annicut was built.

Fusly 1247. A year of comparatively low prices. The effect of the annicut was felt in an increase of cultivation.

Fuslies 1248-1249. Further increase of cultivation in consequence of the construction of the annicut.

Fusly 1250. The decrease in the revenue this year arose from a fall in price; cultivation was extensive, and produce good.

Fusly 1251. In consequence of very low prices, the Collector suspended the collection of the June kist until the following year.

Fusly 1252. Prices higher than in last year, but still below the standard.

Fuslies 1253–1254. The province suffered from drought.

Fusly 1255. Prices rose. In this year Tranquebar was annexed.

Fusly 1256. A year of high prices.

Fuslies 1257–1258–1259. Three years of low prices.

Fusly 1262. Pagoda and Bramin maniems, and nat and village curnum revenues, were included in the dyen account under orders from the Board of Revenue, and added 1,79,394 rupees to the jumma.

Fusly 1262. Remissions to the extent of 5–10 and 15 per cent. were allowed according to circumstances, in consequence of heavy losses sustained in a severe hurricane which visited the province in the month of March.

Maramut.

In fusly 1240, a sluice in the grand annicut was constructed, at a cost of 17,151 rupees.

In fusly 1241, the 20-vent sluice in the Cauvery bank was built, at a cost of 20,546 rupees.

In fusly 1242 was constructed a dam across the Paumanyaur, costing 13,342 rupees.

In fusly 1243 the six-vent sluice at Peromal covil, costing 12,055 rupees, was constructed, and a road from Combaconum to Odiarpollyum made, with a bridge across the Cauvery, at an expense of 14,129 rupees.

In fusly 1244 was built the 20-vent sluice near the head of Seringham, at a cost of 17,002 rupees; the 300 yard calingulas at a cost of 5,087 rupees; the head sluice between the Cauvery and Vennaur, costing 6,631 rupees; and a dam across the Vettaur, and two rajah voikals, costing 14,086 rupees.

In fusly 1246, the upper annicut cost 83,401 rupees.

In fusly 1247, the repairs of the annicut cost 23,718 rupees, and the excavation of the south rajah voikal to the lower annicut 10,777 rupees.

In fusly 1249, the bridge and calingulah at Coilady cost 11,682 rupees, and rough stone work at the annicut 14,770 rupees.

In fusly 1251, some bridges cost 23,243 rupees.

In fusly 1253, the prolongation of the dam at the upper annicut cost 18,735 rupees.

In fusly 1255, the dam across the Cauvery at the head of Seringham cost 54,584 rupees.

In fusly 1258, four bridges cost 16,393 rupees.

In fusly 1259, seven bridges cost 43,170 rupees.

In fusly 1260, two bridges cost 20,835 rupees.

In fusly 1261 was built the Cauvery and Vennaur regulating dam, at a cost of 49,049 rupees, and also seven bridges at a cost of 30,122 rupees.

In fusly 1262, four bridges cost 6,405 rupees.

(signed) *H. Forbes,*
Collector.

5 September 1854.

STATEMENT showing the Beriz of Nunjah Lands irrigated from the supply of the Annicut, from Fusly 1240 to 1262.

	Extent.	Beriz.	Average.
	Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*
Standard - - - -	97,282 - -	34,50,844 - -	35 8 11

STATEMENT showing the Beriz of Nunjah Lands irrigated from the supply of the Annicut—*continued*

ITEMS.		Fuslies.	Nunjah Land Cultivated.	Standard Beriz.	Actual Beriz.	Average.		
						Extent.	Standard.	Actual.
			Valies.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Valies.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
Before the construction of the Annicut - -	From fusly 1240 to 1245	1240	82,023	28,13,987	26,31,426	—	—	—
		1241	82,318	28,24,106	27,32,126	—	—	—
		1242	84,508	28,99,240	29,98,184	—	—	—
		1243	82,548	28,31,997	31,17,291	—	—	—
		1244	85,407	29,30,082	28,40,589	—	—	—
		1245	84,682	29,05,210	26,69,023	—	—	—
		6	5,01,486	1,72,04,622	1,69,88,640	83,581	28,67,437	28,31,440
After the construction of the Annicut - - -	From fusly 1246 to 1262	1246	80,537	27,63,006	28,69,487	—	—	—
		1247	86,692	29,74,167	28,75,844	—	—	—
		1248	87,183	29,91,012	29,91,744	—	—	—
		1249	88,253	30,27,721	29,91,747	—	—	—
		1250	88,471	30,35,200	27,98,976	—	—	—
		1251	89,810	30,81,138	25,73,458	—	—	—
		1252	89,562	30,72,630	27,99,411	—	—	—
		1253	89,304	30,50,290	29,41,484	—	—	—
		1254	90,130	30,77,564	30,24,200	—	—	—
		1255	91,205	31,17,120	34,08,706	—	—	—
		1256	92,241	31,51,087	33,75,657	—	—	—
		1257	91,761	31,17,488	30,67,893	—	—	—
		1258	92,760	31,18,089	29,17,144	—	—	—
		1259	93,571	31,44,352	30,34,287	—	—	—
		1260	93,799	31,50,811	30,81,039	—	—	—
		1261	93,871	31,49,046	30,70,388	—	—	—
		1262	95,570	33,98,210	33,73,148	—	—	—
		17	15,34,720	5,24,18,927	5,11,94,613	90,277	30,83,466	30,11,448
	From fusly 1247 to 1262	1247	86,692	29,74,167	28,75,844	—	—	—
		1248	87,183	29,91,012	29,91,744	—	—	—
		1249	88,253	30,27,721	29,91,747	—	—	—
		1250	88,471	30,35,200	27,98,976	—	—	—
		1251	89,810	30,81,138	25,73,458	—	—	—
		1252	89,562	30,72,630	27,99,411	—	—	—
		1253	89,304	30,50,290	29,41,484	—	—	—
		1254	90,130	30,77,564	30,24,200	—	—	—
		1255	91,205	31,17,120	34,08,706	—	—	—
		1256	92,241	31,51,087	33,75,657	—	—	—
		1257	91,761	31,17,484	30,67,893	—	—	—
		1258	92,760	31,18,089	29,17,144	—	—	—
		1259	93,571	31,44,352	30,34,287	—	—	—
		1260	93,799	31,50,811	30,81,039	—	—	—
		1261	93,871	31,49,046	30,70,388	—	—	—
		1262	95,570	33,98,210	33,73,148	—	—	—
		16	14,54,183	4,96,55,921	4,83,25,126	90,886	31,03,495	30,20,920

PARTICULARS of the Increase in the Average of subsequent Years above that of Six Years previous to the construction of the Annicut.

	Increase.			Per Centage.		
	Extent.	Standard Beriz.	Actual Beriz.	Extent.	Standard Beriz.	Actual Beriz.
	Valies.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Valies.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
Average beriz of 17 years, from fusly 1246 to 1262.	6,696	2,16,029	1,80,008	8 $\frac{1}{64}$	7 $\frac{17}{32}$	6 $\frac{23}{64}$
Average beriz of 16 years, from fusly 1247 to 1262.	7,305	2,36,058	1,88,880	8 $\frac{2}{4}$	8 $\frac{15}{64}$	6 $\frac{43}{64}$
Beriz of fusly 1262 - - - - -	11,989	5,30,773	5,41,708	14 $\frac{11}{32}$	18 $\frac{33}{64}$	19 $\frac{1}{8}$

E. E.

Tanjore, 11 July 1853. (signed) *H. Forbes.*

Fuslies.	Years.	Land Revenue under River Irrigation. Nunjah. Extent.	Nunjah. Gross Produce.	Total Revenue.	Total Land Revenue.	Total for Ayen, including Cavil, &c.	Balance at the end of each Fusly of the Land Revenue.	Remission granted in each Fusly on account of Loss.
		Vaily. a	*Cullum. b*		*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1211	1801	- -	- - -	- - -	31,30,000	33,94,242	17,28,000	—
1212	1802	- -	- - -	- - -	26,60,000	29,22,383	14,99,000	—
1213	1803	- -	- - -	- - -	23,60,000	26,85,633	13,01,000	—
1214	1804	- -	- - -	- - -	23,30,000	35,49,632	33,000	—
1215	1805	- -	- - -	- - -	31,00,000	33,03,429	18,000	—
1216	1806	- -	- - -	- - -	28,20,000	30,04,784	99,000	—
1217	1807	- -	- - -	- - -	35,60,000	35,58,200	98,000	—
1218	1808	- -	- - -	- - -	36,00,000	36,02,561	4,10,000	—
1219	1809	- -	- - -	- - -	33,20,000	35,55,450	7,28,000	2,17,000
1220	1810	- -	- - -	- - -	30,30,000	30,74,755	1,03,000	33,000
1221	1811	- -	- - -	- - -	30,30,000	30,89,411	2,57,000	47,000
1222	1812	- -	- - -	- - -	32,70,000	33,64,778	2,54,000	43,000
1223	1813	- -	- - -	- - -	34,70,000	33,90,926	3,21,000	12,000
1224	1814	- -	- - -	- - -	34,30,000	34,66,172	2,07,000	—
1225	1815	- -	- - -	- - -	32,90,000	33,01,366	2,42,000	—
1226	1816	- -	- - -	- - -	33,30,000	- -	3,03,000	30,000
1227	1817	- -	- - -	- - -	32,60,000	- -	2,10,000	36,000
1228	1818	- -	- - -	- - -	31,00,000	- -	3,92,000	1,86,000
1229	1819	- -	- - -	- - -	31,00,000	- -	5,24,000	2,48,000
1230	1820	- -	- - -	- - -	31,70,000	- -	2,66,000	—
1231	1821	- -	- - -	- - -	30,60,000	- -	1,13,000	—
1232	1822	75,000	1,17,68,000	26,28,000	32,90,000	- -	60,000	7,000
1233	1823	76,000	1,20,68,000	36,89,000	*d* 43,10,000	- -	4,54,000	1,28,000
1234	1824	76,000	1,23,02,000	42,72,000	*d* 49,60,000	- -	1,83,000	1,05,000
1235	1825	78,000	1,28,00,000	28,81,000	35,60,000	- -	60,000	53,000
1236	1826	79,000	1,28,12,000	23,25,000	30,10,000	- -	1,12,000	16,000
1237	1827	78,000	1,21,41,000	21,17,000	28,00,000	- -	4,24,000	55,000
1238	1828	79,000	1,15,75,000	29,38,000	26,90,000	- -	5,47,000	86,000
1239	1829	82,000	1,20,16,000	26,57,000	33,20,000	- -	4,29,000	1,57,000
1240	1830	82,000	1,21,31,000	26,31,000	33,70,000	- -	3,09,000	1,47,000
1241	1831	83,000	1,28,17,000	27,71,000	34,90,000	- -	3,51,000	92,000
1242	1832	85,000	1,27,81,000	30,27,000	37,70,000	- -	1,47,000	79,000
1243	1833	83,000	1,22,12,000	31,17,000	28,80,000	- -	1,89,000	92,000
1244	1834	86,000	1,29,03,000	28,53,000	35,30,000	- -	1,12,000	91,000
1245	1835	84,000	1,23,50,000	26,68,000	34,68,000	- -	1,24,000	1,77,000
1246	1836	84,000	*c* 1,15,91,000	29,40,000	36,78,000	- -	1,42,000	4,60,000
1247	1837	86,000	1,37,61,000	28,84,000	37,05,000	- -	77,000	55,000
1248	1838	87,000	1,33,65,000	29,92,000	38,03,000	- -	37,000	56,000
1249	1839	88,000	1,35,29,000	29,93,000	38,12,000	- -	33,000	54,000
1250	1840	89,000	1,36,73,000	28,00,000	36,32,000	- -	36,000	68,000
1251	1841	90,000	1,38,32,000	25,74,000	34,05,000	- -	33,000	44,000
1252	1842	89,000	1,37,37,000	27,99,000	36,28,000	- -	1,32,000	92,000
1253	1843	89,000	1,35,08,000	29,42,000	37,80,000	- -	1,52,000	1,12,000
1254	1844	90,000	1,38,04,000	30,24,000	38,31,000	- -	66,000	91,000
1255	1845	91,000	1,39,56,000	34,09,000	42,54,000	- -	36,000	59,000
1256	1846	- -	- - -	- - -	42,28,000	- -	20,000	—
1257	1847	- -	- - -	- - -	39,16,000	—		
1258	1848	- -	- - -	- - -	37,64,000	—		
1259	1849	—						
1260	1850	—						
1261	1851	—						
1262	1852	—						
1263	1853	—						
1264	1854	—						

Fuslies.	Years.	SALT COLLECTIONS.							Sea Custom Collection.
		Exportation by Sea.		Home Consumption.		Inland Consumption.		Total Salt Revenue.	Total.
		Quantity.	Amount.	Quantity.	Amount.	Quantity.	Amount.	Amount.	
		Garce. e.	*Rs.*	*Garce.*	*Rs.*	*Garce.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1211 -	1801	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	4,000	26,000
1212 -	1802	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	5,000	30,000
1213 -	1803	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	5,000	34,000
1214 -	1804	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	5,000	35,000
1215 -	1805	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	68,000	38,000
1216 -	1806	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	76,000	33,000
1217 -	1807	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,21,000	49,000
1218 -	1808	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,47,000	57,000
1219 -	1809	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,93,000	52,000
1220 -	1810	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,12,000	75,000
1221 -	1811	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,91,000	65,000
1222 -	1812	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,03,000	68,000
1223 -	1813	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,41,000	87,000
1224 -	1814	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,27,000	1,04,000
1225 -	1815	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,21,000	1,11,000
1226 -	1816	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,26,000	95,000
1227 -	1817	- -	6,000	1,000	1,57,000	1,000	57,000	2,20,000	91,000
1228 -	1818	140	14,000	2,000	1,78,000	- -	60,000	2,52,000	83,000
1229 -	1819	53	12,000	2,000	1,88,000	1,000	60,000	2,61,000	97,000
1230 -	1820	56	2,000	3,000	2,05,000	3,000	1,05,000	3,92,000	85,000
1231 -	1821	196	5,000	3,000	1,97,000	1,000	98,000	2,99,000	89,000
1232 -	1822	216	5,000	3,000	1,82,000	1,000	72,000	2,58,000	79,000
1233 -	1823	508	14,000	3,000	2,05,000	1,000	83,000	3,02,000	68,000
1234 -	1824	437	9,000	3,000	2,05,000	1,000	98,000	3,11,000	62,000
1235 -	1825	169	4,000	3,000	2,06,000	1,000	88,000	2,98,000	78,000
1236 -	1826	103	2,000	3,000	1,97,000	1,000	83,000	2,82,000	98,000
1237 -	1827	154	4,000	3,000	2,09,000	1,000	91,000	3,04,000	74,000
1238 -	1828	276	10,000	3,000	2,96,000	1,000	1,29,000	4,35,000	70,000
1239 -	1829	283	10,000	3,000	3,06,000	1,000	1,15,000	4,30,000	83,000
1240 -	1830	93	3,000	3,000	3,04,000	1,000	75,000	3,83,000	89,000
1241 -	1831	36	1,000	3,000	3,06,000	1,000	71,000	3,78,000	85,000
1242 -	1832	238	8,000	3,000	3,14,000	1,000	62,000	3,84,000	70,000
1243 -	1833	18	1,000	3,000	3,37,000	1,000	80,000	4,17,000	61,000
1244 -	1834	32	1,000	3,000	3,32,000	1,000	75,000	4,09,000	70,000
1245 -	1835	75	3,000	3,000	3,20,000	1,000	87,000	4,10,000	80,000
1246 -	1836	126	4,000	3,000	3,26,000	1,000	69,000	3,99,000	58,000
1247 -	1837	32	4,000	3,000	3,28,000	1,000	1,01,000	4,30,000	73,000
1248 -	1838	99	1,000	3,000	3,37,000	1,000	88,000	4,29,000	95,000
1249 -	1839	35	3,000	3,000	3,29,000	1,000	1,04,000	4,34,000	93,000
1250 -	1840	22	1,000	3,000	3,26,000	1,000	68,000	3,96,000	98,000
1251 -	1841	15	1,000	3,000	3,26,000	1,000	64,000	3,91,000	1,02,000
1252 -	1842	121	4,000	3,000	3,07,000	1,000	70,000	3,81,000	1,15,000
1253 -	1843	380	15,000	3,000	3,37,000	1,000	72,000	4,24,000	1,04,000
1254 -	1844	- -	- -	3,000	3,61,000	1,000	1,02,000	4,63,000	1,71,000
1255 -	1845	60	3,000	3,000	3,66,000	1,000	93,000	4,61,000	1,98,000
1256 -	1846	—							
1257 -	1847	—							
1258 -	1848	—							
1259 -	1849	—							
1260 -	1850	—							
1261 -	1851	—							
1262 -	1852	—							
1263 -	1853	—							
1264 -	1854	—							

Fuslies.	Years.	Sayer Collection or Transit of Customs Duties.	Abkary Collection or Excise.	Stamps.	Sundry Small Farms, &c.	House Tax. Total.	Loom Tax. Total.	Total of Extra Sources.	Total of Extra Sources, No. 18.
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1211 -	1801	86,000	12,000	- -	20,000	- -	7,000	1,50,000	2,05,603
1212 -	1802	47,000	11,000	- -	14,000	- -	7,000	1,10,000	1,25,659
1213 -	1803	37,000	12,000	- -	10,000	- -	6,000	1,00,000	1,11,692
1214 -	1804	1,69,000	23,000	- -	6,000	- -	6,000	1,80,000	1,72,811
1215 -	1805	1,27,000	21,000	- -	5,000	- -	6,000	1,70,000	3,29,938
1216 -	1806	9,000	24,000	- -	10,000	- -	7,000	1,60,000	1,70,428
1217 -	1807	4,000	25,000	- -	8,000	- -	7,000	2,10,000	1,37,407
1218 -	1808	1,16,000	30,000	- -	22,000	- -	7,000	3,80,000	2,95,965
1219 -	1809	1,76,000	33,000	37,000	15,000	- -	7,000	5,10,000	3,97,851
1220 -	1810	1,85,000	30,000	30,000	16,000	- -	8,000	5,60,000	4,33,009
1221 -	1811	1,71,000	33,000	24,000	16,000	- -	8,000	5,10,000	4,00,391
1222 -	1812	1,92,000	31,000	26,000	11,000	- -	10,000	5,40,000	4,20,151
1223 -	1813	2,14,000	29,000	33,000	13,000	- -	9,000	6,30,000	—
1224 -	1814	2,23,000	29,000	47,000	12,000	- -	9,000	6,50,000	—
1225 -	1815	2,29,000	29,000	48,000	15,000	- -	9,000	6,60,000	—
1226 -	1816	2,35,000	31,000	43,000	16,000	- -	9,000	6,50,000	—
1227 -	1817	2,40,000	33,000	39,000	16,000	- -	10,000	6,50,000	—
1228 -	1818	2,63,000	34,000	40,000	19,000	- -	10,000	7,00,000	—
1229 -	1819	2,82,000	36,000	43,000	18,000	- -	10,000	7,50,000	—
1230 -	1820	3,14,000	41,000	49,000	19,000	- -	11,000	9,10,000	—
1231 -	1821	3,53,000	42,000	54,000	17,000	- -	11,000	8,60,000	—
1232 -	1822	3,58,000	46,000	56,000	21,000	- -	11,000	8,30,000	—
1233 -	1823	3,89,000	45,000	59,000	13,000	- -	11,000	8,90,000	—
1234 -	1824	4,04,000	46,000	67,000	19,000	- -	11,000	9,20,000	—
1235 -	1825	3,01,000	43,000	53,000	19,000	- -	10,000	8,90,000	—
1236 -	1826	3,86,000	42,000	46,000	16,000	- -	11,000	8,80,000	—
1237 -	1827	4,10,000	46,000	47,000	20,000	- -	16,000	8,10,000	—
1238 -	1828	4,32,000	52,000	46,000	21,000	- -	17,000	10,70,000	—
1239 -	1829	4,14,000	55,000	38,000	22,000	- -	16,000	10,40,000	—
1240 -	1830	3,49,000	50,000	43,000	22,000	- -	16,000	9,50,000	—
1241 -	1831	3,17,000	49,000	50,000	23,000	- -	16,000	9,20,000	—
1242 -	1832	3,07,000	52,000	42,000	22,000	- -	16,000	8,93,000	—
1243 -	1833	3,19,000	55,000	44,000	23,000	18,000	16,000	6,50,000	—
1244 -	1834	3,19,000	64,000	47,000	23,000	20,000	15,000	9,68,000	—
1245 -	1835	3,43,000	63,000	47,000	23,000	20,000	16,000	9,84,000	—
1246 -	1836	3,48,000	60,000	45,000	23,000	21,000	16,000	9,70,000	—
1247 -	1837	2,88,000	60,000	50,000	24,000	21,000	17,000	9,62,000	—
1248 -	1838	3,19,000	58,000	58,000	25,000	21,000	18,000	10,22,000	—
1249 -	1839	3,16,000	59,000	58,000	26,000	21,000	18,000	10,24,000	—
1250 -	1840	3,23,000	66,000	56,000	26,000	21,000	19,000	10,06,000	—
1251 -	1841	3,28,000	67,000	52,000	26,000	22,000	19,000	10,05,000	—
1252 -	1842	3,17,000	66,000	54,000	27,000	22,000	19,000	10,00,000	—
1253 -	1843	3,20,000	72,000	45,000	26,000	22,000	18,000	9,32,000	—
1254 -	1844	32,000	75,000	37,000	25,000	22,000	18,000	8,42,000	—
1255 -	1845	28,000	78,000	26,000	26,000	23,000	19,000	8,58,000	—
1256 -	1846	—							
1257 -	1847	—							
1258 -	1848	—							
1259 -	1849	—							
1260 -	1850	—							
1261 -	1851	—							
1262 -	1852	—							
1263 -	1853	—							
1264 -	1854	—							

Fuslies.	Years.	MARAMUT CHARGES.											
		Whole of the Maraimut of Irrigation for the District.				New Works.						Charges incurred in the Repair and Construction of Roads, Bridges and Ghauts.	Irrigation Expenditure.
		Ordinary.	Extraordinary.	Occasional.	TOTAL.	Head of Surunghum.	Upper Annicut.	Lower Annicut.	Calingulah Sluice, &c., connected with Annicut.	TOTAL.	Average of each Five Years.		
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1211	1801	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,68,000			
1212	1802	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,29,000			
1213	1803	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,09,000	1,21,000	—	
1214	1804	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	93,000			
1215	1805	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,08,000			
1216	1806	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,17,000			
1217	1807	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	75,000			
1218	1808	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	38,000	58,000	—	
1219	1809	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	32,000			
1220	1810	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	88,000			
1221	1811	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	55,000			
1222	1812	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	90,000			
1223	1813	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,02,000	83,000	—	
1224	1814	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	74,000			
1225	1815	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	94,000			
1226	1816	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	77,000			
1227	1817	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	46,000			
1228	1818	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	77,000	76,000	—	
1229	1819	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,30,000			
1230	1820	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	51,000			
1231	1821	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	52,000			
1232	1822	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	54,000			
1233	1823	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	66,000	58,000	—	
1234	1824	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	58,000			
1235	1825	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	60,000			
1236	1826	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	33,000		17,752	—
1237	1827	11,000	1,000	- -	25,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	25,000		7,527	—
1238	1828	22,000	3,000	4,000	29,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	28,000	40,000	3,675	—
1239	1829	27,000	3,000	2,000	33,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	33,000		4,381	—
1240	1830	55,000	4,000	25,000	1,83,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	83,000		9,775	—
1241	1831	69,000	7,000	25,000	1,01,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,00,000		9,559	—
1242	1832	67,000	14,000	24,000	1,05,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,05,000		1,202	—
1243	1833	74,000	3,000	23,000	1,00,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,00,000	1,15,000	7,893	1,12,196
1244	1834	54,000	7,000	53,000	1,14,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,14,000		342	1,20,698
1245	1835	37,000	4,000	18,000	1,60,000	- -	- -	- -	- -	59,000		3,761	68,793
1246	1836	54,000	4,000	9,000	68,000	84	85,000	- -	- -	1,54,000		4,136	1,63,120
1247	1837	25,000	4,000	19,000	48,000	1,000	85,000	- -	12,000	1,47,000		22,267	92,906
1248	1838	42,000	2,000	6,000	50,000	390	25,000	26,000	5,000	1,06,000	1,17,000	11,331	1,06,446
1249	1839	53,000	2,000	2,000	57,000	4,060	10,000	5,000	17,000	93,000		26,937	1,15,882
1250	1840	54,000	7,000	2,000	64,000	6,000	6,000	8,000	2,000	86,000		1,010	88,632
1251	1841	69,000	3,000	25,000	97,000	5,000	2,000	2,000	3,000	1,09,000		2,236	87,811
1252	1842	66,000	5,000	27,000	98,000	6,000	1,000	4,000	4,000	1,13,000		8,196	1,04,446
1253	1843	47,000	6,000	8,000	62,000	1,000	21,000	2,000	9,000	94,000	1,11,000	2,090	1,01,070
1254	1844	65,000	8,000	9,000	83,000	147	15,000	1,000	1,000	1,00,000		3,094	1,05,582
1255	1845	51,000	20,000	3,000	74,000	2,000	58,000	2,000	3,000	1,39,000		1,432	1,40,959
1256	1846	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	13,543	95,309
1257	1847	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	8,549	70,143
1258	1848	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	18,185	95,710
1259	1849	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	12,280	65,317
1260	1850	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	500	94,546
1261	1851	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,25,826
1262	1852	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,97,726
1263	1853	—											
1264	1854	—											

Fuslies.	Years.	Maramut Expenditure taken from Appendix S. First Report of P. W. C.	Taken from Appendix V. First Report of P. W. C.	GROSS PRODUCE. Of each Year.	Average of each Five Years.	Increase of Average of each Five Years over preceding.	Fluctuation in each Period of Five Years.	Population.
		Rs.		*Cullums.*	*Cullums.*	*Cullums.*	*Cullums.*	*Number.*
1211	1801	—	—	1,09,00,000				
1212	1802	—	—	62,00,000				
1213	1803	—	—	74,00,000	89,00,000	— — —	47 lacs or 43 per cent.	—
1214	1804	—	—	97,00,000				
1215	1805	—	—	1,08,00,000				
1216	1806	—	—	83,08,000				
1217	1807	—	—	1,07,00,000				
1218	1808	—	—	1,09,00,000	1,00,00,000	11,00,000	26 lacs or 22 per cent.	—
1219	1809	—	—	1,08,00,000				
1220	1810	—	—	98,00,000				
1221	1811	—	—	98,00,000				
1222	1812	—	—	1,11,00,000				
1223	1813	—	—	1,14,00,000	1,10,00,000	10,00,000	16 lacs or 13 per cent.	—
1224	1814	—	—	1,16,00,000				
1225	1815	—	—	1,10,00,000				
1226	1816	—	—	1,05,00,000				
1227	1817	—	—	1,10,00,000				
1228	1818	—	—	1,09,00,000	1,09,00,000	— — —	8 lacs or 7 per cent.	—
1229	1819	—	—	1,11,00,000				
1230	1820	—	—	1,13,00,000				
1231	1821	52,512	—	1,06,00,000				
1232	1822	54,206	—	1,17,68,000				
1233	1823	66,376	—	1,20,68,000	1,17,00,000	8,00,000	17 lacs or 14 per cent.	—
1234	1824	57,903	—	1,23,02,000				
1235	1825	59,196	—	1,23,00,000				
1236	1826	32,983	—	1,28,12,000				
1237	1827	25,268	—	1,21,41,000				
1238	1828	28,637	—	1,15,75,000	1,21,00,000	4,00,000	12½ lacs or 10 per cent.	11,29,000
1239	1829	32,881	—	1,20,16,000				
1240	1830	81,982	—	1,21,31,000				
1241	1831	98,640	—	1,28,17,000				
1242	1832	1,04,497	—	1,27,81,000				
1243	1833	98,279	—	1,22,12,000	1,26,00,000	5,00,000	7 lacs or 5½ per cent.	—
1244	1834	1,13,736	—	1,29,03,000				
1245	1835	59,063	—	1,23,50,000				
1246	1836	1,49,992	—	1,15,91,000				
1247	1837	85,620	—	1,37,61,000				
1248	1838	88,617	—	1,33,65,000	1,32,00,000	6,00,000	22 lacs or 16½ per cent.	11,66,000
1249	1839	91,703	—	1,35,29,000				
1250	1840	78,096	—	1,36,73,000				
1251	1841	81,239	—	1,38,32,000				
1252	1842	97,100	—	1,37,37,000				
1253	1843	93,657	—	1,35,08,000	1,37,00,000	5,00,000	4½ lacs or 3½ per cent.	—
1254	1844	97,868	—	1,38,04,000				
1255	1845	1,34,723	—	1,39,56,000				
1256	1846	93,305	—					
1257	1847	63,655	—					
1258	1848	91,458	—					
1259	1849	62,027	—					
1260	1850	1,00,198	—					
1261	1851	—						
1262	1852	—						
1263	1853	—						
1264	1854	—						

Fuslies.	Years.	Exportation by Sea.		Total of Land Revenue and extra Sources.	Revenue.	
		Grain.	Amount.		Average Total Collection of each Five Years.	Increase of Average of each Five Years over Preceding.
		Garce.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1211	1801	- - -	- - -	33,40,000		
1212	1802	- - -	- - -	28,60,000		
1213	1803	- - -	- - -	26,20,000		
1214	1804	- - -	- - -	35,10,000		
1215	1805	- - -	- - -	33,70,000	31,40,000	—
1216	1806	- - -	- - -	29,80,000		
1217	1807	- - -	- - -	37,70,000		
1218	1808	- - -	- - -	39,80,000		
1219	1809	- - -	- - -	40,60,000		
1220	1810	- - -	- - -	36,70,000	37,00,000	5,60,000
1221	1811	- - -	- - -	36,00,000		
1222	1812	- - -	- - -	39,10,000		
1223	1813	- - -	- - -	42,00,000		
1224	1814	- - -	- - -	41,20,000		
1225	1815	- - -	- - -	39,60,000	39,50,000	2,50,000
1226	1816	- - -	- - -	40,40,000		
1227	1817	- - -	- - -	39,60,000		
1228	1818	19,56,000	14,54,000	40,00,000		
1229	1819	17,67,000	12,99,000	41,10,000		
1230	1820	17,17,000	11,73,000	40,80,000	40,40,000	90,000
1231	1821	20,88,000	11,64,000	39,30,000		
1232	1822	16,00,000	9,70,000	41,30,000		
1233	1823	23,01,000	13,08,000	*d* 53,40,000		
1234	1824	16,14,000	9,18,000	*d* 60,00,000		
1235	1825	19,96,000	10,48,000	44,50,000	*f* 47,70,000	7,30,000
1236	1826	24,91,000	14,07,000	38,90,000		
1237	1827	13,78,000	7,63,000	37,30,000		
1238	1828	11,00,000	6,17,000	47,90,000		
1239	1829	16,87,000	9,83,000	44,20,000		
1240	1830	19,16,000	11,49,000	43,70,000	42,40,000	—
1241	1831	22,34,000	13,12,000	44,40,000		
1242	1832	33,54,000	20,17,000	46,90,000		
1243	1833	24,04,000	14,86,000	48,77,000		
1244	1834	17,74,000	10,55,000	46,07,000		
1245	1835	18,61,000	11,23,000	44,69,000	46,10,000	3,70,000
1246	1836	12,43,000	7,37,000	46,47,000		
1247	1837	17,07,000	10,22,000	46,67,000		
1248	1838	25,24,000	16,60,000	48,26,000		
1249	1839	25,08,000	15,15,000	48,43,000		
1250	1840	27,37,000	14,71,000	46,38,000	47,20,000	1,10,000
1251	1841	28,55,000	17,04,000	44,10,000		
1252	1842	32,26,000	19,26,000	46,28,000		
1253	1843	27,11,000	16,11,000	47,11,000		
1254	1844	34,74,000	18,24,000	46,73,000		
1255	1845	36,94,000	26,27,000	51,11,000	*g* 47,80,000	60,000
1256	1846	- - -	- - -	51,50,000		
1257	1847	—				
1258	1848	—				
1259	1849	—				
1260	1850	—				
1261	1851	—				
1262	1852	—				
1263	1853	—				
1264	1854	—				

(Revenue Department.)

(No. 84.)

From *J. Goldingham*, Esq., Commissioner, Northern Circars, to *J. D. Bourdillon*, Esq., Secretary to Government, Fort Saint George.

Sir,

From Rajahmundry, 29th July 1854, one enclosure. From ditto, 23d Sept. 14 enclosures. Memo. from Mr. Stokes, with one accompaniment on Guntoor and the Kistnah Annicut. Herewith returned.

Para. 1. I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Extract Minutes of Consultation, dated 26th April 1855, together with the documents mentioned in the margin, calling for information connected with the Godavery Annicut. It is the wish of Government that the effects of this great work should be accurately ascertained. Both present and prospective benefits are to be stated, and information is required as to the practicability of substituting one uniform rate per acre or other extent as the charge for water, for a tax calculated on the crop, ordered to be introduced only as a temporary expedient till the assessment generally can be remodelled.

2. Among the documents received from Government, mentioned in the margin of the preceding para., is a paper showing the revenue, past and present, of the Guntoor district, and the bearing of the Kistna Annicut on its prosperity, and it is the desire of Government that similar information may be obtained from Masulipatam from the Collector of that district.

Preliminary remarks.

3. Before noticing actual results in illustration of the question, a few preliminary remarks will not be out of place. The works under discussion are the Godavery and Kistna Annicuts. Rajahmundry is affected by the Godavery Annicut alone, Guntoor by the Kistna work, and Masulipatam by both. In Masulipatam the revenue maintained by irrigation is considerable, but in the other two districts the bulk of the Government assessment is derived from unirrigated lands. The irrigation of the watered portion in all three districts is defective and uncertain. Inundations from the overflowing of the Godavery and Kistna occasionally occur, chiefly in Rajahmundry and Guntoor, rendering large remissions of revenue necessary, and causing serious injury to the country in the destruction of produce and agricultural stock, as well as general loss, replaced only after a lapse of years. With a rich soil, a comparatively better supply of water, and more certain harvests, Rajahmundry is in much better circumstances than either Guntoor or Masulipatam. It contains about a million inhabitants, the population of each of the other two districts being little more than half that number. It has also more large towns, but this prosperity is comparative only, and falls short of what may be looked for, when an assessment on sound principles, a matured state of the annicut irrigation and extension of water carriage, with improved communications generally, shall combine, under the Divine blessing, to develop its resources.

Report, para. 257.

4. The district, viewed in comparison with Tanjore, drew forth the following remark from the Madras Public Works Commissioners: "While Tanjore, under the beneficial effects of the lately constructed annicuts, was paying with ease a revenue of 45 lacs, and annually increasing in wealth, Rajahmundry, of similar extent, with a far more fertile soil, and inferior in no one natural advantage, was paying with extreme difficulty a revenue of 19 lacs, and its people were in the lowest state of poverty." Mismanagement under the zemindars, a severe famine followed by disease, occurring when the ryots were impoverished from exactions under zemindary rule, and an inefficient state of the irrigation, had operated in reducing the revenue in Guntoor and Masulipatam. In both these districts a revival has taken place, remarkably so in Guntoor, though the revenue is still much below its normal amount.

5. No. 1 of the Appendix will be found to give fuller information regarding the population of these three districts, with a classification of the villages in two of them, viz., Rajahmundry and Masulipatam, with reference to the number of inhabitants they contain.

6. The extent of unoccupied cultivable land is less in Rajahmundry than in Masulipatam and Guntoor, but a fair comparison cannot be instituted from the annual accounts, because when joint rents prevail, the village area for the most part is included in the lease, while in the ryotwar district of Guntoor it is only

land

land actually occupied and paid for that is entered in the settlement. Still it is apparent, that of the three districts, Rajahmundry is the most highly cultivated. According to the settlement account of fusly 1263 A.D. 1853-54, the following is the extent of the cultivable area which is unoccupied.

	UNOCCUPIED.	CENTAGE.	
	Acres.	*Ac.*	*C.*
Rajahmundry - - - -	53,407	7	20
Masulipatam - - - -	2,04,876	27	20
Guntoor - - - - -	5,27,957	48	0

7. Portions of the above land in Masulipatam and Guntoor may be brought under wet cultivation with the waters of the two rivers, but that in Rajahmundry, 4,700 acres excepted, is not within range of the new works. The lands of the Rajahmundry Delta talooks, though fully occupied, with the above exception, are not fully cultivated.

Delta Talooks:

	Acres.
Land occupied - - -	2,75,000
Of which, not cultivated, but paid for - -	50,000

8. The large extent of unoccupied land in Masulipatam and Guntoor is an indication of impoverishment. Latterly some lands have been relinquished in the last-mentioned district, partly owing to heavy losses occasioned by the inundations of the Kistna, and partly in consequence of burdensome rates of assessment on the best soils in certain talooks. This question is under consideration, and it is hoped that the necessary relief will be soon given where land is found to be waste in consequence of excessive assessment.

Extracts Minutes Consultation, 27th August 1853, reviewing the settlement of fusly 1261.
To Government, 18th January 1855.
From Government, 2d June.

9. It has been observed in a former para., that the revenue from wet lands in Masulipatam was considerable, but that the bulk of the revenue in the other two districts was drawn from lands not irrigated. Keeping revenue in view, the proportion of irrigated to unirrigated in Rajahmundry is 35 per cent., in Masulipatam 49 per cent., and in Guntoor it is only 16 per cent. The first effect of the works under construction will be to render the greater portion of this revenue permanent, by making the irrigation certain, an important result under any circumstance, but particularly so in a district like Masulipatam, where 49 per cent. of the land revenue is drawn from irrigated lands. All further direct increase will depend on the extension of products, requiring irrigation over the unirrigated area.

Per-centage of Irrigated Land:

	Land	Assessment.
Rajahmundry - -	31	35
Masulipatam - -	22	49
Guntoor - - -	5	16

10. In Rajahmundry, where the irrigation is more advanced than in the other two districts, the assessment of the irrigated lands is, as stated above, 35 per cent. of the entire revenue from the land. Of this, 15 per cent., which has hitherto had an imperfect and uncertain supply of water, has already come under the certain provision afforded by the Godavery Annicut, and of the remainder, about 10 per cent. is being brought gradually under the same influence. Ten per cent., or 1,35,000 rupees, is dependent on sources unconnected with he annicut.

11. The assessment in Rajahmundry, as shown in the accounts under the present system of joint rents, presents the anomaly of a want of distinction between unirrigated and irrigated. The rates for both kinds are nearly the same, while the proportion generally borne by the latter to the former in other districts is as two to one.

	Per Acre.
Unirrigated - - -	*Rs.* 3 1
Irrigated - - - -	
Annicut - - - -	3 11
Tanks - - - - -	3 9
Channels - - - -	4 –
Wells - - - - -	6 15
Falling rains - - -	2 15

12. It is further to be observed, that the unirrigated rates in this district are higher than those in Masulipatam and Guntoor. In accounting for this, something must be set down for inaccuracies in the area as recorded in the village accounts, and to the fact that more than one-fourth of the lands in Rajahmundry, from fineness of quality, bears a second crop. But making due allowance on these accounts, it

	Per Acre.
Rajahmundry - -	*Rs.* 3 1
Masulipatam - - -	1 –
Guntoor - - -	1 11

is supposed that the rates of assessment of unirrigated lands in Rajahmundry is disproportionately high. In a revision of the assessment, some adjustment will be made on account of the second dry crop, as is done in other districts where it is not included in the assessment, and then a greater approximation of rates in the three districts will follow.

See Statement, No. 8, in the Appendix.

13. It must not be overlooked that while the land assessment in Rajahmundry is higher than in the other two districts, the market prices of produce are lower there.

14. It is important to bear these facts in view, because while, on the one hand, an improved irrigation will lead to an augmentation of the revenue, such increase cannot be calculated implicitly on the basis of the present demand, as this, apart from the consideration of the effect likely to be produced by increased supplies of grain being brought into the market, must undergo great modification and some diminution when the assessment is remodelled.

15. Appendix No. 2 elucidates in a tabular form what has been stated above in regard to the proportion of irrigated and unirrigated lands in occupation and the ratios of assessment. The particulars apply to fusly 1263 (1853-54). It is not to be supposed that the whole of the unirrigated extent is actually under the plough: a portion is always retained for pasture, and some lands were left uncultivated in consequence of the poverty of the holders.

16. The following Table exhibits for lands not irrigated the proportions according to which the different grains are grown. The extent of land of this description which is not cultivated is added:

	Rajahmundry.	Masulipatum.	Guntoor.
	Acres.	*Acres.*	*Acres.*
Coarse paddy	1,63,954	37,457	71,457
Cholum	24,000	80,000	97,486
Sundry grain	30,552	80,629	3,67,620
	2,18,508	1,98,086	5,34,563
Land not cultivated	86,083	2,10,081	1,26,681
TOTAL of land not irrigated in occupation	3,04,591	4,08,167	6,63,244

17. The result of an improved irrigation will be the gradual substitution of fine descriptions of paddy for the coarse kind.

18. One important effect of a large outlay on public works in a district is an increased demand which is thereby created for its products; a stimulus is thus given to cultivation, and the ryot pays his rent more easily. Such outlays of money bear directly on the general prosperity. This has been extensively felt in Rajahmundry in connexion with the outlay on account of the annicut. The direct profit to Government from this expenditure will consist in the stability given to a fluctuating revenue, in the saving of remissions of assessment for losses in consequence of inundation, and in the water tax to be imposed when water is required for improving an imperfect irrigation, or when dry lands are brought under the irrigated class.

Actual results.

19. With these preliminary remarks, it is proper to proceed to a consideration of results, past and present, and the expectations held out for the future. The comparison will be instituted for the three districts, because as an increase is observable in all, it is important to distinguish the agencies that have been in operation. In Rajahmundry alone, as before observed, have the improvements in the irrigation been in any material degree advanced.

20. The

20. The highest land revenue collection in Rajahmundry, for upwards of 40 years before the construction of the Godavery works, may be stated in round numbers at 19,00,000 rupees. It was generally much below that amount, and four times only above it, and then in an immaterial degree. In the interval between 1832-33 and 1843-44 the revenue declined considerably; subsequently it revived, went on speedily improving from 1847-48 to 1853-54, and at present amounts to about 20,20,000 rupees, being an increase of 1,30,000 rupees above the normal standard, supposing the latter to be represented by 19,00,000 rupees.

			Rs.
Fusly	1257 (1847-58)	- -	18,73,449
,,	1258	- -	19,28,903
,,	1259	- -	18,91,254
,,	1260	- -	19,72,881
,,	1261	- -	20,25,310
,,	1262	- -	20,22,465
,,	1263	- -	20,18,510
,,	1853-54		

21. It seems, however, proper to glance at the actual collections of five years before the outlay for the annicut with those for the seven years subsequently. Taking, then, the average revenue for both periods, it is seen that the latter exceeds the former by 2,89,130 rupees, which, multiplied by seven for the seven years, gives an aggregate increase of 20,23,910 rupees for this period.

Note.—Five previous years are taken for convenience: the average of 7 years, or 16,19,088 rupees, would include years of great depression.

	Rs.
Average of 5 years, from fusly 1252 to fusly 1256 -	16,72,695
Ditto of 7 years, from fusly 1257 to fusly 1263 -	19,61,825
Ditto increase of the latter period - - -	2,89,130

22. Instituting a similar comparison for the revenue from extra sources, an increase of 3,05,305 rupees is obtained for the seven years under notice, which added to 20,23,910 rupees, the increase from the land, gives a total increase of 23,29,215 rupees. Appendix No. 3 will illustrate these results more in detail.

	Rs.
Average of 5 years - -	3,25,196
Ditto of 7 years - -	3,68,811
	43,615
Years - - -	7
	Rs. 3,05,305

23. The whole of this great increase is not to be ascribed to the operations of the annicut, and the outlay connected with it; for on reference to Appendix No. 3, mentioned in the preceding para., it will be seen that, following the same mode of calculation as above, there is an increase for the seven years in both Masulipatam and Guntoor, amounting respectively to 2,46,365 rupees and 27,22,325 rupees. The increase in Masulipatam is composed of an increase under land, and a decrease under extra sources of revenue; and in Guntoor the increase is swelled in consequence of large sales of salt; taking land revenue only, the gain to Government for the seven years in question will stand thus:

Rajahmundry - - -	20;23,910 rupees.
Masulipatam - - -	6,03,484 ,,
Guntoor - - - -	19,79,817 ,,

24. The increase in Rajahmundry and Guntoor is ascribable primarily to special inquiries instituted in those districts under the orders of Government, and to the reforms which followed. In Guntoor, where there has been no outlay on account of public works till lately, the money gain to Government is almost equal to that obtained in Rajahmundry; but this very favourable financial result is to be traced to previous deficiencies of revenue, which would be replaced on a better system of management being introduced, aided by the successful administration of a Collector of great revenue experience, whose first object on the zemindaries falling in, and thus coming fully under his control, was to obtain correct field registers, showing the extent and assessment of each field or parcel of land. On these his settlements with the ryots were based, each ryot being at liberty to occupy or relinquish land as he pleased. To this system, viz. a defined rent on each field, and freedom of action in a depressed state of the district, the consequence of zemindary misrule and famine, and where a long-continued waste of the resources had to be repaired, is to be attributed the marked progress above indicated; but the improvement, though great, has not brought up the revenue to its normal* standard; and in some localities, as already stated, considerable depression is still apparent. In Rajahmundry alone has the ordinary standard of the land revenue been exceeded, although in some parts of the district the revenue is still below the assets computed at the permanent settlement. The fact that the normal revenue has been surpassed in Rajahmundry alone is, *primâ facie*, indicative of

In Rajahmundry, by Sir H. C. Montgomery, in 1843-44.
In Guntoor, by Mr. Walter Elliot, in 1845.

Mr. H. Stokes.

Note.—I state this from personal observation, and a conviction that the same results would not have followed a system of village rents.

Average of 10 years from fusly 1232 to fusly 1241, the last-mentioned fusly being very unfavourable, 14,16,463

1261 - - -	13,90,050
1262 - - -	13,80,313
1263 - - -	13,55,821

* This has been noticed by Government in reviewing the settlement of fusly 1262.
Extracts Minutes Consultation 6th November 1854, para. 28.
Extracts Minutes Consultation to Government, reporting on the settlement of fusly 1263, 5th May 1855, para. 35.

of the existence of a new class of agencies bearing directly on the capabilities of the district.

To Government, 5th May 1855.

25. Appendix (A.) of the general report for fusly 1263 (1853-54) was intended to exhibit the effects of the new works on the revenue, and the general resources of the country. It has been drawn up with care, and may be referred to in the present place as containing the information called for by Government. It was there shown, that of the three main channels, viz. the Toolia Bhaga, the Ryaly, and the Vizaiswaram or Weyoor, the first had been more or less available for irrigation since fusly 1257 (1847-48); that the two latter had not materially contributed to the revenue up to fusly 1262 (1852-53); that, to inspire confidence in the works, it had been determined that the water cess should not be imposed till the benefit of the irrigation had been enjoyed for two successive seasons; that one-half only of the water-rate was to be imposed in the third year and the full amount in the fourth; that this indulgence would necessarily put off the returns to Government, and that the assessment under the present system of settlement could be fixed on approximate data only. Two statements were appended, one showing the revenue of villages under the Toolia Bhaga, and the other the profits derived by Government from the new works. Copies of these statements form Nos. 4 and 5 of the Appendix to this letter.

26. No. 4 exhibits the average for five years before the commencement of the annicut, and that for fuslies 1262 (1852-53), and 1263 (1853-54), with the number of villages enjoying the benefits of the irrigation and the period when water was first received in the several villages respectively. The following facts are established by this statement:

i. In 45 Government villages irrigated during periods ranging from one to six years, there was an increase of 52,099 rupees, or 62 per cent., in the revenue of fusly 1263 (1853-54), compared with the average of five years before the commencement of the work.

ii. In 23 villages which have had the water for five years, the increase on the same comparison is 35,077 rupees, or about 90 per cent.

iii. The ratio of increase in 97 Government villages of the same talooks, not brought under irrigation, is 37 per cent.

iv. In 25 villages of the zemindary of Pittapore under the Collector's management, similar results are observable, viz., an increase of 38 per cent. on the whole 25 villages, and of 87 per cent. where the irrigation has been in operation six years.

v. The advantages are in proportion to the period the water has been used, and in five villages of the Biccavole talook, the particulars of which are given in the statement, the present revenue is twice and three times the former amount.

27. In both the irrigated and unirrigated villages the revenue has gradually increased, the result of fusly 1263 (1853-54) being higher than that of fusly 1262 (1852-53). The unirrigated villages are benefited by the outlay and demand for their products. In both descriptions of villages the Government demand is regulated, in the absence of field registers, by an addition to the former year's settlement, on a general consideration of their increased resources, which is afterwards apportioned by the ryots among themselves.

28. It must be borne in mind that till fusly 1263 (1853-54), the irrigation was confined to the Toolia Bhaga, and that returns of revenue have been delayed in consequence of the channels not having been proceeded with simultaneously with the annicut, as originally projected. Two years may be said to have been lost by this deviation from Colonel Cotton's intention.

29. The other statement or No. 5 of the Appendix exhibits the profits to Government in respect of the land assessment of the area actually watered. The 45 irrigated villages under the Toolia Bhaga are therein arranged with reference to the period when the irrigation first commenced in them, and the revenue for each year of the six years, ending with fusly 1263 (1853-54), is shown in comparison with the previous five years' average. The result in these villages for the six years is an increase of 2,52,021 rupees, of which, allowing 65,820 rupees

rupees to have proceeded from other causes not connected with the annicut, 1,86,201 rupees, it is supposed may be safely taken as direct gain from the works. To this is to be added 1,30,038 rupees, being an estimate of the revenue which accrued to Government in fusly 1263 (1852-54) in other localities, as shown in the statement, making a total profit at the period mentioned of 3,16,239 rupees. The permanent addition at this moderate computation to the annual land revenue of the district was thus 40,789 rupees in one tract only, viz., 45 villages of the Biccavole talook; a fair proportion of the further sum of 1,30,038 rupees being added to this, it will be found that the annual land revenue has been augmented by a sum probably exceeding 1,30,000 rupees, the increase indicated in para. 20 above.

See Column 5 of the statement.

30. Besides the effects on the land revenue, the impulse given to trade and general consumption by greater facilities of transit and circulation of large sums in the district, combined with other causes, such as the establishment of a large sugar factory near Rajahmundry, the demand for oil seeds in the European market, has brought additional returns to Government under the other sources of revenue. The value of exports has risen from about 3,50,000 rupees in 1841-42 to upwards of 16,00,000 rupees in 1852-53, and that of imports of other goods, besides grain, from 60,000 rupees to nearly 2,00,000 rupees. Comparing the average of five years before the annicut with that of eight years subsequently, there is an average annual increase of 1,07,756 rupees, or a total increase since the annicut of 8,62,048 rupees. It would be difficult to state with nicety what portion of this increase belongs to the annicut outlay; but, deducting one-third as proceeding from other causes, there is a receipt of 5,75,701 rupees as probably attributable to that influence.

Average Annual Increase.	
Spirits - - -	*Rs.* 30,369
Home consumption of salt -	40,327
Moturfa - - - - -	11,449
Sea Customs, though greatly reduced by the operation of Act VI. of 1854 - -	25,611
	1,07,756
	8
	8,62,048
Deduct ⅓ - - -	2,86,347
	Rs. 5,75,701

31. The profits, then, to Government at the close of fusly 1263 (1853-54) from the expenditure for the Godavery Annicut and its subsidiary works may be thus stated:

	Co.'s Rs.
The increased collections from lands under the Toolia Bhaga from 1257 to 1263 fusly are taken at - -	1,86,201
Those in 1263 fusly in other localities - - - -	1,30,038
	3,16,239
Of the increase in the revenue from extra sources described above, two-thirds may be put down to the annicut -	5,75,701
Total -	8,91,940

This gives nine lacs for the actual receipts. But to this may fairly be added the increased receipts of the Pittapoor Zemindar noticed above; viz.:

From 1257 to 1263 fusly - - - - - -	29,627	
In fusly 1263 - - - - - - - -	10,000	
		39,627

Amount which might have been realised from enam lands under the Toolia Bhaga:

From 1257 to 1263 fusly - - - - - -	38,534	
Ditto - - - ditto for such lands watered in 1263 fusly - - - - - - - -	5,000	
		43,534
GRAND TOTAL -		9,75,101

32. There has been thus a direct receipt of 9,75,101 rupees since the commencement of the works against an expenditure of 20,37,917 rupees on that account, with a permanent addition to the annual revenue from the land at the close of the period reviewed of a sum not less than 1,30,000 rupees.

33. Satisfactory as these results will doubtless appear, other advantages both

to Government and to the people have been reaped, which enhance many fold the value of this important work. The season of fusly 1263 (1853–54) was one of severe drought. By extraordinary exertions the civil engineer succeeded in conveying water from the three main lines of irrigation to the wet cultivation and over the greater part of the dry lands in time to save the produce when it was on the point of perishing. Early in December 1853 the late Commissioner visited the district, and, from inquiries carefully made, it appeared that a revenue of 6,59,856 rupees was saved from imminent peril by the exertions mentioned, and that the value of the produce preserved to the country exceeded 40,00,000 rupees. But for this opportune supply of water about 2,00,000 rupees of the assessment must have been given up by Government as remissions, and the loss of stock and capital would have been great. As it was, the revenue was punctually discharged, the ryots enjoyed enormous profits in consequence of the enhanced prices of grain, food was augmented, and the calamities of famine were averted.

Note.—Without the head of water at the annicut this could not have been done.

Note.—Whatever may be thought of this valuation, the argument, viz. that a vast quantity of produce was saved to the country, is not affected.

34. One important benefit remains to be noticed, viz., the effect produced on the agricultural labourers. A new demand for their labour has been created; they are no longer dependent on their masters for a scanty provision of grain, with a cloth given annually, but seek employment for themselves, and earn from two to three rupees a month.

	Rs.
Assets as per accounts of subdivisions	24,79,829
Deduct ditto, of estates in the possession of zemindars	7,27,160
Assets of lands at present belonging to Government	17,52,669
Peshcush of the above	13,24,431
The sist (atkoobady) of fusly 1263, exclusive of 13,610 rupees, the sist of jaghires not included in the permanent assets, and reverted subsequently	15,19,130
Decrease of fusly 1263 below the assets	2,33,530
Increase of ditto, above the peshcush	1,94,708

35. It will be asked perhaps whether the present revenue will bear a comparison with the assets of the district on which the permanent settlement was based. The figures in the margin show that the revenue at the present time is 1,94,708 rupees above the peshcush, or demand of Government on the zemindaries, but 2,33,530 rupees below the assets on which that demand was framed. The Government are doubtless entitled to have the sum last mentioned made up to them irrespective of any extraordinary outlay of public money, the prices of grain and other circumstances being the same as when the assets were taken; but this is not the real question at issue at present, and it will be time enough to institute a comparison when the district shall have recovered more completely from the state of depression observable before the annicut project was put forward. As regards the annicut and its subsidiary works, there seems abundant grounds for the conclusion, after making due allowance for the progress to be expected under ordinary circumstances, that they have been followed by a large increase to the standard revenue of the district, which but for their influence would not have taken place, together with other results of vast importance, as set forth in the foregoing paras. Viewed with all those effects, apart from the question of navigation, it will be readily admitted, that not only have more than equivalent results been obtained for the outlay incurred, but that a foundation has been laid for benefits surpassing largely what the works have yet yielded. Considered in its navigation aspect, as realising all the advantages of improved communications, the conclusion as to a full equivalent for the expenditure will probably be found equally true.

Reports of the Sub-Collector in charge regarding the effects of the works.

Dated 4th May 1853.

36. Mr. Taylor, the Sub-Collector in charge of Rajahmundry, addressed the Board of Revenue, under date 23d September 1854, on the effects of the Godavery works, and it is the desire of Government that Mr. Taylor's reports, one on the Collector's Division, and the other on that immediately under his own management, submitted on that occasion, should be carefully tested. These papers discuss at some length the benefits which the Government and the country have derived from the works in question. The conclusions are drawn from a comparison of the revenue during six years, commencing with fusly 1257 (1847–48), the first year of annicut expenditure, with the six previous years, the last year of this series or fusly 1256 (1846–47), entering more immediately into the comparison, and it is assumed that the whole increase of land revenue during the second series of six years, amounting to 8,51,048 rupees, is to be ascribed to the annicut, and the expenditure connected with it.

37. Mr.

37. Mr. Taylor's inferences are fallacious, inasmuch as the first series of six years represents a period of extraordinary declension. The figures in the margin show the state of the revenue at that time. In fusly 1253 (1843-44), the Special Commissioner commenced his inquiries, and after that date a revival of the revenue is apparent. Adverting then to the low state into which the revenue had fallen during that period to its subsequent improvement before the annicut expenditure commenced, and to the fact that it had not attained its normal state in fusly 1256 (1846-47), the last year of the first series, the inference that the entire increase during the second series is solely ascribable to such expenditure is not sustainable. Some allowance should have been made to the reforms and administrative energy which followed the institution of the Commission, which, though aided by the annicut after fusly 1256 (1846-47), cannot be supposed to have suddenly yielded their influence on the restorative power of that work coming into operation.

	Rs.
Normal Revenue -	- 19,00,000
Fusly 1251 - -	- 15,34,286
„ 1252 - -	- 15,15,551
„ 1253 - -	- 15,54,385
„ 1254 - -	- 17,31,534
„ 1255 - -	- 17,49,519
„ 1256 - -	- 18,12,489

38. Following up the view that the whole increase is to be credited to the annicut, an attempt is made, in para. 19 of the report on the Collector's Division, to distribute it under specific heads as shown in the margin; but in the absence of data for thus distinguishing the effects of the expenditure, the apportionment cannot be received as real; even following the course of expenditure for the different improvements, as is carefully done in para. 16 of the report on the subdivision, little approach is made towards the acquisition of information sufficient for exhibiting results in a classified form.

Increase in the Collector's Division only:

	Rs.
Increase from 1257 to 1259 Fusly, being profit by general expenditure - -	194,505
Ditto, from embankments and drainage - - -	301,926
Ditto, from supply of water,	57,265
	553,696
Deduct decrease - -	110,071
Remaining. - - -	443,625

39. The remarks in the foregoing paras. apply equally to the few villages exhibited in para. 17 of the report on the subdivision, though the great advantages derived from embankments and the presence of water at critical periods are fully apparent in the several instances noticed. In para. 24 of the same report, Mr. Taylor admits that the classification of effects is arbitrary.

40. Mr. Taylor, however, shows in both papers that he is quite aware of the benefits derived from a better system of management, and of the difficulties presented in any attempt to state with nicety the actual effects of the annicut outlay, but he thinks that the highest administrative intelligence might have been at fault had it not been for the powerful aid afforded by that expenditure, and he justly observes that the collections have been greatly assisted by it. Report on the Collector's talooks, para. 18.

41. As a proof that other causes of increase have been in operation during the last five years, it is only necessary to compare the results in the upper portions of the district with those obtained in the Delta talooks. The comparison is as follows :—

		Collections of Fusly 1256.	Total Increase or Decrease of Six Years from Fusly 1257 to 1262.	Centage.
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
Under the Collector -	Delta Talooks -	86,317	+ 395·067	67,38
	Other „ -	197,757	+ 178·827	90,42
Under the Sub-Collector	Delta Talooks -	413,291	+ 200·309	48,46
	Other „ -	34,865	— 25·346	72

The result, so far as regards the Collector's Division, is thus very largely in favour of those parts of the district beyond the influence of the annicut, and is ascribed by Mr. Taylor, among other causes, to the better opportunity enjoyed by some villages for the development of their resources in consequence of their having reverted to Government from zemindary control. Mr. Taylor adds that it is also " mainly and justly due to improved management and better protec- Report on the Collector's talooks, paras. 7 to 13. Ditto, para. 13.

tion to life and property," aided by public and private outlay of money, the latter having reference to the expenditure by the owners of the sugar factory near Rajahmundry, with " a succession of propitious seasons and exposed to no calamitous visitations, impossible to control or to the miseries of drought and famine." The talook of Rajahmundry, in the Collector's Division, is in some degree an exception. This is a dry grain talook without irrigation, and therefore more susceptible of vicissitudes of season.

42. The upper lands of the subdivision consist of one talook only, viz., Taudemulla. Its deterioration, as above represented, is owing to fluctuations of season and a long prevalence of the sharing system of settlement.

43. In the Delta talooks the beneficial influence of the annicut has indeed been extensively felt, but it is hardly proper to attribute to this cause alone the improvement that has taken place, opposed as it is by the large increase in the upper talooks, and the decided testimony borne to better management. The blessing of this work to the country has been fully shown in former paras., and it is not in any way to its disparagement that a share of the general improvement should be ascribed to causes ordinarily in operation, such as a vigilant administration and good seasons. The annicut, moreover, has never been put forth as solely influential in the Jummabundy reports received from the district.

44. The average collections for the six talooks beyond the annicut for each of the two series of six years should be 181,318 rupees and 227,561 rupees respectively, and not 183,098 rupees, and 235,000 rupees, as stated in para. 13 of the report on the Collector's talooks.

Appendix, Nos. 12 and 13.

45. Interesting returns showing the relative value of a pootty of dry and wet cultivation on irrigated land for the first five years of the land being so occupied, and of a pootty of dry cultivation on unirrigated land and the same converted into wet, are given in paras. 33 to 35 of the report on the division of the Sub-Collector. The profit to the ryot, after deducting expenses, not including the assessment of Government for that period, from irrigated dry cultivation, is *Rs.* 564. 8. and that from wet, after a similar deduction, is *Rs.* 592. 8. During the first two years of the conversion in both cases the ryot loses, and the difference after that period in favour of wet cultivation is inconsiderable in the case of irrigated dry land, but great in that of unirrigated dry land converted into wet. The loss for the first two years and the knowledge that an additional impost will be imposed on the land being converted from dry into wet, have retarded the progress of wet cultivation. " Both in Mogultoor and Tanookoo," Mr. Taylor observes, " the ryots have been satisfied with using the water, to ensure good returns of their usual crops, rather than attempt the culture of rice, or other more valuable products," notwithstanding these impediments hitherto to a full and profitable use of the water, Mr. Taylor shows that there is a growing desire to obtain it; " every village," he says, " desires to own a water-course;" and, adverting to those villages which are impoverished in consequence of neglect or exposure to inundations, he observes, " I am happy to say that the inhabitants of these villages are no longer desponding; they have not been unmoved spectators of what has been doing around them, and they look forward with hope to a share of those benefits which others have already shared." This appreciation by the ryots of the advantages of the Godavery works was confirmed by my own personal observation while on circuit.

Note.—These calculations are made for a rich soil and favourable seasons. On its conversion into wet the produce is greater in the first statement than in the second, owing probably to the former including a second crop.

Report on the Subdivision, para. 28.

Ditto, ditto.

Ditto, ditto, para. 26.

Report of the Collector's Division, para. 26.

46. The peculiar character of the assessment generally, the fact that the dry assessment is in many cases higher than the wet, and the desire that has sprung up generally to obtain annicut water, show the importance of an early adjustment of the demand of Government on some fixed principle.

47. Statements Nos. 9 and 10 of the Appendix have been prepared from statement Z, which accompanied Mr. Taylor's reports under consideration, and convey the information intended by Mr. Taylor in a more simple form.

Report on the Subdivision, paras. 46 and 47.

48. Important testimony is borne in these paras. to the great value of the new channels as lines of communication. The carriage of goods, where the channels can be used, has been greatly facilitated, and the cost of transport has been reduced nearly two-thirds. On the completion of the channels it is expected

expected that the transit charges will not be one-eighth of their former amount. It is owing to the facility thus created that the price of 1,000 bamboos at Woondy has fallen from 25 to 15 rupees. The ryots also can obtain a fair market for the products they have raised, whereas when transport was difficult they were obliged to put up with what the soucars on the spot would give them.

49. The tabular view of the former and present charges for the transport of goods in para. 46 of Mr. Taylor's report on the subdivision, has been transcribed and will be found in No. 11 of the Appendix.

50. From whatever quarter viewed, whether as a work of irrigation in the benefits enjoyed from the presence of water, in increased production and saving of produce from destruction or for purposes of navigation as furnishing lines of communication for trade and general intercourse, the annicut is now indispensably necessary to the country, and the attention is forcibly drawn to the importance of its completion at an early period, and to its maintenance at all times in a state of thorough efficiency.

Future expectations.

51. The Government wish to be furnished with an estimate of the probable extent of land on which the water cess will be imposed, and the amount to be anticipated on the completion of the works. In framing such an estimate it is necessary to bear in mind that the annicut water will not flow to the entire area entered as irrigable without auxiliary appliances as pacotahs for raising it, and that a considerable portion of the land bears a high assessment either as usual wet land or as dry. There are no data for fixing with any degree of nicety the extent of land for the irrigation of which it will be necessary to raise the water by the ordinary means in use above the level secured by the annicut, but it is supposed to be considerable. Taking this circumstance into consideration with the fact that the present standard of assessment is on the whole high, it would hardly be safe to assume a higher rate than 1 ¼ rupee per acre as the probable increase to Government from the land on the irrigation being perfected.

52. It must also be remembered that there is scarcely any land in the Delta which never before paid anything. The Delta has been for the most part occupied, though its revenue has fluctuated from uncertainties of season. One main object of the annicut is to remove the effects of this uncertainty.

53. An increase of 1 ¼ rupee per acre in return for the great additional value imparted to land by a well organised system of irrigation, is certainly very little, but, however inapplicable so low a rate would be, under ordinary circumstances, a higher standard cannot be safely taken in the existing state of things in the Delta.

54. As, however, any estimate of ultimate financial effect must be at present in a great degree conjectural, it seems better to wait till further experience shall furnish data, on which reliance can be placed before any attempt is made to estimate, with an approach to nicety, future probable returns.

55. An addition of 1 ¼ rupee per acre though small compared with the estimate when the project was first entertained, represents only a portion of the entire increase of income to be expected. The whole benefit to Government will embrace, besides direct augmented returns, the increase under other sources of revenue, the natural consequence of a high degree of general prosperity, the stability afforded to a fluctuating revenue, the saving of remissions for losses, and the prevention of that great deterioration of capital and stock on occasions of inundation and drought. The vast and incalculable benefits to the people at large in an ample supply of food and sundry products must also be considered among the advantages to be derived, a large instalment of which they have had the good fortune to enjoy during the drought of fusly 1263 (1853-54.)

56. The total expenditure up to November 1854, was stated in Appendix A, of the General Report for fusly 1263 (1853-54), to be 20 lacs of rupees. For the increased income already derived together with the almost immeasurable advantages enumerated in the foregoing para., it will be admitted that the outlay for

the completion of this great work may be safely allowed to rise considerably above the expenditure already incurred.

57. The yearly outlay and cost of establishments have been computed at 1,70,000 rupees, which with 1,20,000 rupees being interest at 5 per cent. on a capital invested of 24 lacs, gives a total of 2,90,000, or a sum less than four annas per acre as the yearly cost of conveying water to the land. Adverting to the magnitude of the subsidiary channels, which can only be appreciated by being seen, to the double function they will be required to perform, viz., irrigation and navigation, and to the imperative necessity of improving them, and maintaining them at all times in a state of complete efficiency for those purposes, for the annicut is now indispensably necessary to the country, it seems that three lacs of rupees is the lowest sum that can be put down as the annual charge for repairs and cost of establishments, not including interest.

58. It was expected on the occasion of the former estimate, that 100,000 acres of land would be laid down with sugar cane. It seems improbable that such a result can be speedily realised. At present, the extent occupied with this product in the Rajahmundry Delta is only 3,048 acres, and as the large sugar factory near Rajahmundry, consumes largely palmyra jaggery, there is little prospect of an immediate extension of cane cultivation in any material degree. It seems, however, not improbable from what I learn that, on the land assessment being finally fixed, when all uncertainty as to its amount will be removed, and free scope given to the occupation of land, the cultivation of this product will be more generally followed, and that cane jaggery will be substituted at the sugar works for that obtained from the palmyra. At present, palmyra jaggery is sold at a rate 25 per cent. below cane jaggery, but this disparity of rate will cease on the backwardness to grow cane which is now manifest being overcome.

First Report of Public Works Commissioners, para. 273.

59. The great results obtained in the Woondy talook and under the Samulcottah Channel must not be viewed as furnishing a standard of increase for the Delta generally. The revenue of the former was greatly depressed below its normal condition, in consequence of the neglected state of the irrigation, and the losses entailed by the sharing system of settlement. The increase was the natural consequence of an irrigation put in order, and of an improved system of management. It was effected without the annicut. The increase in the case of the Samulcottah Channel is owing to there having been much land under it out of cultivation, which, on the resuscitation of the irrigation, was taken up. Both are striking instances of the value of maramut outlay, applied for the restoration of revenue; but their circumstances differ from those of the Delta generally. Viewed broadly, the Delta may be said to be nearly occupied, having an assessment which approaches a maximum standard, the main function of the annicut in this case will be to give permanence to a fluctuating revenue, and the effect will not be so striking as in the other cases cited. Lastly, in estimating future prospects, the probable effects of increased production on the prices of grain must not be lost sight of. The value of money may also change. But these contingencies will be more properly noticed when an adjustment of the assessment comes under consideration.

Note.—The annicut has since come into operation with increased benefits, by enabling the ryots to commence cultivation earlier, thereby obtaining richer crops, and to secure a more extended cultivation. The irrigation, in its ordinary state, could not insure this timely and certain supply of water. The Annicut was necessary for this end.

For the Three Delta Talooks the Sub-Collector's entries of waste are as follows:—

	Pootties.
Fallow - - - - -	3,163
Immemorial waste - -	224
	3,387
	8
Acres - - - -	27,096

Mr. Taylor's Report on the Subdivision above noticed, para. 30.

Question regarding the additional tax for water.

60. I proceed to submit the information called for in respect of the water rate. It is inquired whether a fixed rate per acre, or other extent for each of the kinds of crop, or an uniform rate per acre, a difference being made between those kinds of crop which require full irrigation, and those which consume a much smaller quantity of water, cannot be adopted for the arrangement submitted by the late Commissioner, which received the sanction of Government on the 5th January 1855. The proposal of the late Commissioner varied with the crop raised, the tax being supposed to be equivalent to a certain proportion of the profits to the ryot from such crop. It was not intended that the addi-

Proportion of the produce to be left to the ryots, $\frac{3}{8}$ths on land producing dry

tional

tional tax thus fixed should be imposed on the land so occupied, and from the demand of Government on it. This could not be done under joint rents, as it was the collective rent only which the Government officers had the power to increase, its apportionment being left to the ryots themselves. The ryots were informed by proclamation that two years' exemption from extra cess would be allowed from the time of the water being first brought to each particular village; that in the third year a fair amount would be fixed as the water rate, a moiety of which would be demanded in that year, and the full amount in the fourth; and that the apportionment would be left to themselves, the servants of Government interfering only on complaints of unequal distribution, and the exercise of undue influence by the headmen or pettanadars of the village. The ryots were further informed that the sum thus fixed at the early part of the season would not be augmented during that year.

crops; ½ on ditto, ditto, paddy; ⅔rds on garden produce; ¾ths on sugar cane.

61. It was a part of the instructions to Collectors that the actual produce of the different soils in each village should be examined by the Government officers, to serve as a guide for fixing the charge for water; but it was ascertained during my late circuit, that these orders had been only partially attended to, and that considerable difficulty was felt in carrying them out. In a letter on the subject, just received from the Collector of Rajahmundry (which will be submitted to Government hereafter), together with my Report on the practicability of immediately fixing a definite assessment on each field, the following passage occurs:—"The crop on fields irrigated last season may have this year been raised without the use of the water. Land, on which a second crop was raised by help of the water last year, may this year have been cultivated with but one. The first crop, again, may have been brought to maturity without using the water, which may have been taken for the second crop only. In a great part of the Ramachendrapoor talook in particular, a paddy crop was this year brought to maturity, on a large extent of land, from the ordinary monsoon rains. These lands have subsequently been irrigated by the annicut water, and a fine crop of gingely oil-seed raised. There are many other points, which it is not necessary to detail. I allude to those I have enumerated, with the view of showing that it is useless, even if the estimates and accounts of actual kyle were worthy of a greater degree of trust than I fear they are in general entitled to, to attempt to apportion with any great nicety the additional tax to be imposed, with reference to the different crops raised, and the extent of land which may happen to be irrigated in the present season. All that we can do and all that under the system of revenue administration which now obtains in this district seems to be necessary, is to fix a fair sum, after a careful consideration of the general results, and of all the circumstances affecting the profits of the ryots."

From Collector, 14th June 1855, with copy of a letter from the Sub-Collector, dated 17th May 1855.

62. Referring to the principle, according to which the water cess was to be imposed, viz., that of limiting the tax to a certain proportion of the estimated profits on each description of crop, Mr. Taylor, the Sub-Collector, observes: "It was simply a test by which to determine whether the assessment already levied was sufficiently high, or whether additions could fairly be made to the demand. The great object was to ascertain what the land actually yielded when supplied with annicut water; and if it were found that the amount of gross produce and the generally improved circumstances of a village justified the levy of teerwa jasty, to assess it accordingly; that is, to make an addition to the collective or joint rent of the villages, the distribution of which should be left to the ryots themselves."

63. The water tax being thus determined on general data, and its amount discretionary and blended with the assessment of the village, cannot be represented at a given sum. In five villages only of the Woondy talook, it is separately distinguished, though not formed on any definite principle. The following statement shows the amount in the five villages in question, with the assessment of these and other villages in the talook, and what the assessment ought to be if reliance could be placed on the examination of produce instituted for the occasion: —

ITEMS.		Land.	Demand for Fusly 1264.	Demand on the Government Share of the Estimated Produce.	Difference between Cols. 3 and 4.	Teerwa Jasty additional Cess for Water.
		Pootties.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
Of the 5 villages assessed with teerwa jasty	*Wet*	299	8,264	11,621	+3,357	—
	Dry	20	297	109	—188	—
TOTAL		319	8,561	11,730	+3,169	1,036
Of the 82 villages not assessed with teerwa jasty	*Wet*	2,910	78,236	96,389	+18,153	—
	Dry	1,100	28,700	16,468	—12,232	—
TOTAL		4,010	1,06,936	1,12,857	+5,921	—
		4,329	1,15,497	1,24,587	+9,090	1,036

	Particulars.
For Fusly 1264	275 — —
„ 1265	700 8 —
„ 1266	60 8 —
TOTAL *Rs.*	1,036 — —

64. The irrigated products may be viewed under two classes, viz., such as require a large quantity of water to bring them to maturity, and those for which a moderate supply will suffice. The former includes paddy, sugar-cane, and cocoa-nut plantations; the latter, turmeric, onions, and all ordinary garden produce. The quantity of water necessary to bring these products to maturity varies with the class to which they belong, as above defined, all in the same class requiring about the same quantity of water. To tax a given extent, then, with reference to the product under this view, is the same thing as taxing it with reference to the quantity of water used. If this principle of assessment is to be observed, the collector must ascertain yearly the extent of land irrigated and with what crops, and then apply the higher or lower rate, as the case may be. Under the joint-renting system, data will thus be furnished for adding to the collective demand on the village which has to be broken up and distributed *de novo*; but the sum to be paid by the occupant for the water taken by him, will differ from the amount which appears in the Collector's calculations.

65. The true mode of taxing irrigated land is that which has the sanction of immemorial usage; viz., to fix the assessment on a joint consideration of the quality of the land and of the quality of the irrigation. Two scales of rates for the different soils of a district would thus be fixed, one for lands enjoying a full and certain supply of water, the other for lands, the irrigation of which is imperfect. This rule applies equally to tanks and river channels. If this principle of taxation were strictly attended to, some descriptions of what are generally known as dry products, as well as all garden produce might be raised with profit. The remark applies particularly to Indigo, which would be grown under sources of imperfect supply, if the assessment were not a bar. The system too often adopted is, to tax all irrigated land with the paddy assessment, without reference to the quality of the irrigation. The supply of water may be either partial or deficient to such an extent as not to admit of paddy being sown that year. In the former case, a proportionate remission is given; in the latter, the assessment is not charged at all, and the land may remain three and four years together unproductive. With a tax fixed with reference to the quality of the irrigation, both the Government and the holders of land would be gainers, as a return may be looked for with confidence every year.

66. The

66. The principle of a collective demand is, however, an obstacle to the introduction of rates of assessment founded on a combined consideration of both land and irrigation.

67. The irregular character of the assessment as at present found, will be apparent on consulting Statement No. 6 of the Appendix, Columns 17, 22, 27, 37, 42, 47, elucidate this point, although cultivated with the same description of crops the assessment in some instances is upwards of 100 per cent. below what it is in others. This great irregularity is more fully exhibited in Statement No. 7, which shows the wet lands of Balabhadrapuram, formerly watered by tanks but now under the annicut, arranged by fields under their respective classes, and the assessment on each field according to the village apportionment. It will be seen that no two fields of the same class bear the same rate, and that the rates of the same class differ very widely from each other. In breaking up the collective demand, considerations besides the class to which the land belongs, regulate the sum to be paid by each ryot.

68. The difficulties above noticed are increased by the rates borne by unirrigated land being equal, in the present condition of the assessment, to those of irrigated land. The addition of a specific sum to the former, as the water cess is impracticable, till the rates of both descriptions of land are reduced to their just proportions. The following table exhibits the average rates of assessment as borne in the present accounts for the different Delta talooks:—

	TALOOKS.	DRY.			WET.			GARDEN.		
	1.	Land. 2.	Sist. 3.	Average. 4.	Land. 5.	Sist. 6.	Average. 7.	Land. 8.	Sist. 9.	Average. 10.
		Acres.	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Acres.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Acres.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Rauley	11,904	50,544	4 3 11	184	868	4 11 6	241	695	2 14 2
2	Cota Ramchendrapuram	22,256	1,03,584	4 10 6	1,584	6,126	3 13 10	27	333	12 2 –
3	Tanookoo	32,960	1,37,678	4 2 10	1,760	8,595	4 14 2	63	333	5 4 4
4	Nagarum	13,360	55,525	4 2 6	5,632	24,833	4 6 6	507	3,251	6 6 7
5	Mogultoor	25,160	96,200	3 13 2	7,792	23,312	2 14 10	842	6,323	7 8 3
6	Amlapoor	14,768	55,387	3 12 –	15,584	56,422	3 9 11	418	1,567	3 11 10
7	Bickavole	8,336	25,820	3 1 7	19,336	78,812	4 1 3	—	—	—
8	Woondy	10,696	33,424	3 2 –	21,424	75,387	3 11 4	12	1½	– 2 –
	Villages of Cocanada and Pettapoor Divisions.	856	1,969	2 4 10	1,200	4,307	3 9 5	22	117	5 6 –
9	Capaveram	34,424	88,212	2 9 –	9,120	42,575	4 9 8	—	—	—
	TOTAL	174,720	6,48,343	3 11 5	83,616	3,21,237	3 13 6	2,132	12,620	5 14 9

69. The difficulty of securing the rights of Government under the joint renting system was fully felt by the late Commissioner, but adverting to the discouragement experienced by the ryots from the uncertainty of the present demand, which was fixed on general considerations of what the village was capable of paying under its altered circumstances, and not on any definite principle intelligible to them, it was thought necessary, that some mode of regulating the demand of Government should be introduced, which would remove all doubt from the minds of the people. Hence the orders for adopting as a temporary expedient, a water cess on the crop in the manner stated.

70. The observations contained in the foregoing paras. will show, that under existing circumstances there would be great difficulty in introducing a water cess on the principle of a fixed rate per acre or other extent for each description of crop, or for the quantity of water required for the same. The principle of assessment which the late Commissioner ordered to be adopted as a temporary expedient, seems to present equal difficulties. The labour entailed by both

Note.—The pootty is the land measure of the district; it varies in different parts, but on an average eight acres is estimated as its equivalent. The contents of an acre are fully made known, and being uniform everywhere the village and taluk establishments are forced, under suitable check, to be tolerably accurate in entering the areas of fields.

plans cannot lead to definite results. The only plan, bearing in view the desirableness of non-interference on the part of the Government officials, short of an adjustment on sound principles is to avail ourselves of the experience gained in the villages under the Toolia Bhaga, such as it is, and to fix one uniform rate per acre for all descriptions of land in the villages to be assessed. The assessment of lands under the Toolia Bhaga has been gradually raised at the discretion of the Collector during the last five or six years, and it is supposed to be equal now to one half of the gross produce or perhaps above it. As the irrigation of these villages has been brought to a high degree of perfection, and as all the lands under its influence participate alike in its benefits, the average rate for acre for all the lands in a given number of villages may be taken to represent for the most part a fair average rate for all other villages under similar circumstances. Thus the number of acres of land in a village fully irrigated multiplied by this average rate, will give the collective amount to be settled as the demand of the year, its apportionment being left to the ryots as at present.—

71. To illustrate this principle, the average rates in eight principal villages under the Toolia Bhaga are shown in the following table:—

	VILLAGES.	Average of Assessment for Fusly 1263.	
		Per Pootty.	Per Acre.
		Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Padabramadavum	34 5 –	4 4 –
2	Bickavole	49 11 –	6 3 –
3	Maidapaud	49 12 –	6 3 –
4	Vetlapollem	43 – –	5 5 –
5	Balabhadrapuram	35 6 –	4 7 –
6	Anapurroo	64 12 –	8 1 –
7	Davarapoody	65 10 –	8 3 –
8	Kasaveram	42 10 –	5 5 –
	TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	45 6 –	5 10 –

The average for the whole is 45–6 rupees per pootty, but it will be sufficient, perhaps, to assume 40 rupees per pootty as a fair standard rate which corresponds with inquiries instituted by the late Commissioner last year in regard to the produce of land. The investigation in question seemed to show that a pootty of dry land would produce about six pootties of grain, and if irrigated * double that quantity. Following this view the calculation would be as follows:—

* *Note.*—In a final revision of the assessment, these calculations would of course be further tested.

Produce of a pootty of irrigated land - - -	12 pootties.
Value at 10 rupees per pootty - - - -	120 rupees.
Ryot's share of the above at two-thirds - -	80 ,,
Ditto of Government at one-third - - -	40 ,,
Average per acre, assuming eight acres to a pootty	5 ,,

72. Applying

72. Applying the foregoing standard rate to the land irrigated in fusly 1263 (1853-54), and comparing the result with the actual settlement of that year, it will be seen that the latter falls short of what would have been the demand according to the standard rate by about 25 per cent., thus:—

5,820 pooties cultivated, or - - -	*Acres*	46,560
Demand at rupees five per acre - - -	*Rs.*	232,800
Actual demand of fusly 1263 - - -	„	186,151
Difference to be added - - - - -	„	46,649
Centage - - - - - - - -	„	25

The above difference would be distributed in the several irrigated Talooks as follows:

To be Added—	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
Bickavole - - - - - - - - -	9,129	
Amlapoor - - - - - - - - -	1,401	
Cota Rama Chendrapurm - - - - -	1,574	
Mogultoor - - - - - - - - -	6,409	
Tanookoo - - - - - - - - -	92	
Woondy - - - - - - - - -	31,693	
		50,298
To be Reduced—		
Caupaveram - - - - - - - -	3,098	
Nagarum - - - - - - - - -	540	
Rally - - - - - - - - -	11	
		3,649
	Rs.	46,649

73. The bulk of the addition appertains to the Woondy talook, where the assessment is light, but the additional demand being heavy, could only be imposed gradually.

74. The average rate of five rupees per acre would probably be a sufficient approximation to a fair demand for the present in many cases, but looking at the rates of the eight villages respectively mentioned in para. 54 above, it will perhaps be found necessary to impose a higher or a lower rate in some villages, according to circumstances. These would be exceptional cases, and must be left to the discretion of the Collector.

75. Extending the principle of a fixed standard rate to the Zemindary and Enam lands, the following results are obtained:

	Pooties.		*Acres.*
Zemindary lands - - - - - - - -	1,177	or	9,420
Enam lands - - - - - - - - -	1,774	or	14,192
	2,951	or	23,612

	Rs.
Assessment of the above land at 5 rupees per acre - - -	118,060
Deduct usual ditto (estimated) at 30 rupees per pooty, or 3-12 rupees per acre - - - - - - - - - -	88,545
Remaining - - - - - - - -	29,515
Of which1-3d to be given up to the Zemindars and Enamdars, as proposed by the late Commissioner - - - - -	9,838
Remaining 2-3ds to Government - - -	19,677

Supposing this principle to have been followed in fusly 1263 (1853–54), Government would have received about 66,000 rupees, as the charge for water, viz.:

	Rs.
For Government lands - - - - - - - - -	46,649
For Zemindary and Enam lands - - - - - - -	19,677
	66,326

To Government, 21st December 1854. 4th January 1855.

76. The foregoing adjustment of the rights of Government could only be adopted as an expedient for the time. The true mode of regulating the rights of all parties is to place the assessment at once on right principles. This was my object in the communications noted in the margin, and the subject is again under consideration pursuant to the orders of Government, dated 1st June last. The postponement of this measure is inexpedient, as it will increase the difficulties of adjustment, and keep the authorities in ignorance as to the real bearing of the new works on the occupation and cultivation of the lands under their influence.

77. The Collector of Masulipatam has been required, agreeably to the orders of Government, to draw up a paper similar to that prepared by Mr. Stokes for Guntoor, to show the past and present condition of that district, and the benefits anticipated from the new works.

78. A brief remark on Mr. Stokes' paper will not be out of place. Mr. Stokes reviews in detail the revenue history of Guntoor, including the Palnaud, from the first period of the British connection with the country, and looking to the revenue system which has been pursued, and he adopts the important conclusion that the introduction of sound principle detachment, for to settlement for ordinary practical purposes are not necessarily dependent on a scientific survey. Both Guntoor proper and the Palnaud are illustrations of the truth of this remark. The former was settled by Mr. Stokes, the latter by Mr. Oakes, upwards of 30 years ago. In both, inaccuracies of area were corrected by the means at hand, and there was no postponement of the benefits of sound revenue arrangements for an indefinite period, under an impression that a professional survey was the only remedy for proved evils of system. Valuable as a professional survey may be, in ordinary circumstances the principle may be pushed too far. Good field registers are indeed essential, and the first duty of a Collector is to revise the registers of land where he finds them untrustworthy. This was performed with a large measure of success in Palnaud and in Guntoor with

with only ordinary means. The diffusion of a knowledge of surveying in Rajahmundry with the aid of a small grant sanctioned by Government for the purpose has increased the facilities of measurement in that district, and there seems no reason why the area of each village, including field maps, should not now be accurately laid down at a small additional charge to Government.

79. Mr. Stokes also draws the conclusion that Guntoor is lightly assessed, and he shows the average rate per acre for all the lands of the district to be only rupees 1-11. This rate is *primâ facie* moderate, but being the average of the entire cultivable area, it does not follow that the rich soils may not be too highly assessed. But this subject will be discussed separately in conformity with the call of Government in Extract Minutes of Consultation, dated 2d June 1855.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. Goldingham,*
Commissioner.

To J. D. Bourdillon, Esq.,
Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.

Commissioner's Office, Vizagapatam,
9 July 1855.

No. 1.—STATEMENT of the Population in the Districts of *Rajahmundry, Masulipatam,* and *Guntoor.*

CLASSES.	RAJAHMUNDRY.			MASULIPATAM.			GUNTOOR.		
	Number of Villages.	Population.	Average per Village.	Number of Villages.	Population.	Average per Village.	Number of Villages.	Population.	Average per Village.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
Above - - - 10,000	1	14,721	14,721	2	58,424	29,212	—	—	—
From - - 5,000 to 10,000	13	84,283	6,483	1	6,170	6,170	—	—	—
From - - 2,000 to 5,000	74	204,466	2,764	14	39,471	2,819	—	—	—
From - - 1,000 to 2,000	232	324,734	1,400	66	88,019	1,334	—	—	—
From - - 5,000 to 1,000	320	232,405	726	186	128,518	691	—	—	—
Below - 500 - -	587	138,974	237	1,042	200,264	192	—	—	—
TOTAL - - -	1,227	999,583	823	1,311	520,866	397	1,028	570,083	555
Mistake in the Account of Fusly 1263 - - - - -		12,453							
		10,12,036							

Commissioner's Office, Vizagapatam,
9 July 1855.

J. Goldingham,
Commissioner.

No. 2.—STATEMENT of LAND in Occupation, and the Assessment thereon.

ITEMS.	RAJAHMUNDRY.					MASULIPATAM.					GUNTOOR.				
	Land in Occupation.			Per Centage.		Land in Occupation.			Per Centage.		Land in Occupation.			Per Centage.	
	Land.	Assessment.	Average.	Land.	Assessment.	Land.	Assessment.	Average.	Land.	Assessment.	Land.	Assessment.	Average.	Land.	Assessment.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
	Acres.	*Rs.*	*Rs. as.*	*Ac.*	*Rs.*	*Acres.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. as.*	*A. c.*	*Rs.*	*Acres.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. as.*	*Ac.*	*Rs.*
Dry - - - - - -	304,591	929,222	3 1	69	65	408,167	408,914	1 –	78 0	51	663,244	10,99,781	1 11	95	84
Wet:															
Annicut Channel of Godavery.	57,073	210,291	3 11	13	15	29,013	89,364	3 1	5 20	11	- -	- -	- -	0	–
Tanks - - - - -	37,435	133,594	3 9	9	10	78,523	277,203	3 8	15 0	35	19,238	123,128	6 6	3	9
Channels - - - - -	26,083	104,087	4 –	6	7	2,602	6,031	2 5	0 20	1	5,441	34,346	6 5	1	3
Wells - - - - -	2,706	18,742	6 15	1	1	2,308	11,562	5 –	0 20	2	8,411	56,905	6 12	1	4
Rains - - - -	10,650	31,477	2 15	2	2	288	1,111	3 14	0 20	¼	- -	- -	- -	0	0
TOTAL - - -	133,947	498,191	3 12	31	35	112,734	385,271	3 7	22 0	49	33,090	214,379	6 8	5	16
GRAND TOTAL - -	438,538	1,427,413	3 4	100	100	520,901	794,185	1 8	100 0	100	696,334	1,314,160	1 14	100	100

Commissioner's Office, Vizagapatam,
9 July 1855.

J. Goldingham,
Commissioner.

COLLECTIONS of LAND REVENUE and other Sources, in each Year, from 1212 to 1263 Fusly.

FUSLIES.		RAJAHMUNDRY.					MASULIPATAM.					GUNTOOR.				
		Land Revenue.			Revenue from the Extra Sources of Salt, Abkarry, sundry small Farms, Moturpha, and Stamps.	TOTAL Collections.	Land Revenue.			Revenue from the Extra Sources of Salt, Abkarry, sundry small Farms, Moturpha and Stamps.	TOTAL Collections.	Land Revenue.			Revenue from the Extra Sources of Salt, Abkarry, sundry small Farms, Moturpha and Stamps.	TOTAL Collections.
	1.	Demand on the Government Lands and Zemindary, &c. Estates. 2.	Arrears. 3.	Collection. 4.	5.	6.	Demand on the Government Lands, and Zemindary, &c. Estates. 7.	Arrears. 8.	Collection. 9.	10.	11.	Demand on the Government Lands and Zemindary, &c. Estates. 12.	Arrears. 13.	Collection. 14.	15.	16.
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1	1212—1802-03	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	947,217	25,575	921,642	- -	- -	1,159,812	- -	1,159,812	—	—
2	1213	1,805,623	2,334	1,803,289	- -	- -	858,014	- -	858,014	- -	- -	1,224,825	- -	1,224,825	—	—
3	1214	1,797,023	2,267	1,794,756	- -	- -	871,283	- -	871,283	- -	- -	1,277,839	- -	1,277,839	—	—
4	1215	1,801,350	- -	1,801,350	- -	- -	925,619	- -	925,619	- -	- -	1,300,304	- -	1,300,304	—	—
5	1216	1,846,104	- -	1,846,104	- -	- -	926,822	- -	926,822	- -	- -	1,344,389	- -	1,344,389	—	—
6	1217	1,854,854	- -	1,854,854	- -	- -	925,998	- -	925,998	- -	- -	1,342,429	- -	1,342,429	—	—
7	1218	1,860,104	- -	1,860,104	- -	- -	926,996	- -	926,996	- -	- -	1,341,517	- -	1,341,517	—	—
8	1219	1,892,111	3,639	188,472	- -	- -	927,422	- -	927,422	- -	- -	1,353,526	- -	1,353,526	252,063	1,605,589
9	1220	1,901,562	45,875	1,855,687	- -	- -	928,046	- -	928,046	- -	- -	1,359,793	- -	1,359,793	337,456	1,697,249
10	1221	1,904,449	16,702	1,887,747	- -	- -	944,168	- -	944,168	- -	- -	1,374,952	- -	1,374,952	395,295	1,770,247
	Average	1,851,464	7,869	1,843,595	- -	- -	918,158	2,575	915,601	- -	- -	1,307,938	- -	1,307,938	—	—
11	1222—1812-13	1,921,952	15,902	1,906,050	- -	- -	942,117	- -	942,117	- -	- -	1,380,653	- -	1,380,635	396,714	1,777,367
12	1223	1,921,907	12,219	1,909,688	- -	- -	959,735	- -	959,735	- -	- -	1,388,213	131	1,388,082	306,364	1,694,446
13	1224	190,696	31,206	1,878,490	- -	- -	960,510	- -	960,510	- -	- -	1,385,313	- -	1,385,313	303,221	1,688,534
14	1225	1,912,613	27,260	1,885,353	- -	- -	955,791	- -	955,791	- -	- -	1,383,424	125	1,383,299	264,863	1,648,162
15	1226	1,900,155	27,997	1,872,158	- -	- -	955,806	- -	955,806	- -	- -	1,384,416	284	1,384,132	280,985	1,665,117
16	1227	1,899,879	2,176	1,897,703	- -	- -	955,585	- -	955,585	- -	- -	1,406,863	128	1,406,735	452,293	1,859,028
17	1228	1,813,457	6,792	1,806,665	- -	- -	955,478	- -	955,478	- -	- -	1,410,576	3,537	1,407,039	452,574	1,859,613
18	1229	1,883,234	11,563	1,871,671	- -	- -	955,768	- -	955,768	- -	- -	1,405,141	3,463	1,401,678	448,219	1,849,897
19	1230	1,867,837	20,038	1,847,799	- -	- -	955,486	15,155	940,331	- -	- -	1,395,049	168	1,394,881	333,650	1,728,531
20	1231	1,887,742	14,307	1,873,435	- -	- -	955,651	30,414	925,237	- -	- -	1,436,859	530	1,436,329	365,786	1,802,115
	Average	1,891,847	16,946	1,874,901	- -	- -	955,193	4,557	950,636	- -	- -	1,397,651	837	1,369,814	360,467	1,757,281

No. 3—Collections of Land Revenue and other Sources in each Year from 1212 to 1268 Fusly—*continued.*

	FUSLIES.	RAJAHMUNDRY.					MASULIPATAM.					GUNTOOR.				
		Land Revenue.			Revenue from the Extra Sources of Salt, Abkarry, sundry small Farms, Moturpha, and Stamps.	Total Collections.	Land Revenue.			Revenue from the Extra Sources of Salt, Abkarry, sundry small Farms, Moturpha, and Stamps.	Total Collections.	Land Revenue.			Revenue from the Extra Sources of Salt, Abkarry, sundry small Farms, Moturpha, and Stamps.	Total Collections.
		Demand on the Government Lands and Zemindary, &c. Estates.	Arrears.	Collections.			Demand on the Government Lands and Zemindary, &c. Estates.	Arrears.	Collections.			Demand on the Government Lands and Zemindary, &c. Estates.	Arrears.	Collections.		
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
21	1232—1822-23 -	1,832,542	27,777	1,804,765	- -	- -	955,519	28,143	927,376	- -	- -	1,451,952	137	1,451,815	308,977	1,760,792
22	1233 - - -	1,862,586	38,792	1,823,794	- -	- -	955,457	- -	955,457	234,644	1,190,101	1,436,898	2,515	1,434,383	294,510	1,728,893
23	1234 - - -	1,908,953	6,905	1,902,048	- -	- -	955,808	8,936	946,872	284,514	1,231,386	1,442,623	5,409	1,437,214	286,585	1,723,799
24	1235 - - -	1,868,258	15,284	1,852,974	- -	- -	956,078	14,237	941,841	266,753	1,208,594	1,452,591	5,624	1,446,967	346,647	1,793,614
25	1236 - - -	1,917,415	8,085	1,909,330	- -	- -	955,983	679	955,304	259,473	1,214,777	1,454,799	5,996	1,448,803	351,764	1,800,567
26	1237 - - -	1,854,842	1,891	1,852,951	- -	- -	955,980	50,674	905,306	262,666	1,167,972	1,445,466	5,183	1,440,283	343,207	1,783,490
27	1238 - - -	1,895,209	2,630	1,892,579	- -	- -	955,989	12,621	943,368	295,529	1,238,897	1,450,239	8,035	1,442,204	366,648	1,808,852
28	1239 - - -	1,851,682	34,129	1,817,553	- -	- -	955,988	53,989	901,999	204,863	1,106,862	1,429,130	3,651	1,425,479	532,591	1,958,070
29	1240 - - -	1,879,826	12,572	1,867,254	433,342	2,300,596	956,003	1,446	954,557	294,615	1,249,172	1,428,839	5,674	1,423,165	417,684	1,840,849
30	1241 - - -	1,822,757	25,176	1,797,581	425,206	2,222,787	944,216	39,607	904,609	296,306	1,200,915	1,416,631	202,313	1,214,318	485,340	1,699,658
	Average - - -	1,869,407	17,324	1,852,083	- -	- -	954,702	21,033	933,669	- -	- -	1,440,917	24,454	1,416,463	373,395	1,789,858
31	1242—1832-33 -	1,717,017	138,790	1,578,227	360,918	1,939,145	943,897	130,830	813,067	220,815	1,033,882	1,415,909	511,745	904,164	237,930	1,142,094
32	1243 - - -	1,805,173	44,800	1,760,373	465,598	2,225,971	944,094	83,019	861,075	272,598	1,133,673	1,375,713	547,287	828,426	347,158	1,175,584
33	1244 - - -	1,854,636	67,426	1,787,210	527,164	2,314,374	943,997	109,183	834,814	333,982	1,168,796	1,380,661	844,065	536,596	279,967	816,563
34	1245 - - -	1,769,137	34,853	1,734,284	230,228	1,964,512	944,101	177,862	766,239	280,574	1,046,823	1,378,057	612,799	765,258	305,830	1,071,088
35	1246 - - -	1,766,524	31,897	1,734,627	389,716	2,124,343	943,564	198,543	745,021	325,027	1,070,048	1,380,568	601,793	788,775	302,529	1,091,304
36	1247 - - -	1,785,084	86,861	1,698,223	274,099	1,972,322	941,681	146,347	795,334	310,359	1,105,693	1,402,530	622,124	780,406	364,184	1,144,590
37	1248 - - -	1,738,582	455,839	1,282,743	252,750	1,535,493	937,529	181,740	755,789	313,060	1,068,849	1,401,162	539,681	871,481	415,048	1,286,529
38	1249 - - -	1,775,371	316,188	1,459,183	236,303	1,695,486	944,667	113,254	831,413	346,278	1,177,691	1,411,361	457,182	934,179	428,904	1,363,083
39	1250 - - -	1,741,289	305,432	1,435,857	234,997	1,670,854	937,895	150,396	787,499	321,877	1,109,376	1,395,063	458,492	936,571	366,114	1,302,685
40	1251 - - -	1,763,865	229,579	1,534,286	371,328	1,905,614	942,409	152,202	790,207	337,068	1,127,275	1,391,590	462,810	928,780	371,123	1,299,903
	Average - - -	1,771,668	171,167	1,600,501	334,310	1,934,811	942,383	144,337	798,046	306,164	1,104,210	1,393,261	565,798	827,463	341,879	1,169,342

41	1252—1842-43 -	1,753,802	238,252	1,515,550	343,445	1,858,995	1,012,655	219,615	793,040	402,618	1,195,658	1,135,240	115,459	1,019,781	340,864	1,360,645
42	1253 - - -	1,707,954	153,569	1,554,385	397,983	1,952,368	979,463	228,951	750,512	339,452	1,089,964	1,075,011	192,585	882,426	410,142	1,292,568
43	1254 - - -	1,769,984	38,450	1,731,534	270,503	2,002,037	928,258	151,812	776,446	397,096	1,173,542	1,082,252	82,200	1,000,052	421,833	1,421,885
44	1255 - - -	1,768,138	18,624	1,749,514	275 149	2,024,663	951,702	62,652	889,050	468,663	1,357,713	1,290,048	43,859	1,246,189	418,090	1,664,279
45	1256 - - -	1,825,827	13,338	1,812,489	338,904	2,151,393	1,014,923	62,739	952,184	347,536	1,299,720	1,434,775	36,409	1,398,366	384,664	1,783,030
	Average of 5 Years	1,765,141	92,446	1,672,695	325,196	1,997,891	977,400	145,154	832,246	391,073	1,223,319	1,203,465	94,102	1,109,363	395,118	1,504,481
46	1257—1847-48 -	1,875,525	2,076	1,873,449	347,416	2,220,865	961,515	87,684	873,831	355,944	1,229,775	1,455,945	37,774	1,418,171	466,429	1,884,600
47	1258 - - -	1,931,299	2,396	1,928,903	351,293	2,280,196	1,061,694	239,510	822,184	384,275	1,206,459	1,518,463	52,409	1,466,054	496,924	1,962,978
48	1259 - - -	1,944,807	53,553	1,891,254	360,453	2,251,707	931,833	112,043	819,790	348,910	1,168,700	1,513,396	113,356	1,400,040	474,417	1,874,457
49	1260 - - -	1,991,485	18,604	1,972,881	336,895	2,309,776	949,304	115,895	833,409	371,327	1,204,736	1,403,059	68,159	1,334,900	502,721	1,837,621
50	1261 - - -	2,045,537	20,227	2,025,310	388,290	2,413,600	1,021,561	26,284	995,277	324,083	1,319,360	1,457,969	67,913	1,390,056	421,304	1,811,360
51	1262 - - -	2,067,116	44,651	2,022,465	408,671	2,431,136	1,069,831	26,366	1,043,465	228,359	1,271,824	1,434,585	54,272	1,380,313	678,496	2,058,809
52	1263—1853-54 -	2,055,261	36,751	2,018,510	388,660	2,407,170	1,053,660	12,414	1,041,246	367,495	1,408,741	1,406,943	51,122	1,355,821	468,052	1,823,873
	Average of 7 Years	1,987,290	25,465	1,961,825	368,811	2,330,636	1,007,057	88,599	918,458	340,056	1,258,514	1,455,766	63,572	1,392,194	501,192	1,893,386
										Decrease.						
	The average of seven years being in excess of that of five years - - -	222,149	- -	289,130	43,615	332,745	29,657	- -	86,212	51,017*	35,195	252,301	- -	282,831	106,074	388,905
	If multptied on seven years - - -	1,555,043	- -	2,023,910	305,305	2,329,215	207,599	- -	603,484	357,119	246,365	1,766,107	- -	1,979,817	742,518	2,722,335

* 1. The Land Revenue demand in Rajahmundry and Masulipatam includes the demand on the Government lands as well as the Zemindary Estates for each Fusly, while that of Guntoor includes the Beriz of Paulnad and the Peishcush on the Guntoor Circar, from 1212 to 1251 Fusly, and the Beriz of both from 1252 Fusly.

2. In the extra sources, the Sayer and Sea Custom are included.

3. A considerable portion of the arrears shown in this statement was authorised to be written off.

Commissioner's Office,
Vizagapatam, 9 July 1855.

J. Goldingham,
Commissioner.

No. 4.—REVENUE of Villages Irrigated by the *Toolia Bhagha* Channel from the *Godavery* Annicut.

Items.	TALOOKS.	Fusly in which Irrigation commenced.	Number of Villages newly Irrigated each Year.	Average Collections of Five Years before the Irrigation commenced.	Average after Irrigation. Number of Years.	Average after Irrigation. Average Collections up to 1262 Fusly.	Demand of Fusly 1263.	Comparison of Columns 4 and 5. Increase.	Comparison of Columns 4 and 5. Centage.	Comparison of Columns 4 and 6. Increase.	Comparison of Columns 4 and 6. Centage.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.		6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
Irrigated.	Caupaweram	1257	8	24,477	6	33,843	37,498	9,366	38·26	13,021	53·19
	* Bickavole	1258	23	39,343	5	67,244	74,420	27,901	70·91	35,077	89·25
		1259	1	1,491	4	1,924	2,040	433	29·4	549	36·82
		1260	2	771	3	1,061	1,108	290	37·61	337	43·71
		1261	2	1,952	2	2,119	2,160	167	8·55	208	10·66
		1262	2	8,532	1	9,829	10,628	1,297	15·20	2,096	24·57
		1263	7	7,376	–	8,187	8,187	811	11·	811	11·
		TOTAL	45	83,942	–	124,207	136,041	40,265	47·97	52,099	62·7
Not irrigated.	Caupaweram	For villages not irrigated the average collections, from 1253 to 1257 fusly, are given in col. 4, and that of five years, from 1258 to 1262 fusly, in col. 6.	85	98,852	–	125,264	134,351	26,412	26·72	35,499	35·91
	Bickavole		12	17,300	–	22,252	24,719	4,952	28·62	7,419	42·89
		TOTAL	97	116,152	–	147,516	159,070	31,364	27·	42,918	36·95
Irrigated.	Pittapore Zemindary	1257	4	4,806	6	7,719	9,005	2,913	60·61	4,199	87·38
		1260	12	11,292	3	13,069	15,053	1,777	15·74	3,761	33·31
		1261	4	3,787	2	4,785	5,055	998	26·36	1,268	33·49
		1263	5	8,581	–	10,325	10,325	1,744	20·32	1,744	20·32
		TOTAL	25	28,466	–	35,898	39,438	7,432	26·11	10,972	38·54

FUSLIES.	Balabadrapuram, irrigated from Fusly 1258.	Bickavole, irrigated from Fusly 1258.	Madapad, irrigated from Fusly 1258.	Vetlapollem, irrigated from Fusly 1258.	Padabramadunum, irrigated from Fusly 1258.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1253	3,138	3,622	2,373	3,504	3,680
1254	4,165	3,897	2,281	3,536	2,708
1255	1,516	2,922	1,462	1,218	2,563
1256	3,600	4,248	2,605	3,777	3,923
1257	4,000	5,824	3,087	4,363	4,820
TOTAL	16,419	20,513	11,808	16,398	17,694
Average	3,284	4,102	2,362	3,279	3,539
1258	5,250	7,367	4,543	5,261	6,218
1259	6,000	8,504	5,660	6,387	6,831
1260	6,721	9,148	6,644	7,676	7,384
1261	6,928	9,248	7,961	7,918	8,292
1262	7,087	9,057	6,856	6,283	7,152
TOTAL	31,986	43,924	31,604	33,525	35,877
Average	6,397	8,785	6,333	6,705	7,175
1263	7,050	9,700	7,005	7,650	7,500

* Annual collections of five irrigated villages included above, under the Bickavole Talook.

Commissioner's Office,
Vizagapatam, 9 July 1855.

J. Goldingham,
Commissioner.

No. 5.—STATEMENT showing the PROFITS derived from the *Godavery* Annicut to Government.

ITEMS.	Fuslies in which the Water was given.	Villages.	Average Collections of Five Years.	Collections in respective Fuslies.	Increase to Columns 3 and 4.			Centage.		
					From the Godavery Water.	From other Causes.	TOTAL.	From the Godavery Water.	From other Causes.	TOTAL.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
Usual Cultivation under the Yoolya Bhaga Channel.	In - 1257 -	8	24,477	29,743	2,540	2,726	5,266	10·37	11·14	21·51
	Up to 1258 -	31	63,820	90,601	16,900	9,881	26,781	26·48	15·48	41·96
	„ 1259 -	32	65,311	98,075	22,415	10,319	32,764	34·37	15·10	50·17
	„ 1260 -	34	66,082	1,06,748	30,269	10,397	40,666	45·81	15·73	61·54
	„ 1261 -	36	68,034	1,15,449	36,847	10,568	47,415	54·16	15·53	69·69
	„ 1262 -	38	76,566	1,23,596	36,411	10,619	47,030	47·56	13·86	61·42
	„ 1263 -	45	83,942	1,36,041	40,789	11,310	52,099	48·59	13·47	62·6
	TOTAL - -	–	4,48,232	7,00,253	1,86,201	65,820	2,52,021	41·54	14·69	56·23
Add estimated profit to Government in the Talooks which are irrigated only in 1263 fusly - - -					13,038	- -	1,30,038			
					3,16,239	65,820	3,82,059			

Note.—The figures in 5 and 6 Columns have been inserted on a consideration of each separate village. Most of the 45 villages have tanks, and possessed wet cultivation before the Annicut was built. The allowance made in each case at the discretion of the framer of the estimate.

ESTIMATE of the Loss prevented by the Timely Distribution of the *Godavery* Water in Fusly 1263.

NAMES OF TALOOKS.	Demand of Fusly 1263.	Estimate of the Average Sist of Five Years, from 1253 to 1257 Fusly, that might have been Collected in Fusly 1263.	Amount to be considered as saved to Government from the Godavery Water being made available.	Of which probable amount of Remission given.	Net Revenue saved.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Cota Ramchundrapuram - - -	1,33,168	1,05,132	28,036	3,000	25,036
Nagarum - - - - - - -	1,07,578	81,704	25,874	10,000	15,874
Woondy - - - - - - -	1,43,995	1,09,867	34,128	- - -	34,128
Total - - -	3,84,741	2,96,703	88,038	13,000	75,038
Pentapaud - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -					5,000
Kykaloor, including Colair Lake - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -					50,000
				Total - - -	55,000
				GRAND TOTAL - -	1,30,038

Commissioner's Office,
Vizagapatam, 9 July 1855.

J. Goldingham,
Commissioner.

No. 6.—STATEMENT showing the former COLLECTIONS and present ASSESSMENT of the Villages cultivated with Water from the Annicut, and the Descriptions of Land cultivated in Fusly 1263, in the District of *Rajahmundry*.

No.	TALOOKS.	Number of Villages.	THE WHOLE VILLAGE.										IRRIGATED BY THE ANNICUT FOR FUSLY 1263.					
			Average Collections of Five Years before the Construction of Annicut.	Beriz of Fusly 1262.	Beriz of Fusly 1263.	Beriz of Fusly 1264.	Comparison between the Beriz of Fusly 1262 and that of Fusly 1263.		Comparison between the Beriz of Fuslies 1263 and 1264.		Comparison between Collections of Five Years before the Construction of Annicut and Beriz of Fusly 1264.		USUAL WET.					
							Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Increase.	Decrease.	Land.	Assessment before the Irrigation of the Annicut.	Assessment of Fusly 1263.	Difference between the Two.	Average of Assessment per Pootty for Fusly 1263.	
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	
			Co.'s Rs.	*Co.'s Rs.*	*Co.'s Rs.*	*Co.'s Rs.*	*Co.'s Rs.*	*Co.'s Rs.*	*Co.'s Rs.*	*Co.'s Rs.*	*Co.'s Rs.*	*Co.'s Rs.*	*Pootties.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*	
1	Bickavole - -	40	51,730	1,01,191	1,04,181	1,06,271	2,990	- -	2,090	- -	54,541	- -	1,302	40,115	46,873	6,758	36 - -	
2	Caupaveram -	7	16,767	27,408	27,408	27,408	- -	- -	- -	- -	10,641	- -	258	7,364	13,723	6,359	53 3 -	
	TOTAL - - -	47	68,497	1,28,599	1,31,589	1,33,679	2,990	- -	2,090	- -	65,182	- -	1,560	47,479	60,596	13,117	38 14 -	
3	Amlapuram -	8	12,945	18,533	18,707	18,725	174	- -	18	- -	5,780	- -	117	3,200	3,289	89	28 2 -	
4	Nagaram - -	18	44,265	47,889	48,109	48,108	220	- -	- -	1	3,843	- -	109	4,614	4,614	- -	42 6 -	
5	Cota Ramachendrapuram - -	14	21,025	23,175	23,409	23,581	234	- -	172	- -	2,556	- -	168	5,116	5,120	4	30 8 -	
6	Rauley - -	2	3,468	4,605	4,614	4,619	9	- -	5	- -	1,151	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	
7	Mogulloor - -	29	83,843	90,920	90,888	91,021	- -	32	133	- -	7,178	- -	476	11,553	11,553	- -	24 4 -	
8	Tanookoo - -	26	53,010	66,936	68,070	68,063	1,134	- -	- -	7	15,053	- -	22	899	899	- -	40 14 -	
9	Woondy - - -	81	90,251	1,30,466	1,30,941	1,30,805	475	- -	- -	136	40,554	- -	2,677	79,730	75,387	4,343	28 2 -	
	TOTAL - - -	225	3,77,304	5,11,123	5,16,327	5,18,601	5,236	32	2,418	144	1,41,297	- -	5,129	152,591	161,458	8,867	31 8 -	
	Land at eight acres per pootty - -	- - - - -	- -	- -	- -	Net	5,204	- -	2,274	- -	- -	- -	41,032	- -	161,458	- -	3 15 -	

No. 6.—STATEMENT showing the former Collections and present Assessment of the Villages cultivated with Water from the Annicut, and the Descriptions of Land, &c.—*continued*.

No.	TALOOKS.	IRRIGATED BY THE ANNICUT FOR FUSLY 1263.																			
		DRY CONVERTED INTO WET.					DRY CONVERTED INTO GARDEN.					SUGAR-CANE GARDENS.					TOTAL.				
		Land.	Assessment before the Irrigation of the Annicut.	Assessment of Fusly 1263.	Difference between these Two.	Average Assessment per Pootty for Fusly 1263.	Land.	Assessment before the Irrigation of the Annicut.	Assessment of Fusly 1263.	Difference between these Two.	Average of Assessment per Pootty for Fusly 1263.	Land.	Assessment before the Irrigation of the Annicut.	Assessment of Fusly 1263.	Difference between these Two.	Average of Assessment per Pootty.	Land.	Assessment before the Irrigation of the Annicut.	Assessment of Fusly 1263.	Difference between these Two.	Average of Assessment per Pootty of Fusly 1263.
		18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.
		Ps.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a.*	*Ps.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a.*	*Ps.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a.*	*Ps.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a.*
1	Bickavole	503	11,115	16,198	5,083	32 3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1,805	51,230	63,071	11,841	34 15
2	Caupaveram	52	1,506	1,775	269	34 2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	310	8,870	15,498	6,628	50 –
	TOTAL	555	12,621	17,973	5,352	32 6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2,115	60,100	78,569	18,469	37 2
3	Amlapuram	1	29	30	1	30 –	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	118	3,229	3,319	90	28 2
4	Nagaram	–	–	–	–	–	3	87	87	–	29 –	9	679	679	–	75 8	121	5,380	5,380	–	44 7
5	Cota Ramachendrapuram	19	705	705	–	37 2	2	161	161	–	80 8	–	–	–	–	–	189	5,982	5,986	4	31 11
6	Rauley	1	38	38	–	38 –	– ½	13	13	–	26 –	–	–	–	–	–	1½	51	51	–	34 –
7	Mogulloor	10	416	416	–	41 9	67	3,643	3,643	–	54 6	3	219	219	–	73 –	556	15,831	15,831	–	28 8
8	Tanookoo	15	477	477	–	31 14	6	248	248	–	41 5	T 2	4	4	–	40 –	43	1,628	1,628	–	37 15
9	Woondy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2,677	79,730	17,387	4,343	28 2
	TOTAL	601	14,286	19,639	5,353	32 11	78	4,152	4,152	–	53 4	12	902	902	–	75 3	5,820	171,931	186,151	14,220	32 –
	Land at eight acres per pootty	4,808	–	19,639	–	4 1	624	–	4,152	–	6 10	96	–	902	–	9 6	46,560	–	186,151	–	4 –

No. 6.—Statement showing the former Collections and present Assessment of the Villages cultivated with Water from the Annicut, and the Descriptions of Land, &c.—*continued.*

No.	TALOOKS.	DESCRIPTION OF CROPS.														
		First Crop Fine Paddy, and Second Crop Coarse Paddy.					First Crop Fine Paddy, Second Crop Gingily Oil Seeds, &c.					A Single Crop of Sugar Cane or Fine Paddy.				
		Land.	Assessment before the Irrigation of the Annicut.	Assessment of Fusly 1263.	Difference between these two.	Average of Assessment per Pootty for Fusly 1263.	Land.	Assessment before the Irrigation of the Annicut.	Assessment of Fusly 1263.	Difference between these two.	Average of Assessment per Pootty for Fusly 1263.	Land.	Assessment before the Irrigation of the Annicut.	Assessment of Fusly 1263.	Difference between these two.	Average of Assessment per Pootty for Fusly 1263.
		38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.	51.	52.
1	Bickavole	351	10,695	15,841	5,146	45 2 –	63	3,701	4,428	727	70 6 –	1,391	36,834	42,802	5,968	30 12 –
2	Caupaveram	93	3,371	6,450	3,079	69 6 –	25	741	1,596	855	63 14 –	192	4,758	7,452	2,694	38 13 –
	Total	444	14,066	22,291	8,225	50 3 –	88	4,442	6,024	1,582	68 8 –	1,583	41,592	50,254	8,662	31 12 –
3	Amlapuram	118	3,229	3,319	90	28 2 –	–	—	—	—	—	–	—	—	—	—
4	Nagaram	–	–	–	–	–	21	1,913	1,913	–	91 1 –	100	3,467	3,467	–	34 11 –
5	Cota Ramachendrapuram	1	62	62	–	62 – –	188	5,920	5,924	4	31 8 –	–	—	—	—	—
6	Rauley	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1½	51	51	–	34 – –
7	Mogulloor	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	556	15,831	15,831	–	28 8 –
8	Tanookoo	31	1,147	1,147	–	37 – –	12	477	477	–	39 12 –	T 2	4	4	–	40 – –
9	Woondy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2,677	79,730	75,387	4,343	28 2 –
	Total	594	18,504	26,819	8,315	45 3 –	309	12,752	14,338	1,586	46 6 –	4,917	140,675	144,994	4,319	29 8 –
	Land at eight acres per pootty	4,752	–	26,819	–	5 10 –	2,472	–	14,338	–	5 13 –	39,336	–	144,994	–	3 11 –

Commissioner's Office, Vizagapatam,
9 July 1855.

(signed) *J. Goldingham,*
Commissioner.

No. 7.—STATEMENT showing the WET LANDS of *Balabhadrapuram* depending on the Annicut Irrigation.

Items, Description of Crops, and Classes.	NAMES of PUMPOOS. 1.	Land. 2.	Assessment before the Irrigation. 3.	Rents for Fusly 1264. 4.	Average per Pootty. Assessment before the Irrigation. 5.	Average per Pootty. Rents for Fusly 1264. 6.	Average per Acre. Assessment before the Irrigation. 7.	Average per Acre. Rents for Fusly 1264. 8.
Usual Wet: Double Crops:		*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1st Class	Nootalaparadu	1 2 12	50 8 –	93 – –	44 6 4	81 12 2	5 8 9	10 3 6
	Muttaloo Chalaka	1 2 8	67 10 –	98 5 –	60 1 10	87 6 2	7 8 3	10 14 9
	Joovva Doddi Chanoo	3 2 8	146 4 –	232 4 –	46 12 10	74 5 2	5 13 7	9 4 8
	Bari Chinta Chanoo	0 15 0	40 1 –	40 1 –	53 6 8	53 6 8	6 10 10	6 10 10
	Mungalavani Mulloo	0 2 4	– 8 –	7 – –	4 7 2	62 3 –	– 8 11	7 12 4
	Valagala Dibba Seetamamulloo, &c.	0 15 0	19 8 –	70 4 –	26 – –	93 10 8	3 4 –	11 11 4
	Coommaragati Chanoo	1 3 12	83 – –	146 11 –	69 14 3	123 7 8	8 11 9	15 6 11
	Panti Dumpa	1 0 0	42 – –	56 – –	42 – –	56 – –	5 4 –	7 – –
	Vellagala Diddy	1 0 0	40 – –	110 – –	40 – –	110 – –	5 – –	13 12 –
	Doyyala Murrigurvoo	0 10 0	13 – –	46 1 –	26 – –	92 2 –	3 4 –	11 8 3
	Ravi Chilakgurvoo	0 5 0	9 15 –	25 8 –	39 12 –	102 – –	4 15 6	12 12 –
	Auvoolagurvoo	1 0 0	28 – –	62 – –	28 – –	62 – –	3 8 –	7 12 –
	Cotta Chervoo Pumpoo	6 15 0	167 8 –	15 5 –	24 12 5	76 5 6	3 1 7	9 8 8
	Tandibunda	0 18 12	41 8 –	73 1 –	44 4 3	77 15 –	5 8 6	9 11 10
	Voommaditota	0 10 0	13 – –	41 4 –	26 – –	82 8 –	3 4 –	10 5 –
	Pakeeroovani Mulloo	0 7 8	20 – –	33 – –	53 5 4	88 – –	6 10 8	11 – –
	Enalapaudoo, &c.	0 10 0	32 8 –	82 – –	65 – –	164 – –	8 2 –	20 8 –
	Rauvickelak Poottichilkah.	0 10 0	16 – –	36 14 –	32 – –	73 12 –	4 – –	9 3 6
	Garoogoudagurvoo	1 0 12	35 11 –	94 13 –	34 6 5	91 6 –	4 4 10	11 6 9
	Dayyala Murrigurvoo	0 7 8	10 – –	46 1 –	26 10 8	122 13 4	3 5 4	15 5 8
	Vuntemamedigurvoo	0 6 4	5 8 –	16 – –	17 9 8	51 3 4	2 3 3	6 6 5
	Gamalla Vani Chervoo Venaka.	1 15 0	75 9 –	227 14 –	43 2 10	130 3 5	5 6 4	16 4 5
	Eachervoolonoo (in this Tank).	0 7 8	9 – –	34 – –	24 – –	90 10 8	3 – –	11 5 4
	Total	25 7 0	966 10 –	2,187 6 –	38 10 8	87 8 –	4 13 4	10 15 –
2d Class	Eata Chanoo	0 6 4	11 8 –	14 – –	36 12 8	45 10 –	4 9 7	5 11 3
	Vunkala Chanoo	0 6 4	15 – –	20 6 –	48 – –	65 3 4	6 – –	8 2 5
	Bheemoodi Chanoo	1 0 0	26 7 –	73 10 –	26 7 –	73 10 –	3 4 10	9 3 3
	Sary Pumpoo	0 15 0	28 – –	74 6 –	37 5 4	99 12 6	4 10 8	12 7 7
	Nadi Mulloo, &c.	0 12 8	25 8 –	56 – –	40 12 8	89 9 7	5 1 7	11 3 2
	Banka Mulloo	0 2 0	2 3 –	4 – –	21 14 –	40 – –	2 11 9	5 – –
	Pauti Dumpa	0 4 2	6 5 –	9 – –	30 9 8	43 10 2	3 13 2	5 7 3
	Canracolla Chanoo	0 17 8	26 – –	61 10 –	29 11 5	70 6 10	3 11 5	8 12 10
	Chucta Venkiah Chanoo	0 5 0	6 – –	22 4 –	24 – –	89 – –	3 – –	11 2 –
	Venkatramoodi Chanoo	0 7 8	8 – –	37 2 –	21 5 4	99 – –	2 10 8	12 6 –
	Jummi Chanoo	0 10 0	22 – –	50 – –	44 – –	100 – –	5 8 –	12 8 –
	Doodakoolavani Mulloo	0 4 8	8 – –	20 7 –	35 2 –	90 12 2	4 6 3	11 5 6
	Banuda Pogoo	0 2 8	6 – –	12 – –	48 – –	96 – –	6 – –	12 – –
	Beeti Pumpoo	1 0 0	47 – –	95 5 –	47 – –	95 5 –	5 14 –	11 14 8
	Taudi Pumpoo	0 15 0	30 – –	70 – –	40 – –	93 5 4	5 – –	11 10 8
	Chinna Tummoya Chanoo.	0 5 0	14 – –	32 – –	56 – –	128 – –	7 – –	16 – –
	Addalavani Chanoo, &c.	0 15 0	26 10 –	60 – –	35 8 –	80 – –	4 7 –	10 – –
	Choudoo Chinta Bundaloo.	1 0 0	4 – –	24 – –	4 – –	24 – –	– 8 –	3 – –
	Duyyala Murri Gurvoo	1 0 0	27 – –	87 2 –	27 – –	87 2 –	3 6 –	10 14 3
	Ravi Chalka Gurvoo	0 5 0	12 – –	17 – –	48 – –	68 – –	6 – –	8 8 –
	Loni Beedoo	1 0 0	32 – –	73 15 –	32 – –	73 15 –	4 – –	9 3 10
	Mulindi Veerappa Chanoo.	0 15 0	34 – –	62 8 –	45 5 4	83 5 4	5 10 8	10 6 8
	Surreddy Tota Gurvoo	0 12 8	27 3 –	52 8 –	43 8 –	84 – –	5 7 –	10 8 –
	Auvala Gurvoo	0 7 8	3 12 –	15 – –	10 – –	40 – –	1 4 –	5 – –
	Total	13 8 2	448 8 –	1,044 3 –	34 6 –	80 4 –	4 4 9	10 – 6

No. 7.—STATEMENT showing the Wet Lands of *Balabadrapuram* depending on the Annicut Irrigation—*continued*.

Items, Description of Crops, and Classes.	NAMES of PUMPOOS.	Land.			Assessment before the Irrigation.			Rents for Fusly 1264.			Average per Pootty. Assessment before the Irrigation.			Average per Pootty. Rents for Fusly 1264.			Average per Acre. Assessment before the Irrigation.			Average per Acre. Rents for Fusly 1264.		
	1.	2.			3.			4.			5.			6.			7.			8.		
Wet:																						
Crop:		*P.*	*t.*	*m.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*
3d Class	Eata Chanoo - -	0	18	12	20	12	–	33	6	–	22	1	1	35	9	7	2	12	2	4	7	2
	Moogoogala Beedoo -	2	10	0	93	15	6	107	7	–	38	6	2	42	15	7	4	12	9	5	5	11
	Vankala Chanoo -	0	5	0	5	–	–	35	3	–	20	–	–	140	12	–	2	8	–	17	9	6
	Venkala Chanoo -	0	12	8	20	–	–	65	2	–	32	–	–	104	3	2	4	–	–	13	–	5
	Poontanoob Chanoo -	1	5	0	34	–	–	83	15	–	27	3	3	67	2	5	3	6	5	8	6	4
	Samunti Narramma Chanoo.	1	0	0	33	–	–	56	14	–	33	–	–	56	14	–	4	2	–	7	1	9
	Poli Maira Chanoo -	0	5	0	5	–	–	20	–	–	20	–	–	80	–	–	2	8	–	10	–	–
	Gooravoya Chanoo -	0	12	8	28	8	–	33	2	–	45	9	7	53	–	–	5	11	2	6	10	–
	Garike Chilka - -	0	15	0	25	14	–	70	10	–	34	8	–	94	2	8	4	5	–	11	12	4
	Garike Chilka - -	0	10	0	16	8	–	56	–	–	33	–	–	112	–	–	4	2	–	14	–	–
	Taudibunda - -	0	7	8	8	–	–	20	–	–	21	5	4	53	5	4	2	10	8	6	10	8
	Maudigavani Chilka-kinda.	0	12	8	6	–	–	28	–	–	9	9	7	44	13	–	1	3	2	5	9	8
	Devoodoo Enam, or Enam of the Idol.	0	17	8	5	11	4	21	3	–	6	8	5	24	3	5	–	13	1	3	–	5
	Total - - -	10	11	4	302	4	10	630	14	–	27	8	–	57	2	8	3	7	–	7	2	4
4th Class	Vankala Chanoo	1	10	0	28	–	–	75	3	–	18	10	8	50	2	–	2	5	4	6	4	3
	Poonta Nooti Chanoo Daree.	0	10	0	3	6	–	8	–	–	6	12	–	16	–	–	–	13	6	2	–	–
	Vankala Chanoo -	0	5	0	8	–	–	9	14	–	32	–	–	39	8	–	4	–	–	4	15	–
	Vankala Chanoo -	0	5	0	2	–	–	8	–	–	8	–	–	32	–	–	1	–	–	4	–	–
	Venkala Chanoo -	0	12	8	5	10	–	15	12	–	9	–	–	25	3	4	1	2	–	3	2	5
	Padmaraj Churvoolo Mooragoda.	0	7	8	7	7	–	27	15	–	19	13	4	74	8	–	2	7	8	9	5	–
	Poojari Enam kinda Choudoo	1	0	0	17	–	–	24	4	–	17	–	–	24	4	–	2	2	–	3	–	6
	Pudmaraj Churvoo koommoo.	1	6	8	20	–	–	48	2	–	15	1	6	36	5	2	1	14	2	4	8	8
	Laloy Chirvoolo Choudoo.	4	0	0	4	–	–	26	4	–	1	–	–	6	9	–	–	2	–	–	13	1
	Eachurvoo Venaka -	1	10	0	10	–	–	16	5	–	6	10	8	10	14	–	–	13	4	1	5	9
	Choudoo - - -	5	0	0	22	–	–	38	7	–	4	6	5	7	11	–	–	8	10	–	15	4
	Choudoo - - -	1	0	0	6	–	–	13	12	–	6	–	–	13	12	–	–	12	–	1	11	6
	Choudoo - - -	7	15	0	53	4	–	74	1	–	6	13	11	9	9	2	–	13	9	1	3	2
	Choudoo - - -	5	0	0	28	9	–	35	2	–	5	11	5	7	–	5	–	11	5	–	14	1
	Choudoo - - -	4	10	0	33	–	–	48	9	–	7	5	4	10	12	8	–	14	8	1	5	7
	Choudoo Seetana Churvoolopola Valapala.	21	14	2	56	2	–	218	–	–	2	9	4	10	–	9	–	5	2	1	4	1
	Choudoo - -	6	0	0	24	–	–	53	5	–	4	–	–	8	14	2	–	8	–	1	1	9
	Choudoo - - -	2	0	0	12	–	–	28	13	–	6	–	–	14	6	6	–	12	–	1	12	10
	Choudoo - - -	8	5	0	50	–	–	84	–	–	6	1	–	10	2	11	–	12	1	1	4	4
	Choudoo - - -	2	0	0	7	–	–	32	9	–	3	8	–	16	4	6	–	7	–	2	–	7
	Choudoo - - -	3	15	0	25	–	–	28	4	–	6	10	8	7	8	6	–	13	4	–	15	1
	Choudoo - - -	4	10	0	33	12	–	52	6	–	7	8	–	11	10	2	–	15	–	1	7	3
	Choudoo - - -	2	0	0	5	–	–	23	1	–	2	8	–	11	8	6	–	5	–	1	7	1
	Pootti Chulka - -	0	5	0	2	–	–	10	–	–	8	–	–	40	–	–	1	–	–	5	–	–
	Chiti Venkatrajchervoo Vanaka.	0	10	0	10	–	–	21	9	–	20	–	–	43	2	–	2	8	–	5	6	3
	Vooppara Mulloo -	0	6	4	6	–	–	10	–	–	19	3	4	32	–	–	2	6	5	4	–	–
	Total - - -	85	16	4	479	2	–	1,031	9	0	5	9	4	12	–	–	–	11	2	1	8	–
	Total of single crop -	109	16	4	1,229	14	10	2,706	10	–	11	2	8	24	10	–	1	6	4	3	1	3
	GRAND TOTAL - -	135	3	4	2,196	8	10	4,894	–	–	16	4	–	36	4	–	2	–	6	4	8	6

Commissioner's Office, Vizagapatam, 9 July 1855.

(signed) *J. Goldingham*, Commissioner.

No. 8.—PRICES of Grain per *Madras* Garce.

Fuslies.	Rajahmundry.			Masulipatam.			Guntoor.			
	White Paddy.	Black Paddy.	Jonnaloo.	White Paddy.	Black Paddy.	Jonnaloo.	White Paddy.	Black Paddy.	Jonnaloo.	Varagloo.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1223	146	137	173	146	134	173	172	146	181	129
1224	117	109	137	120	107	169	132	126	166	125
1225	101	89	122	106	86	145	121	106	150	108
1226	90	87	108	125	103	149	137	118	141	105
1227	91	82	113	148	111	175	149	123	193	130
1228	105	95	120	148	121	220	164	147	239	176
1229	94	84	127	114	93	163	120	124	154	134
1230	85	75	132	120	94	182	139	114	192	124
1231	98	89	118	134	108	177	131	122	150	125
Average	103	94	128	129	106	172	141	125	174	128
1232	101	91	124	121	110	159	154	118	199	133
1233	165	158	200	148	134	190	165	141	187	144
1234	171	150	190	178	143	216	178	169	182	158
1235	137	122	143	150	117	178	175	137	151	138
1236	86	76	96	107	88	117	103	97	112	107
1237	77	71	75	92	72	96	92	70	97	75
1238	72	62	76	95	73	102	101	82	124	97
1239	84	76	92	94	82	94	122	94	129	110
1240	78	69	88	98	81	120	111	86	122	90
1241	64	58	78	71	66	104	89	81	111	86
Average	104	93	116	115	96	138	129	107	141	114
1242	111	103	163	143	113	235	192	154	192	190
1243	168	158	209	178	137	246	242	200	195	223
1244	95	87	115	119	97	173	123	127	151	143
1245	63	57	71	77	64	119	97	87	97	90
1246	81	74	90	86	74	105	115	102	100	81
1247	90	79	84	95	75	107	109	101	98	74
1248	139	125	164	140	122	157	167	129	167	167
1249	110	91	119	94	78	102	126	100	119	82
1250	103	91	127	96	86	108	104	85	101	72
1251	63	55	64	76	60	83	90	72	77	53
Average	102	92	121	110	91	143	136	116	130	111
1252	58	50	54	66	54	67	79	65	59	42
1253	54	46	46	64	49	54	81	65	46	34
1254	58	52	59	68	50	64	87	67	69	45
1255	85	74	92	97	85	130	115	103	135	98
1256	86	78	82	101	88	116	116	103	125	95
Average	68	60	66	70	65	86	96	81	87	63
1257	79	70	81	89	71	114	104	90	123	88
1258	71	65	69	81	64	105	99	83	104	75
1259	67	62	64	90	72	106	92	81	97	67
1260	63	58	76	94	76	130	101	95	125	85
1261	59	52	69	81	66	117	92	86	123	89
1262	57	52	68	67	55	101	80	61	109	74
1263	92	88	121	105	92	135	120	101	153	112
Average	70	64	78	87	71	115	98	85	119	84

Commissioner's Office,
Vizagapatam, 9 July 1855.

(signed) *J. Goldingham*,
Commissioner.

No. 9.—STATEMENT showing the Extent and Assessment of the Land Irrigated by the Annicut, and the Increase of Revenue therefrom in the District of *Rajahmundry*.

FUSLIES.	Dry Converted into Wet.					Usual Wet.					Total.				
	Land.	Assessment of Fusly 1256.	Assessment of each Fusly subsequent to the Irrigation.	Increase.	Centage.	Land.	Assessment of Fus'y 1256.	Assessment of each Fusly subsequent to the Irrigation.	Increase.	Centage.	Land.	Assessment of Fusly 1256.	Assessment of each Fusly subsequent to the Irrigation.	Increase.	Centage.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.
	Poots.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Poots.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Poots.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1257	–	–	–	–	– – –	43	1,862	2,662	800	42 14 6	43	1,862	2,662	800	42 14 6
1258	20	588	907	319	52 9 7	321	9,747	11,830	2,083	21 5 6	341	10,335	12,737	2,402	23 8 9
1259	180	3,166	5,128	1,962	61 15 6	526	19,047	25,563	6,516	34 3 6	706	22,213	30,691	8,478	33 10 6
1260	67	983	2,097	1,114	113 4 6	756	24,818	35,678	11,860	43 12 7	823	25,801	37,775	11,974	46 6 8
1261	115	1,931	3,344	1,413	83 8 6	930	29,603	44,369	14,766	49 14 2	1,045	31,534	47,713	16,179	50 5 11
1262	431	8,882	13,984	5,102	57 7 4	1,501	45,928	58,258	12,330	26 3 2	1,932	54,810	72,243	17,433	31 9 2
Total	–	–	– –	9,910	63 11 9	–	–	– –	47,355	36 2 5	–	–	– –	57,265	39 1 3
														1,431	
													Total	58,696	
													Deduct Loss from Lands taken up by the Channels	16,073	
													Remaining	42,623	

Commissioner's Office, Vizagapatam, 9 July 1855.

(signed) *J. Goldingham*, Commissioner.

No. 10.—STATEMENT showing the Particulars of Lands Irrigated and Unirrigated up to the Fusly 1262 in the District of *Rajahmundry*.

Items.	FUSLIES.	Irrigated.				Unirrigated.				Total.			
		Assessment of Fusly 1256 previous to the construction of the Annicut.	Assessment of each Fusly subsequently.	Increase.	Centage.	Assessment of Fusly 1256 previous to the construction of the Annicut.	Assessment of each subsequent Fusly.	Increase.	Centage.	Assessment of Fusly 1256 previous to the construction of the Annicut.	Assessment of each subsequent Fusly.	Increase.	Centage.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*
Old Estates.	1257	1,862	2,662	800	42 15 1	1,201,192	1,252,472	51,280	4 4 4	1,203,054	1,255,134	52,080	4 5 3
	1258	10,335	12,737	2,403	23 3 10	1,201,193	1,298,171	96,978	8 1 2	1,211,528	1,310,908	99,380	8 3 4
	1259	22,213	30,691	2,478	38 2 8	1,201,192	1,295,115	93,923	7 13 1	1,223,405	1,325,806	102,401	8 5 11
	1260	25,801	37,775	11,974	46 6 6	1,201,193	1,333,584	132,391	11 – 4	1,226,994	1,371,359	144,365	11 12 3
	1261	30,394	47,512	16,578	53 9 5	1,201,192	1,370,514	169,322	14 1 6	1,232,126	1,418,026	185,900	15 1 5
	1262	54,212	72,210	17,998	33 3 2	1,201,192	1,365,580	164,388	13 10 11	1,255,404	1,437,790	183,386	14 8 5
	Total	–	–	58,230	40 – 11	–	–	708,282	9 13 3	–	–	766,512	16 6 9
New Estates.	1259	–	–	–	– – –	–	–	3,491	– –	–	3,491	3,491	—
	1260	–	–	–	– – –	–	–	7,426	– –	–	7,426	7,426	—
	1261	600	841	241	40 4 2	–	–	36,438	– –	600	37,279	36,679	—
	1262	599	824	225	37 9 4	–	–	37,315	– –	599	38,139	37,540	—
	Total	–	–	466	38 13 8	–	–	84,670	– –	–	–	85,136	—
	Grand Total	–	–	58,696	40 1 –	–	–	792,952	11 – –	–	–	851,648	11 9 4

Commissioner's Office, Vizagapatam, 9 July 1855.

(signed) *J. Goldingham*, Commissioner.

No. 11.—COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the Expense of LAND and WATER CARRIAGE, for Short and Long Distances, in the Sub-Division of *Rajahmundry*.

No.	TO AND FROM WHAT PLACE. VILLAGES. 1.	Distance in Miles. 2.	ARTICLES. 3.	LAND WATER. Hire paid for Bullocks, &c., per Pootty. 4.	Hire for Dhonies at present. 5.	Probable Price when Channels are full. 6.	RATE PER MILE WATER. Land. 7.	Cost at present. 8.	Probable Cost in future. 9.	REMARKS. 10.
				Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	
1.	From Woondy to Cocanada on Gosta Nuddy.	70	Paddy - - - -	8 - -	3 - -	- 14 -	- 1 10	- - 8	- - 2⅔	
2.	From Woondy to Ellore on Colair.	40	Ditto - - - -	4 - -	1 - -	- 6 -	- 1 5	- - 4	- - 1½	
3.	From Polaveram to Woondy on Gosta Nuddy.	60	- - 1,000 Bamboos, including the water carriage on the Godavery.	19 - -	9 - -	2 - -	- 5 1	- 2 5	- - 6½	- - The price of 1,000 Bamboos at Poleveram is 6 rupees, the former selling price at Woondy was 25 rupees, and is now 15 rupees. The difference between the cost and selling price is put down as the hire for carriage.
4.	From Samulcottah to Rajahmundry.	55	Per candy of 20 maunds -	2 - -	1 - -	- 8 -	- - 7	- - 3½	- - 1¾	- - The great market for this article is Vijeswaram, where the price fluctuates from 40 to 50 rupees the candy. None but the richest ryots can afford the land carriage from Rajahmundry. Local purchases are made from the poor class at from 15 to 20 rupees the candy, and the profit to the sowcar is at least 50 per cent. *Note.*—Mr. Taylor has not mentioned the article.
5.	From Tanookoo to Narsapoor on Palcole Channel.	25	- - Bengal and Horse Gram, Oil Seeds, &c.	2 8 -	-	- 8 -	- 1 7	- -	- - 4	Too high.
6.	From Woondy to Narsapoor	20	Paddy - - - -	2 - -	- -	- 4 -	- 1 7	- -	- - 2½	
7.	From Palcole to Narsapoor -	6	- - Bengal and Horse Gram Oil Seeds, &c.	- 12 -	- - 4 -	- 2 -	- - 8	- -	- - 4	This estimate is probably too high.
8.	From Narsapoor to Rajahmundry.	45	- - Bearers for two native Palankeens Canady men two.	12 - -	3 - -	- - -	- 4 3	- 1 1	- -	- - Small dingies capable of holding six or eight persons have been hired at this rate to Conney Court suitors, traders, and their attendants, from Nursapoor to Rajahmundry on the Palcole Channel.
9.	From Narsapoor to Chettypett.	36	Jaggery - - - -	- 12 -	- 3 -	- 3 -	- - 4	- -	- - 1	- - This communication being now closed, the Unkkala is used instead. The comparison includes two Palankeens only for the heads of two families, and the expense by water is one-fourth. Large quantities of jaggery are sent to the Rajahmundry sugar works, and the demand for this article will probably increase very considerably. The superintendent of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co.'s factory is so sensible of the value of water carriage, that he has already constructed a number of boats for the conveyance of the supply of this article to Rajahmundry, and of sugar, &c. to the coast.

Commissioner's Office, Vizagapatam,
9 July 1855.

(signed) *J. Goldingham*,
Commissioner.

No. 12.—RETURN from DRY and WET CROPS on a Pootty of Irrigated Fallow Land of the First Class.

Years.	Crop.	DRY LAND. Nature of Cultivation.	Expense.	Return.	Profit.
			Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1st.	- - Poonasa Black Paddy, Red Gram, &c.	- - Turning with Crowbar and Ploughing.	32 – –	80 – –	
	Pyra Cholum, Lamp Oil Seeds, Bengal and Horse Gram, Cotton, &c.	- - Labourer's hire for Sowing, Cutting, Weeding, &c.	23 8 –	60 – –	
			55 8 –	140 – –	84 8 –
2d.	Ditto - - - -	Ditto - - - -	20 – –	140 – –	120 – –
3d, 4th, and 5th Years at the same rate as the 2d. - -			60 – –	420 – –	360 – –
				TOTAL - - -	564 8 –
		WET LAND.			
1st.	White Paddy - -	- - Ploughing Seeds, Labourer's Hire for Planting, Watering, Cutting, &c.	25 – –	90 – –	65 – –
2d	- - Ditto Small Crop of Gingily Oil Seeds.	- - Ditto - - -	25 – –	120 8 –	95 8 –
3d.	Ditto - - - -	Ditto - - -	25 – –	169 – –	144 – –
4th and 5th Years at the same rate as 3d. - -			50 – –	338 – –	288 – –
				TOTAL - - -	592 8 –

Commissioner's Office,
Vizagapatam, 9 July 1855.

(signed) *J. Goldingham,*
Commissioner.

No. 13.—COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of EXPENSES and RETURNS from a Pootty of Irrigated and Unirrigated Land of the First Sort.

YEARS.	UNIRRIGATED LAND. Pootties of Grain on a Pootty of Land. 1.	Value. 2.	Deduct Costs of Production. 3.	Remain or Profit. 4.	THE SAME LAND WHEN IRRIGATED. Produce of White Paddy per Pootty. 5.	Value at Nine Rupees. 6.	Deduct Cost of Production. 7.	Remainder or Profit. 8.	COMPARISON OF COLUMNS 4 & 8. Increase. 9.	Decrease. 10.
	C. Rs.	*C. Rs.*	*C. Rs.*	*C. Rs.*	*C. Rs.*	*C. Rs.*	*C. Rs.*	*C. Rs.*	*C. Rs.*	*C. Rs.*
9 - - - -	10	80	44	36	8	72	44	28	–	8
2 - - - -	12	110	7	103	10	90	30	60	–	47
3 - - - -	12	110	7	103	16	144	30	114	11	–
4 - - - -	10	90	10	80	20	180	30	150	70	–
5 - - - -	8	72	10	62	20	180	30	150	88	–
							TOTAL - - -		169	55

Commissioner's Office,
Vizagapatam, 9 July 1855.

(signed) *J. Goldingham,*
Commissioner.

From Colonel *A. Cotton*, Commandant of Engineers, to *H. Forbes*, Esq., Secretary to Government.

Sir,

HAVING been so much concerned in the Godavery Delta Works, I trust I shall be held excused in offering to Government a paper of remarks on the report of J. Goldingham, Esq., on their effects, dated 9 July 1855.

In these remarks, I have thought it right to give my opinion distinctly. If it should be thought that they might have been written in less decided terms without compromising truth, I must apologise by saying that I consider the question of the results of this great experiment, of such paramount importance that it was absolutely necessary that I should put in as clear a light as I could, what I feel fully assured are the fallacies of the paper I have examined.

I must also beg to notice that the style of the report is that of papers generally, belonging to an old and deeply rooted system, so destructive, according to my views, that till it is fully exposed and rooted out, India cannot flourish.

Till reports are based upon *bonâ fide* returns, and till they contain *bonâ fide* European conclusions drawn from such real returns, I am persuaded that India must continue to be the impoverished and degraded country it is, and our power as baseless as late events have shown it.

I must also beg to plead, that after what we have seen now, at least, no public servant would be at all excusable who did not speak most distinctly on what he considered destructive fallacies in a question, about which he had greater means of forming a judgment than any other person so far as actual experience can go.

My position is this, that this is not a minor nor even a secondary question, this question whether water, water for irrigation, and water for navigation is, or is not the grand means for the material improvement of India, and whether railways or any other means are superior or comparable to it; but that it is really a vital and fundamental question in the future management of the country.

In my comparison of land and water carriage, I have omitted to mention that the results of the Bombay Railway are the same as those of Madras, that is, that it has not produced any good effect upon the traffic of the country. Captain Rivers, the consulting engineer, states, according to the newspapers, "as the results of the year's experience, that the railway only conveys an insignificant portion of the" (old) "traffic that goes on between the stations of Wasind, Campoolie and Bombay; that the railway is an expensive machine both in cost and keeping, doing no work while there is plenty for it to do," just as on the Madras line. It seems from the Bombay chief engineer's address at the Bombay Mechanics' Institution, to convey about 35,000 tons a year on an average of its whole length, a quantity, as Captain Rivers says, quite insignificant, and that at a price only just low enough to keep it on the railway, so that there is no benefit at all to the public worth mentioning, even on the trifle that is carried, whereas, had the water communication been completed from Bombay to Campoolie, at the foot of the ghauts, by a steam-boat canal of 24 miles, at a cost of about 5 lacs, instead of 60 or 70 lacs, the cost of the railway, the distance would have been 44 miles instead of 70, the time for first-class passengers, three hours instead of four, the cost of carriage, both of goods and passengers, about 1-10th of what it is by the rail; instead of only a small portion of the old traffic being carried along it, a new and enormous traffic would have been created, probably at least 10 lacs a year would have been saved in interest, and cost of transit to the community of Bombay, and a powerful stimulus given to the interior of the country; whereas now, as in Madras, this line is probably sealed up for ever from all the benefits of cheap transit. No management of the railway can make any material difference, the evil is radical, the bare cost of carriage over 70 miles of railway, must be 10 times that over 44 miles of water, and the extra capital of about 60 lacs is sunk, and can never be recovered. These actual effects of land carriage in two different localities, compared with water carriage, are of the utmost importance. Think of the number of first-class passengers, the only kind of traffic for which all this enormous expense has been incurred, being from 1½ to 2 per train, from 3 to 4 per day on both these railways, and that not the average of the whole intended

line, but only on that part of it immediately adjoining the city, which is in all respects the capital of the Presidency.

I cannot transmit this paper on the Godavery Delta Works, without expressing my exceeding satisfaction at the vigour and thorough efficiency with which the works have been carried on during the last three years. Had the Government allowed 3 lacs a year for this undertaking, I should have been highly pleased, but 6 or 7 lacs a year has been allowed, and according to my opinion, expended in so thoroughly satisfactory a manner, that there is now a completeness and efficiency in the works far beyond what I had contemplated.

Thus we have this great satisfaction that the foundation is sound, and the evil which exists can be remedied, that is, the non-collection of the water-tax. A very moderate tax on all the lands watered and otherwise improved, will make the increase of revenue 30 lacs or 150 per cent. upon the old revenue, and 100 per cent. upon the outlay, instead of as at present 40 per cent. and 25 per cent. respectively, and this increase of revenue would have spoken intelligibly to those who have not time or capacity to look more closely into the matter. Such a palpable proof of the effects of such a system of works is probably necessary to ensure their extension to all the other districts of India.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Cotton*, Colonel,
Commandant of Engineers.

Madras, 19 September 1857.

MEMORANDUM on Mr. *Goldingham's* Report on *Rajahmundry*.

9 July 1855.

1. AMONG various papers connected with this subject, I select this one, not only as being the one of highest authority, but also, as it seems to me to offer the best ground for giving my opinion on the leading points in this question.

2. I must premise that I look upon this as nothing less than the great question, whether an extensive system of irrigation and navigation is really calculated to produce the results which their advocates have expected from them, and therefore, whether it is expedient to extend them throughout India. That great efforts should be made to get rid of the results they may have produced, is of course to be expected, for all who have held adverse opinions, or who have been opposed to anything that has the nature of an innovation, must be under a strong bias to underrate results, which seem to show they were mistaken, and even many who have not opposed, may be led to take a false view either from the influence of others, or from other causes. And it is a fact, and one indeed which need not surprise us, that almost every individual of the native revenue servants, whether of this district or others, have been throughout entirely opposed to those works, and hence every opinion and every return offered by them, required careful examination. In this way, however, the grand point is gained of earnest discussion being brought to bear upon the subject, and thus the truth is put in a strong light, for nobody is fully satisfied of anything, or ought to be, till he has heard what an opponent has to say.

3. The Commissioner wrote this report under instructions, "to ascertain accurately what the effects of this great work are." In paras. 6 and 7, is given the extent of land occupied and unoccupied in the Rajahmundry Delta, the former 275,000 acres, the latter 53,000. This at once brings us to one of the great points of this paper. Are the returns contained in it correct in the main, or not? I am not now speaking of their precise accuracy, but of their correctness. That is, the question should be answered,—Are the statements which have been furnished to the Commissioner, such that they are in the strict sense of the word true, or such as are false returns? Is their incorrectness so entirely wide of the truth, as to falsify entirely all the deductions drawn from them? It will be seen as we proceed, that not only this, but almost all the other main statements, referred to in the report, are, without using any improperly strong language, false

false statements, that is, that they are so far from the truth as entirely to falsify all conclusions drawn from them. To call them therefore by any other term than false, would of course, convey a false impression.

It must not be imagined that I intend in the least to imply that the Commissioner intended to send up returns which were false. No doubt he received them as true, and according to that unhappy custom which has been adopted to such a ruinous extent in the public business of India, accepted them without the least investigation, or even a moment's consideration; taking it for granted, that because the return was put before him in the proper form and by the proper authority, that therefore its correctness was unquestionable, and there was no possibility of its having been prepared either by those who were incapable of doing it properly, or too careless to ascertain its correctness, or under a strong bias to falsify it. In the case of this first return of 325,000 acres of cultivable area in the Godavery Delta and Rajahmundry district, it is contradicted by a mere reference to the map. The portion of the Delta within the Rajahmundry district is not less than 2,000 square miles, which, allowing 500 acres per square mile, that is deducting about 1-4th for rivers, roads, &c., gives 1,000,000 acres for the arable area. There can be no room for mistake as to this calculation being in the main correct. What the above area of 325,000 acres, or 650 square miles is, I really have no idea. It would make out that the arable portion of the Delta is not much more than 1-4th of the whole, which any person knows is out of the question.

4. Again, in para. 15, he refers to Appendix 2, for a statement of land and revenue. In Rajahmundry, the former is stated to be 57,000 acres under the annicut irrigation. This, again, has nothing whatever to do with the fact.

5. The precise quantity that received water from the annicut in 1854-55, I have no means of ascertaining, but it could not have been less than 200,000 or 300,000 acres. The district engineer has abundant means of knowing what area the water reaches, within limits sufficient for our present purpose. This, therefore, also is a false return, it is not an approximation to the fact. Mr. Commissioner could have taken no measures to ascertain the real state of the case, but must have taken any statements put before him. I feel sure that he could not have tested a single talook or village, and it is certain he did not even call upon the engineer for the statements of the land watered. Everybody knows what sort of returns the people who are to be assessed will make of their own lands. But nobody but those who are thoroughly acquainted with these matters, could believe the impudence with which such false returns are sent in, where the people hope that there will be no real inquiry. I was told by the Collector of one village, every acre of which was ascertained by the engineers to be irrigated, which had been returned as totally unaffected by the annicut; and of others that had four times the extent of irrigation that was stated in the returns, and it is certain that hundreds of villages that were irrigated, were returned as receiving no water. One day I met a revenue officer at his tents just as he had finished his jummabundy, and he told me that there was no land whatever under summer crop in that talook; I was not three miles from his tents, when I passed through a large extent, perhaps 200 or 300 acres, at that moment under crop, belonging to that talook.

6. If it were only on this one point, I am sure the report is worthless, for it gives a completely false view of the case. Had the engineer been called upon to send in a map showing the lands that the annicut water had reached, and to test a few of the villages for comparison with these returns, and had the Commissioner or his assistant gone with the engineer, and the talook and village authorities, to see for himself the state of the case, he would have easily found out that these returns were totally false. To illustrate this point, I append two letters between the Commissioner and the district engineer, written about a year after this report was made. In consequence of the Government forwarding to the Commissioner extracts from the engineer's reports, which gave very different areas from some that the Commissioner's report contained, the latter called for the engineer's authority for his returns. It will be seen that the engineer there gives the example of two villages which he examined, and found entirely watered, while the returns gave only about 1-4th of the area as watered, and as the pooty,

which is commonly called eight acres, really contains about 10, the actual number of acres watered was fully five times that entered in the returns.

7. In para. 20, the expression "Normal standard" is used, and the revenue of land in the highest known year is taken for it. There is no such a thing as a normal standard in the district. When the district was in confusion, there was one state of things; when it had peace, and was a manufacturing district, there was another; when it lost its manufactures, there was another; after 1840, when the irrigation first began to be attended to, there was another; and now there is another. A normal state of revenue is an imagination.

8. In the 21st para., the Revenue after the annicut, is compared with the average of five years before it. There are three fallacies in this comparison:

1st. The improvements did not commence with the annicut. The clearing of channels, the embanking of the rivers, &c., were carried on in 1845, 1846, and 1847. Thus the improvement on the revenue which was the effect of the works, is brought to tell against them. But more than this, the revenue of one talook, Oondee, had been greatly affected by attention to irrigation commencing in 1840.*

2d. The average increase from the time the works are commenced, shows nothing. The question is, what the last year's revenue is, or the average of the last two years, because part of the outlay had not taken place in the first years that are brought into the average.

3d. This return is totally fallacious, because on 9-10ths of the lands no revenue had been levied for the annicut water.

9. In the paras. that follow, the effects of the new works are stated, in which he comes to the conclusion, that the annual increase of revenue is, 1,30,000 rupees (para. 29).

10. In the first place, who could imagine that there was one fact in this case not in the remotest way alluded to, which is no less than this, that the revenue authorities had not levied the tax for the water on the lands irrigated, except for an insignificant extent. It will be observed, that the Commissioner nowhere in this report states, that water-tax had been levied on all the lands which had received water. Thus, in his statement No. 2, he gives the average collections on his area of 57,000 acres irrigated from the annicut, at 3¼ rupees per acre. The least consideration of this fact would have convinced him that no water-tax, or something merely nominal, had been levied on that nominal area. He gives, in the same statement, No. 2, the average collections on unirrigated land 3¼ rupees per acre, leaving a difference of only ¼ rupee per acre for all the benefit of irrigation, navigation, river embankments, and drainage, being an increase of 1-6th upon the dry revenue.

Had he compared this with the progress of the village of Bickavole, as given in another para. in this report (the average revenue of ten years preceding the outlay of the Samalcottah Channel was 2,900 rupees, that of the last year the Commissioner gives was 9,657, or much more than threefold, he would have seen at once that the water-tax had not been levied on almost the whole of the lands he states to be watered.

11. At first, a few villages were made to pay additional assessment, but as soon as it was found that these were adduced as proofs of the good effects of the works, the levying of the water rates, except what was merely nominal, and that only on a very small portion of the lands, was stopped, and it is only now under the positive orders of Government that a water rate is being levied, and still only on the nominal extent of land that has had water three years. Taking the actual quantity of land watered, at only 250,000 acres at that time, the revenue, at the present very low water rate of 2 rupees per acre, would have been 5 lacs for only one crop, besides new cultivation.

12. The

* This was not the effect of these particular works, but it was an effect of improved irrigation.

12. The positive neglect of the Revenue authorities to levy the additional tax is the most important fact in the whole case, as respects the Revenue; and these returns are so given as to lead any one to suppose that the land had been taxed as fast as it was benefited.

13. But it was not only the land that was watered that was benefited. All the low lands of the Delta had been also improved. The evil they suffered under was excess of water, and the river embankments which were begun in 1845, besides other works, had almost put an end to destructive floods. Nothing had been levied from such lands. Again, a very large proportion of the Delta had some benefit from the water carriage, whether the lands were watered or not; and all had the benefit of the expenditure.

14. The work cannot produce revenue if the revenue authorities will not collect it. Some of the lands now in the eleventh year of irrigation, are paying this year the first water-tax.

15. In fact, the state of things here throws a light upon the strange anomaly in the north-west, of a body of engineers being employed to collect the revenue on the lands that they had themselves irrigated. From what has taken place here, I have no doubt that this arose from their finding that the revenue officers would not do it, and the engineers, consequently, as the only alternative, urged the Government to let them collect it themselves.

16. Of other mistakes, fallacies, &c., in these paras., I must notice the following:—

17. In para. 25, it is stated, that the Toolea Bagah had been more or less available for irrigation since 1847-48; the fact being that there had always been irrigation under it, that it was in a most neglected state, that its improvement was commenced in 1846, and materially affected the cultivation that year.

18. In para. 26, reference is made to an Appendix supposed to show the increase under the Toolea Bagah (I suppose including the branch called the Samulcottah Channel), from the time when water was first received. This return also is totally false. The average of five years is given as before the irrigation commenced, and this ends with 1847-48, whereas the irrigation commenced in 1846-47, and thus two years which had the water from the new Samulcottah Channel, and the improvement of the Toolea Bagah main channel are given as years before the works, and thus made to tell against them. The fallacy consists, as before, in the use of the word annicut, whereas these channels were cut and improved two years before the annicut was begun. Thus, in another statement, No. 4, the Revenue of the village of Bickavole is given as 5,829 rupees in fusly 1857, and this is made part of the average before the works. The actual average of Bickavole for ten years before the works was 2,900, and in 1847–48 nearly 3,000 rupees had been added, in consequence of the supply of water from the Godavery which it had never had before.

19. By the return given, the results in Bickavole were as follows:—

Collections in 1253	1843-44	3,622
„	1844-45	3,897
„	1845-46	2,922
„	1846-47	4,248
„	1847-48	5,824
Average before the Works		4,102
	1848-49	7,367
	1849-50	8,504
	1850-51	9,148
	1851-52	9,248
	1852-53	9,657
Average since the Works		8,785
Difference		4,683

The true statement would be :—

1843-44 - - - - - -	3,622	
1844-45 - - - - - -	3,897	Increase of each year above former Average.
1845-46 - - - - - -	2,922	
	3) 10,451	
Average before the Works - -	3,487	
1846-47 - - - - - -	4,248	761
1847-48 - - - - - -	5,824	2,337
1848-49 - - - - - -	7,367	3,880
1849-50 - - - - - -	8,504	5,017
1850-51 - - - - - -	9,148	5,661
1851-52 - - - - - -	9,248	5,761
1852-53 - - - - - -	9,657	6,170
1853-54 - - - - - -	9,693	6,206
1854-55 - - - - - -	9,819	6,322
1855-56 - - - - - -	10,803	6,596
1856-57 - - - - - -	10,900	7,423

20. Thus the actual increase in 1853 was 6,170, on 3,437, or 170 per cent.; not 4,683 upon 4,102, or 112 per cent.; and it is, now that the water rate has been laid upon the enam lands, 7,423 rupees, so that the village pays three times the average of the three years preceding the works. It is quite fallacious to give the average since the works began, because in the first year the whole expenditure had not been made. As this fallacy is not confined to the report under consideration, and it is a very important one, I give here the calculated results of a work by the two modes of showing them. Let us suppose 10,000 rupees laid out every year, and that the revenue improves in consequence at the rate of 5,000 rupees a year, the calculation from the average would be as follows:—

	Expenditure.	Increase.
1st year - - - - -	10,000	5,000
2nd year - - - - -	10,000	10,000
3rd year - - - - -	10,000	15,000
4th year - - - - -	10,000	20,000
5th year - - - - -	10,000	25,000
TOTAL Expenditure - -	50,000	5) 75,000
Average - -		15,000

21. The average revenue would then be stated at 15,000 rupees per annum, on an expenditure of 50,000 rupees, or 33 per cent., whereas it is evident that the increase on 50,000 has been 25,000, or 50 per cent. The fallacy consists in taking into the average, years that occurred before a great part of the expenditure was made. Even the 50 per cent. return is of course much under the mark, because no expenditure produces its full results under several years.

22. Under para. 26, he goes on to show the increase in 45 villages, that had the water from one to six years. The increase of revenue in 1263, was 62 per cent. above the average of five years before the works. How remarkable it is that he should not have observed the enormous discrepancy between the increase in Bickavole and in these villages, and have ascertained what the cause of it was.

23. The cause was what I have stated, viz., that in most of those villages the additional revenue had not been levied: either nothing at all had been taken, or a merely nominal sum.

24. Bickavole was before the best watered village in these talooks, the only one that had two large tanks, and the increase which it has borne very well shows what might have been obtained. I don't mean to say that I think so heavy an additional assessment ought to have been levied, but it shows indisputably

putably what the improved irrigation will bear in increased revenue, and it shows what enormous sums have been lost to Government by the neglect of the revenue authorities to impose some additional payment as soon as ever the water reached the upper lands, and as soon as the flooding of the lower lands was diminished.

25. In para. 28 it is stated that the irrigation was confined to the Toolea Bagah till 1853-54. This also is not the fact. The annicut was carried across the river in 1850, and that year water was thrown into the Weyairoo in the Western Delta. The delay of realisation of revenue was not caused by want of water, but because the rights of Government were neglected.

26. In para. 31 he gives a statement of the total returns from the annicut works. It will be seen from my previous paras. that I consider this return of no value whatever, independent of the essential fact, that the additional revenue had not been levied excepting on a very small portion of the lands. To give this statement as a correct return of results, without hinting at this astonishing fact, must totally falsify the whole case.

27. The real extent of land watered, having been at least 2½ lacs of acres, even if the low rate of two rupees for one crop which is now being levied from some of the lands, had been taken, the direct increase from old lands would have been five lacs a year, besides extended cultivation, extra revenue, &c.

28. In the 34th para. the improvement of the condition of the people is spoken of as "an important benefit."

29. I must beg to call this the grand object of the works. Of course the finances must be looked to, and it must be ascertained that works will pay in revenue the interest of their cost, but the benefit of the mass of the population is the real object. And on this point nothing can be more satisfactory than the results of all the inquiries that I have made. The receipts of the labouring classes are about 50 per cent. higher than they were, and there is employment for all, and the land owners are undoubtedly completely relieved from the wretched state of poverty and debt they were in.

30. In paras. 36 and 37 Mr. Commissioner endeavours to show that Mr. Taylor's information as to increase of revenue is fallacious.

First, he compares the revenue of the previous years with a certain sum which he is pleased to call the normal standard, and which he himself elsewhere states to be the highest known. First, there is no such a thing as a normal state of things, as I have before stated, and in the next place, that the revenue and the district were in such a miserable state for a series, as here given, of six years, was one great reason why the works were required and undertaken, but certainly nothing could be more fair than to compare the revenue since with the revenue immediately before. The question is not between the revenue now collected and that collected many years ago, when the district was enriched by a large export of manufactured goods, but between the present revenue and that of a series of years immediately preceding the new works. In para. 41 is a statement which, if it proves anything, proves that irrigation, drainage, &c., are a positive injury to a district. It represents that the increase of revenue in the upper talooks of the Collector's charge have yielded an increase of revenue of 90 per cent., while the lands under the new works have only yielded an increase of 67 per cent. The Commissioner does not himself attempt to give any explanation of this, but he states that the revenue in the dry talooks, quoting Mr. Taylor, is owing to—1st, a change from Zemindary to Government management; 2d, to protection of life and property; 3d, to the expenditure of the sugar manufactory; 4th, to a succession of propitious seasons. But then, he adds, that there is a falling off of 72 per cent. in the Sub-Collector's dry talooks, owing to the vicissitudes of seasons. This leaves us no other conclusion than that there were propitious seasons on one side of the river, and bad ones on the other. The fact is that this absurd return shows nothing. It is a comparison of one year, which in dry talooks might have been of course either half or double the average; with the average of the five following years. Such a return is altogether fallacious, and no wonder that it flatly contradicts itself, the increase in the one tract being 90 per cent., and the falling off in the other similar tract 72. But the return in another point of view is highly important, as showing in a strong light what the objects were of those who prepared these returns. All such returns as seem to prove too much of course confute themselves, because every body knows that when a return seems to show that a district had better not be watered, it contains a fallacy. And, lastly, it would be useless to compare the increase of the upper

talooks with that of the Delta, for the reason already assigned, viz., that the water tax had not been collected in the latter. The fact is that in a very short time, and in spite of the way in which the claims of Government were trifled with, in letting most of the lands have all the benefits of the works without paying any thing, the revenue of the district has been brought up to much above what it was 20 or 30 years before, when the district was comparatively wealthy in consequence of its great manufactures and consequent foreign trade.

31. In para. 44 he states that the average of the collections in the upper talooks, for two series of six years, is 1,81,000 and 2,27,000, showing an increase of 46,000 rupees, or 26 per cent., whereas we find in the village of Bickavole the increase had been 200 per cent., and something like this ought to have been the case with all the villages to which the water was conveyed.

10 acres. 32. In para. 45, the estimated returns from a pooty of irrigated land, compared with those from land in the former state, are adverted to. A single estimate of this sort, prepared by interested persons, is of course not to be relied on. And the most casual inspection of the estimates shows that they are simply ridiculous. The first two statements make out that the produce of irrigated land is little more than that of dry land, the latter being 140 rupees, and the former 169 rupees. What can be the use of putting forth statements of this sort, that everybody knows to be altogether contrary to fact. The second statement makes out that there is in the first two years an actual loss on the irrigated land compared with the unirrigated.

33. I cannot here help remarking on the extraordinary circumstance, that there is nothing in this report that implies that any attempt was made to ascertain this essential point. Surely when "the wish of the Government was that the effects of this great work should be accurately ascertained," the most important inquiry of all was, "what is the value of produce of the irrigated lands, compared with what it was before?" How could any conclusions, worth anything, be arrived at, unless this fundamental point was actually ascertained. All that is said on this point is, that an estimate given by Mr. Taylor is referred to.

34. It appears that not the slightest inquiry was made on this head, much less was any personal examination made, to assure the Commissioner that he was proceeding on correct information. This seems to me an extraordinary circumstance. Afterwards, in para. 51, the rate of 1¼ rupees per acre is proposed as the highest which it would be safe to impose for the new works, but not one word is said as to the grounds on which this is fixed upon. If there were any grounds for it, surely they ought to have been stated, especially when nobody ever heard of such a rate in any other district.

35. But let us compare this estimate with fact. In the estimate the value of produce in the first year is given at 72 rupees a pooty, or 7¼ rupees an acre; the actual value of produce of one crop on two pieces of land cultivated by a gentleman for trial were respectively 14 rupees and 30½ rupees in the first year. The produce of another piece of land by another person was 28 rupees, in the second or third year. In the estimate 18 rupees is given as the highest produce on first-class land after three years of cultivation for paddy.

Again, Mr. Newill took the produce by actual measurement of many fields in the Kistnah Delta, and found it, on an average, where there was good irrigation, 1½ Guntoor Pooties of 1,920 lbs., which, at the average price of the last five years, 28 rupees, give 42 rupees, besides straw, for which add 1-8th, making 47 rupees an acre, for a single crop. Again, if the value of the produce of an acre of irrigated land of the first class is 18 rupees, how is the land tax of 12 and even 20 rupees paid in some districts. I have a statement of the produce, &c., of an acre of land in Bellary, for instance, just received, on which the tax is 18 rupees an acre. But every body knows these things, and that a statement which shows that an acre of first-class Delta land under the most perfect irrigation with rich river water yields 18 rupees a year in gross produce, is on the very face of it false.

36. In the estimate it is then made out that there is a profit the first year on the irrigated land of the first class of 2⅘ rupees per acre, but on the two pieces of cultivation first mentioned here, the actual profit was 6 rupees an acre on the poorest land, and 18½ rupees on the best piece on a single crop, in the first year. Another farm of which I got the particulars, yielded 32 rupees per acre.

37. These are all actual ascertained returns, and if Mr. Commissioner had himself seen some grain cut and weighed, he would have ascertained at once the value of this estimate.

38. The

38. The fact is that the utmost care should have been taken to ascertain the real state of this case, for no conclusions of any kind worth anything could be reached without it. The second statement, No. 13, gives the value of produce on unirrigated land at about 9 rupees an acre, and I believe this is not far wrong. If we take the value under irrigation at only 25, the difference, 16 rupees, on 2½ lacs of acres, the lowest area watered at that time, the increase of produce will be 40 lacs, out of which the additional revenue collected was, according to this report, 1,30,000 rupees, and this does not allow for new cultivation, for the reduction of floods, and for the water carriage.

39. In para. 48 it is stated that the cost of transit has been diminished 2-3ds. This also conveys a very incorrect view of the effect of water-carriage.

1st. For a part of the year and over much of the Delta, things could not be carried at all, except at a ruinous price, so that rice might be in great demand at Cocanada, and a man could not sell what he had, from the impossibility of conveying it.

2d. The actual reduction is not 2-3ds, but 8-10ths or 9-10ths. The usual price paid for stone is 3 pie a ton a mile, about 1-10th of the former price.

3d. This is the charge, but it is a charge that allows an enormous profit to the boat owner, because the supply of boats does not equal the demand, and in judging of the results of the works, our question is, what is the total saving in carriage, whatever proportion of it goes to the employer, and what to the boat owner? The actual saving, I believe, is at least 19-20ths.

40. In the 51st para. he states, that the Delta land will not all be watered from the channels, but that the water must be raised by piccottahs. He says, "there are no data for ascertaining the extent of such land, but it is supposed to be considerable."

41. This is an extraordinary passage. Might we not ask who it was that supposed this to be considerable? Truly we do not want anonymous suppositions on important points in this investigation. I need hardly say that all this is pure imagination. There is no such land in the Delta. But what can be the meaning of giving suppositions when the engineer could have furnished him with real information on the point? Every acre of the Delta, with the exception of an insignificant strip near the annicut, will be watered direct from the channels. How strange it seems that an officer inquiring on the spot should offer to Government such a supposition as this, when the fact could have been ascertained without the least trouble.

42. In paras. 51, 52, 53, 54, he proposes a rate of 1¼ rupees for the water, but throughout the whole of them not a word is said as to the grounds on which he fixes this rate. He says, for instance, a "higher standard cannot be safely taken in the existing state of things in the Delta," and so on, but nothing tangible is said about it, and the Government is left to guess at the grounds on which this sum is fixed. I have abundance of data to prove, that the increase of produce on one crop land is from 20 to 30 rupees, and two crops 35 or more; that the carriage of the produce of an acre or a ton of paddy to the port, suppose 40 miles, is 4 rupees less than it would be by land; and that besides this there is the advantage of being able to send the produce to market at any moment.

43. Considering these things, and the rates on irrigated lands in all other districts, I can find no ground whatever for this water rate of 1¼ rupee for land placed under circumstances incomparably more advantageous than that of any other district at Present. It is quite certain that it could pay a higher rent than any other land in this Presidency.

To put this proposed water rate of 1¼ rupees in a clear light, I give here the actual assessment on irrigated land in various districts:—

	Rs.
Two-crop land under the Darojee Tank in Bellary, without water carriage, and 300 miles from a port - - -	18
Trichinopoly channels from the Upper Colloroon Annicut, as given in the Public Works' Report, without water carriage, and 100 miles from a port, no summer water -	8
Under the Calingaroyen Channel in Coimbatore, two crops, without carriage, and 200 miles from a port - - -	11½
Under the lower annicut in South Arcot, with partial water-carriage, and 30 miles from a minor port - - -	7½
Average of Tanjore, chiefly one-crop land, no summer water, the water supply always imperfect, no water carriage, 10 to 60 miles from a port, almost half the land of exceedingly poor quality - - - - - - - -	5

The Commissioner's proposed rate for the Rajahmundry Delta, with scarcely any poor land in it, with water carriage to every village, with a far more perfect system of river irrigation and drainage than any other district, with water throughout the year, and with the only safe port in the Presidency :—

	Rs.	
Average tax on unirrigated land as given in statement No. 2 - - - - - -	3¼	
Add water rate - - - - - -	1¼	
		4½
Rent volunteered and paid for ordinary land in Nunggarum Talook of Rajahmundry to a European renter, without any Government and permanent title, for one crop -		11¼

It is well known that the assessment in Tanjore is so low that the land is saleable at 50 or 60 rupees per acre on an average. Thus the rate proposed for a Delta composed of the richest land, with advantages much beyond that of any other tract of land in the Presidency, is below that of the lowest assessed land in any other district, and less than half the rate at which natives have come forward, and asked to sub-rent land in this very Delta of ordinary quality, and without any particular advantages whatever, for one crop only, and without any right in the land, whereas it is capable of paying a higher assessment than any other land in the Presidency. The rent now paid by the sub-renters alluded to in Nuggarum for one crop is 8 rupees above the old rate of 3¼ rupees, or more than six times the water tax that the Commissioner proposes.

44. In para. 58 he adverts to the failure of the expectation respecting the sugar culture. There has been no important extension yet, and from my inquiries the reason is plain enough, viz., that it was more profitable to employ the same amount of labour in cultivating rice. There are, however, now indications of an extension. One European gentleman has planted this year 80 acres, and he is planting 200 or 300 acres more this year, purposing to extend it to 600, and another gentleman is planting 20 or 30 acres, and the results of a few acres planted by the latter last year were abundantly profitable. Nothing can be finer than the canes planted this year by Europeans, and the statements they give me of the cost and return obtained and expected, are extraordinarily encouraging. There is thus every reason to believe that the attention of European capitalists will be drawn to the district for this cultivation.

45. It must, however, be observed, that the present population is not equal to the full cultivation of the Delta, even for paddy.

46. In para. 59 it is stated that in the Woondy Talook and under the Samulcottah Channel, the great results must not be viewed as furnishing a standard for the Delta generally. This is quite true, for Woondy had already extensive irrigation, and was far better watered than any other part of the Delta, and one of the villages under the Samalcottah Channel was better supplied with water than almost any one in the Delta. The effect of the irrigation in the Rallee Talook, for instance, which had not one acre watered before, must render it capable of bearing a far greater increase of revenue than Woondy, and so also, though in a less degree, with all the other talooks. I must further notice the extraordinary remarks in the latter part of this 59th para. The Commissioner says, "Viewed broadly, the Delta may be said to be nearly fully occupied, having an assessment which approaches a maximum standard; the main functions of the annicut in this case will be to give permanency to a fluctuating revenue, and the effect will not be so striking as in the other cases cited" (the cases of the Woondy Talook and the Samalcottah Channel lands). My exception to this is, that it is a statement diametrically opposed to the true state of the case. In the first place, the Godavery Delta is so far from being fully occupied, that it contains only about three-quarters of a million of people, while that of the Cauvery, of the same extent, but of much inferior land, contains nearly or quite 2,000,000. With its very superior advantages, both in land and water, the Godavery Delta will hold 3,000,000, or four times its present population. Again, what can be meant by saying that an average tax of 3¼ per acre for irrigated land of the highest order, one-half or one-sixth of that in other districts approaches a maximum standard. The revenue of the Delta of the Cauvery, with its very light assessment, is much more than 60 lacs; that of the Godavery is under 30, with its vast superiority, both natural and artificial. Thus the "main function"

tion" of the annicut is to give permanence to an assessment of 3¼ rupees per acre on the land previously in cultivation; watered throughout the year, secured from river floods, and those of the local rains, pervaded constantly by a system of water carriage, this Delta is only to pay just what it did before; the "main function of the annicut is to give permanence to a fluctuating revenue." I only ask, is this a true representation of the case, or is it not? What a remarkable comment upon this extraordinary statement the present statistical return of the district affords. We there find that, in spite of the ridiculously low rate of water tax that has been levied, in spite of 4-5ths of the land not having yet paid a rupee, the actual land revenue is no less than 40 per cent. above that of the former average, and that paid with such ease, that while the former outstanding balances used to be 2½ lacs, they are now 30,000. I must beg that this statement of the Commissioner may be thoroughly considered: it affords a clue to the whole report. What must have been the strength of that bias which could have induced an old experienced revenue officer to commit himself to an opinion that the utmost that could be done to improve Delta lands, in the way of irrigation, navigation, and drainage, could only enable the lands to pay 3¼ rupees an acre, and that only on a part of them, a large portion being left as not worth cultivation; this in face of facts, of which no man in Madras was more conversant than the Commissioner himself. We cannot possibly be misled in arguing thus, if the Delta of the Cauvery, with its inferior land, its extraordinary light assessment, its imperfect supply of water even in the monsoon, its total want of summer water, its land carriage at 2½ annas (3¾ *d.*) a ton a mile, and without a safe port, can pay much more than 60 lacs a year, and yet sell its lands at 50 or 60 rupees an acre, the Delta of the Godavery of the same extent, with its very superior land, its full supply of water for eight months, a large supply for the remaining four, its water carriage at 1 to 2 pies (⅛th to ¼ penny) per ton throughout the year, its safe harbour, and its complete drainage, could, when filled up in population, pay 100 lacs, or about five times what it has paid without artificial advantages.

At this present moment about 700,000 acres are watered, and the other 500,000 have the benefit of the drainage and water carriage. A water-rate of 5 rupees, making the assessment 8¼ rupees, which certainly would not be 25 per cent. upon the produce, would make an addition of 35 lacs on the lands before cultivated alone, without allowing for new cultivation, for the land not yet watered, though benefited in other respects, and for increase of extra Revenue.

The Commissioner gives, in this para. from Mr. Taylor, a return of waste land of 27,000 acres in the Sub-Collectorate. What this means I don't know; but it certainly bears no proportion to the extent of land that does not pay revenue.

47. With respect to the future price of grain, it must be remembered that the moment cheap access is given to a port, the price, except in scarcities, does not depend upon the extent of the crop, but on the state of the market of the world. While rice is at a certain price in London, it cannot possibly fall below a corresponding price in Rajahmundry. In seasons of scarcity in the neighbouring districts, it may rise extraordinarily high, but it cannot possibly fall excessively low.

48. On the 60th and following paras., about the modes of assessing the land, I have of course nothing to say, except that I do hope there will be no more guessing, and that nothing will be done, upon such returns and statements as this report contains, but that the actual extent of land and actual produce will be really ascertained, and the water taxed upon real grounds. And especially that the tax in other districts may be considered. It is unjust to make the cultivators of one district pay a rate very much higher than those of another. It must be remembered that a greatly lower assessment cannot be levied on the 2,000,000 acres of the Godavery and Kistnah Deltas, without injuriously affecting the cultivators of other districts, already much more highly assessed. And further, I must beg to offer my opinion, that a very low assessment is decidedly objectionable on general principles. Such intolerable injustice and mischief has been done, by an excessively high assessment in particular tracts in times past, that we are now in danger of thinking we cannot have too low a tax. But even in England it is found that too low rents inevitably lead to idleness and slovenliness in the tenants; and in this country I am sure there is a very wholesome stimulus in a moderate assessment, and that there is real danger of

the people sinking down into the state of the Pacific Islanders, and losing all activity and industry. I must also insist upon this as an important point, in which the welfare of all India is essentially concerned, viz., that the real power of irrigation and internal navigation, if shown in the most palpable manner, that is by a large increase of revenue, is a thing which will strike those who are too slow or indifferent to be aroused by any less obvious fact. I must also state that I entirely agree with the Civil Engineer of the Kistnah Division and with the late Collector of Nellore, that a water-rate should be levied from the very first. I consider this of the greatest importance. It is well known, that with the great mass of men, the shortest way of convincing them of the value of a thing is to make them pay for it. So stupid are the people generally in those districts, that in consequence of the Government, or rather the Collectors, letting them have the water for nothing, they actually think they are doing the Government a favour to use it; whereas if they were assured that they should not have a drop till they paid for it, they would at once feel that it was of value. Further, the Collector of Rajahmundry told me that his great difficulty in levying the insignificant water-tax taken this year, arose from the fact that they had been allowed to use the water for years (some of them for 10 years) for nothing. On all accounts, therefore, as a matter of great importance to the finances, of great importance to the people of those districts, of great importance to the neighbouring districts, and of the greatest importance to the people of all India, I would earnestly urge that every acre watered should be made to pay from the very first, and that the tax should not be excessively low.

49. In the 70th he speaks of the pooty as averaging eight acres. This is a mistake; by some surveys made by the engineers, the actual area of the pooty is on an average about 10 acres. How extraordinary it seems, that in all those points, Mr. Commissioner should have neglected to seek information from the department which alone could supply him with it correctly. In the same para. he says of the present tax in the villages, under the Toolea Bagah, "it is supposed that it is equal to one-half of the gross produce, or perhaps above it." I must beg earnestly to press upon the notice of the Government again this extraordinary passage. He says again, "it is supposed." Now I cannot but ask, are we to proceed upon suppositions, and those such that it is not considered right to make any individual responsible for them. Who could suppose such a thing? The thing is so notoriously contrary to fact, that I cannot myself think who it was who supposed it. We have two proofs that Mr. Commissioner himself did not suppose it; 1st, because he does not say he supposes it; and, 2dly, because he, in this report, gives Mr. Taylor's estimate of produce, without making any objection to it. In that estimate the produce of first-class land is given at 180 rupees a pooty, and in the statement the actual assessment paid on these Toolea Bagah villages is given at 45½ rupees, or about a quarter of his estimated produce on first-class land. We must make some allowance for average land; but if we allow the average produce to be 150 rupees, the proportion of tax would be less than one-third, instead of one-half, or more, even calculating from the estimate which Mr. Commissioner himself adopts.

50. But I have before shown, by stating actual results, that this estimate of produce is all nonsense.

51. The fact is this; almost the whole of this Toolea Bagah land is now regularly cultivated for two crops, and the actual value of produce must be by the various trials that have been made, at least 40 rupees per acre, not less, making the assessment of 45½ rupees a pooty or 4½ rupees an acre, 1-9th of the produce, and this I feel assured is about the real state of the case, at least the proportion is not greater than this. I have before stated that Mr. Newill's average of many actual trials in Guntoor was 2⅖ pooties of grain, which at 16 rupees gives 42 rupees and adding 1-8th for—

Value of straw for one crop - - - - -	*Rs.* 47	per acre.
By an experimental piece of ground, cultivated by a gentleman, the first year one crop - - -	„ 14	„
By another piece ditto - - - -	„ 30½	„
By another in the 2d and 3d year - - - -	„ 28*	„
Average of T. Bagah lands according to Mr. Commissioner's statement, somebody supposes, double the assessment of 45 rupees a pooty, or 4½ per acre -	„ 9	„

(Almost the whole of this land bearing at present two crops.)

52. This

52. This anonymous supposition is thus shown to be baseless even by the Commissioner's own paper, and it in reality is only about one-fourth of the true proportion of produce.

53. But in the following page he supposes again that the produce may be 120 rupees a pooty, which differs from the estimate of Mr. Taylor (which in another place he adopts), by 1-3d, or 60 rupees a pooty. He then applies this to the area of land which he states to have been irrigated, viz., 46,500 acres, and shows that the actual collections were 25 per cent., or 47,000 rupees under what they should have been. Now when we compare the result arrived at by this accumulation of false returns and suppositions with the realities of the case, we find that the amount of 47,000 rupees is about the sixteenth part of what ought to have been added to the revenue.

54. The actual extent of land watered was certainly not less than 250,000 acres, and the assessment at 6 rupees an acre, would have been 15 lacs. The present average assessment on this extent of land, at the rate Mr. Commissioner has given, 30 rupees a pooty, or 3 rupees per acre, really would be 7½ lacs, showing a difference of 7½ lacs.

55. I suppose 6 rupees on these grounds. The present average assessment is given at 30 rupees per pooty (3¾ rupees per acre, calling the pooty 8 acres), or 3 rupees the real acre. The water-tax now being levied is 2 rupees for one crop land and four for two; I therefore add an average of three for water-rate, which supposes only half the lands to be double cropped. At this rate the assessment would be about 1-7th of the gross produce. And it allows nothing for land cultivated with sugar, chillies, &c.

56. Surely it would have been but what was incumbent upon an officer of Government, to have ascertained by actual measurement both of produce and land what the assessment ought to be, before laying the matter before Government.

57. As the Commissioner in one part of this report refers to the increase of revenue in Guntoor before the works were begun there, as a proof that the increase of revenue in Rajahmundry would have been great without the works, I must just remark, first, that the increase of revenue in one district, which was not improved by public works, does not prove that the increase in another was not caused by its public works. The increase in Guntoor was clearly caused by two things: one was, it was gradually recovering from a dreadful state of depopulation, and there was nothing to prevent its rising to the state it was in before its loss of population; the other is, that it is, I believe, now allowed by all who have had to do with the district, that Mr. Stokes' revenue was really more than the district could bear. It is never sufficient merely to look at the collections of a district at the time. If an increase is supported by an increase of exports of revenue from extra sources, of internal traffic, &c., we may know that it is a sound increase; but if not, we may be sure that it is only the fruit of more severe exaction, and will probably be followed within a few years by a falling off.

58. I must again refer to the immense importance of this subject, and it must be my apology if this paper seems to be severe upon the report under consideration. In proportion to the authority of the paper, due to the experience and thoroughly approved uprightness of the writer, is the necessity of proving the essential fallacies it contains, and the total falsehood of the conclusions.

59. I think there could not be a better opportunity than this paper offers, respectfully to request the attention of Government to this very important point, viz., the nature of the statistical returns and the remarks made upon them, which in past times have been so commonly laid before Government. I look upon this paper as a lively specimen of the style of paper which has caused such incal-

culable

---

* Since this was written, an Appendix to the Commissioner's Report, marked (A.) which I had not seen before, has been put into my hands. On this I will remark more fully at the end of my present paper, but in it he gives his predecessor, Mr. Commissioner Elliott's estimate of the average of irrigated and garden land (the garden land an insignificant proportion), at 30 rupees per acre for grain, and 1½ for straw, total 31½ rupees per acre, or 3½ times what the supposition gives as the average of the T. Bagah lands. Which did the Commissioner think was the right estimate, 9 rupees or 31½ rupees? both are given in this same report; at least one in the Report and one in the Appendix (A.); they could not both be right, while the Commissioner gives them as if he agreed with both.

culable mischief. A statement is called for; it is prepared by a native subordinate in some office, perhaps a man quite incompetent, perhaps personally interested in the case. The return is put into the hands of a subordinate European officer, who signs it of course; his superior does the same; it passes on through various offices, and perhaps no individual has tried it by any test whatever before it reaches Government. I state a fact when I say that this is frequently the case. I don't know how often it has occurred to me that one minute's examination of such a document regularly furnished to me from the proper office has shown that it was either false or simply nonsense, proving that nobody who had signed or countersigned or forwarded it had even looked at it. Such are the returns in this paper; one gives the area of the Rajahmundry Delta 3,25,000 acres; another makes the produce of irrigated land 1-5th more than that of dry land; another makes out that the area of irrigated land was about 1-5th of what it actually was; another makes out that the increase of Revenue in the dry talooks of Rajahmundry was much greater than in those in the Delta, conveying the impression that the irrigation had been actually injurious. In these cases it was not necessary to make investigation into the matter; but every person who had anything to do with these statements had materials in his own head to enable him to know that they were false. When to such returns taken for granted in spite of the reader's own knowledge to the contrary, are added mere suppositions, and those so strange, that no name is attached to them, we have a complete specimen of a document of the past times. I do trust that this style of paper will now entirely disappear from the records of Government. The times of make-believes and anonymous suppositions have lasted long enough. Let us now deal with realities. What possible use there can be in taking a return which we have abundance of means of knowing to be totally false, and dealing with it gravely as if we knew it to be true, I cannot imagine, and I am equally at a loss to know what can be the use of supposing or allowing somebody without a name to suppose to us, when we can walk out of our tents a few hundred yards and see the case with our own eyes, or when we can send to a gentleman a few miles off, who has actually ascertained the state of the case. Why should not every officer who signs or forwards a return, be required to add something of this sort, "I declare that I have examined this return, and I feel confident that it is substantially correct." Or, on the other hand, "I declare that I have examined this return, and I have no reason to suppose it to be substantially false, but I have not sufficient means of satisfying myself about it." Or, "I forward this return as it comes to me in the regular course, but I cannot, for such and such reasons, think it is substantially a true return."

60. I cannot say less than that the whole of this paper is based upon returns so false, that they represent from 1-3d to 1-10th of the truth, and upon suppositions that are totally unfounded. And as to the effects of the works upon the revenue that no less a mistake is made than the not mentioning the fundamental fact, viz., that the extra revenue due to the water had not been collected, excepting on an insignificant proportion of the lands. Even in the village of Biccavole, one of the few villages upon which at first a real increase of tax was laid, it is only this year (the eleventh in which it has had the water), that 1,000 rupees has been levied on the Enam lands for the first time. So that on the Enam lands alone in a single village 10,000 rupees has been lost to Government. Taking the present area watered at 6 lacs of acres (and allowing nothing for the relief of flooded lands, nor for the water transit of which all the remaining lands have the benefit,) and allowing a water-rate of 3 rupees per acre, the increased revenue ought to be 18 lacs, (independent of extension of cultivation), and the actual increase has been about 6¼ lacs, comparing the present year, 22 lacs, with the average of 10 years before the works, 15¾ lacs. The difference is nearly 12 lacs, and if we take the average from the first at about 1-3d of this, or 4 lacs a year, it will give, for the 11 years, 44 lacs as the sum that has been lost to Government through the neglect of the Revenue Officers, and even if we suppose that the people were allowed two years, use of the water free, which I consider to be quite a mistake, there would still remain 27 lacs.

61. I consider the remedy applied to this evil in the north-west, of employing a band of engineers to collect the revenue from their own works, worse than the disease, for to employ men in the comparatively simple work of collecting revenue, who are capable of planning and executing the works which will produce it, is surely a great waste of power. But I cannot say less than this, that I think this case unmistakably calls for some most decided measures to make

make the Revenue officers understand, that the rights of Government are not to be thus trifled with with impunity; and I am convinced that the greatest obstacle to the real and effective improvement of the country committed to our care generally will not be removed, till a Revenue officer is made clearly to understand that if he will not do his duty, another will be found who can and will do it. The public removal of an officer from a district, who had proved himself incapable or unwilling to enforce the just claims of Government in this way, would do more to forward the improvement of India than a hundred reports.

62. I really must beg to be allowed to speak plainly on this point, for the welfare of India hangs upon it. Here is a thorough experiment as to what can be done on a large scale by irrigation and navigation; and if, after the engineers have by God's blessing carried out the works effectively, the revenue officers are permitted first to neglect their duty to collect the new revenue, and then to adduce the comparatively small increase of revenue as a proof how moderate the effect of the works has been, the result must be a totally false view of the value of such works, and a consequent backwardness to extend them throughout India. I feel quite sure that if a year before the Commissioner wrote his report, a letter had been sent to the Collector, assuring him that if something approaching to a fair water rate were not levied on every acre watered, and the engineer's certificate forwarded, declaring that he was satisfied that all the lands improved, without any material exception, were included in the area assessed, both the Collector and his sheristadar would be removed from their offices within six months, many lacs would have been added to the revenue, without any serious burthen to the people, by the time the Commissioner arrived. I have felt much inclined at times to urge upon the Government that the plan adopted in the north-west should be so far followed in Rajahmundry, as that an engineer should have been placed in charge of one talook, with collectoral and magisterial powers, to show what ought to be done; but great and indeed incalculable as the evil is of not showing by this palpable proof of collections what the benefit of such works is, that of introducing such a system, as the taking off a large portion of the engineers to do such work as collecting, would be still greater; at least it seems to me difficult to choose between the two.

But in reality I consider there is no necessity for resorting to such a ruinous measure, for if the proper Revenue officers and their sheristadars were convinced that their appointments depended upon their enforcing the plain rights of Government, the water-tax would be as regularly levied as the duties are performed in the Public Works Department.

63. The results of the works have indeed, even in revenue, been abundant as it is, but they certainly ought to have been at least three times as great. The village of Biccavole, which is a safe example, because it was before one of the best-watered villages in the district, has increased from 2,900 rupees, the average of 10 years before the works, to 10,900, or nearly four-fold, and this agrees well with the capability of the irrigated land to pay revenue. The old revenue was three rupees per acre, and four times this, or 12 rupees, would be at a moderate computation 33 per cent. on the gross produce. It is quite certain that this would be a very light assessment compared with watered lands in other districts, when it is considered that transit at three pice or four pice a ton a mile is provided almost to every man's door. The engineer reckons that at a low calculation (and I am sure it is so), the amount of water traffic is now 12,000,000 tons carried one mile per annum, upon which the total saving would be, at two annas a ton, 15 lacs; this alone being 5-6ths of what I have above supposed ought to have been added to the revenue, and more than double the actual increase.

64. If it should be a question how it has happened that Biccavole and a few other villages were made to pay so heavily from the first for the water, while by far the greater part of the lands have paid nothing, I answer, the reason is plain enough to any person acquainted with the real state of things in the districts. When the real increase of capability of these villages to pay revenue was perceived, it was at first fully acted upon; I think, indeed, that the increase of tax was rather severely enforced; but as soon as it was found that the engineers adduced this as a proof of the effects of the works, a change of proceeding on the part of the native Revenue authorities was of course adopted. The native cutcherry being all either landowners, or connected with landowners, their bias is of course against the interests of the Government, but this is counterbalanced

by their wish to approve themselves as able managers of the revenue affairs of the district, and the credit arising from an increase of revenue is earnestly desired as a proof of their capacity and faithfulness; but when the counteracting influence is withdrawn, and the credit of the increase is found to go to another department, and one, too, against which the Native Revenue Department have a very strong feeling as rivals and innovators, there is nothing to prevent their acting under their natural bias, and the consequence is, that every effort is made against an increase of revenue. This seems the only possible way of accounting for the monstrous returns both of area and produce with which the Commissioner was furnished. Every Revenue authority in the villages and in the talook knew, that the returns for the villages of Razole and Soanpillay, mentioned in Captain Rundall's letters, were quite false. They knew well enough that the whole of the village lands were watered, but they knew also that the European authorities would accept anything they chose to put before them, and would neither see for themselves, nor call upon the civil engineer to ascertain for them the actual state of the case.

65. After all this trifling with the claims of Government, the following statement will show the progress of the district now, in respect of revenue, under the new state of things.

IX.—Statement of Land Revenue, &c. in *Rajahmundry*.

Years.	Fusly.	Total Collection of Land Revenue.		Average of after Collection.	Total Collection of Land Revenue.	Average Collection before the Works.	Averages of Collections since the Works.		Increase since the Works.	Public Works Expenditure, including Repairs.	Exports and Imports.	T. Bagah Traffic, Number of Boats.	Population of Delta Talooks of Rajahmundry.	Vigeswaram Channel Traffic, Number of Boats.
		Within the Fusly.	Afterwards.											
1836–7	1246	14,69,000	2,66,000	- -	17,35,000									
1838	1247	14,79,000	2,19,000	- -	16,99,000									
1839	1248	9,49,000	3,34,000	- -	12,83,000									
1840	1249	11,68,000	2,92,000	- -	14,59,000									
1841	1250	11,63,000	2,68,000	- -	14,36,000									
				2,47,000		15,69,000								
1842	1251	13,54,000	1,80,000	- -	15,36,000	- -	- -		- -	- -	7,47,000			
1843	1252	13,99,000	1,17,000	- -	15,05,000	- -	- -		- -	- -	7,05,000			
1844	1253	11,55,000	4,00,000	- -	15,54,000	- -	- -		- -	- -	6,67,000	8,96,000 Average.		
1845	1254	15,74,000	1,58,000	- -	17,31,000	- -	- -		- -	- -	10,62,000			
1846	1255	15,09,000	2,40,000	- -	17,49,000	- -	- -		- -	22,000	12,98,000			
1847	1256	17,81,000	32,000	- -	18,12,000	- -	- -		- -	1,97,000	17,64,000			
1848	1257	18,41,000	32,000	- -	18,73,000	- -	- -		- -	2,85,000	17,38,000			
1849	1258	18,69,000	59,000	- -	19,29,000	- -	18,95,000		3,26,000	1,93,000	15,22,000			
1850	1259	17,62,000	1,29,000	- -	18,91,000	- -	- -		- -	2,62,000	13,15,000			
1851	1260	19,06,000	67,000	- -	19,73,000	- -	- -		- -	1,87,000	17,52,000	- -	7,11,400	
1852	1261	19,69,000	56,000	- -	20,25,000	- -	- -		- -	4,25,000	17,54,000	‡ 626		
1853	1262	19,75,000	90,000	- -	20,65,000	- -	- -		- -	5,01,000	19,70,000	1,608	- -	§ 1,788
1854	1263	19,72,000	48,000	- -	20,20,000	- -	20,48,000		4,79,000	7,05,000	20,97,000	6,524	- -	4,262
1855	1264	20,00,000	45,000	- -	20,45,000	- -	- -		- -	7,07,000	20,72,000	9,004	- -	5,911
1856	1265	20,10,000	26,000	- -	20,86,000				Total	*34,84,000	24,81,000	9,340	7,51,400	218
				29,000										
1856–7	1266	21,78,000	32,000	- -	22,10,000	- -	22,10,000		6,41,000	- -	24,93,000	† 13,460	- -	‖ 6,134

* It must be observed that this is the whole expenditure on the Delta, but the returns of revenue are only for that part of it in Rajahmundry. There is some increase in the Masulipatam part of the Delta which should be added, but I have no distinct statement of it; it is considerable, but nothing to what ought to have been collected.

† The traffic has increased much more than the number of boats, as the average tonnage of each boat has probably more than doubled.

‡ Eight months. § Nine months. ‖ Seven months.

66. It will be seen from this, that while the land revenue has increased nearly 6½ lacs, the arrears of collections at the end of the fusly have diminished from an average of 2½ lacs to 30,000. We have thus positive proof that the district is now paying without the least difficulty a land revenue higher by nearly 6½ lacs, or 40 per cent., than it paid with great difficulty before.

67. Taking the total expenditure in the Rajahmundry part of the Delta at 25 lacs,* we have a return of 25 per cent. at present in revenue, notwithstanding the neglect of the Revenue authorities. Were the whole of the watered lands assessed, the increase in old lands alone would be 18 lacs, at a very low assessment, or 72 per cent. upon the outlay.

68. Even as matters are, whether we look at the increase of revenue, the proofs of the ease with which it is paid, the astonishing increase of internal traffic, or the increase of exports and imports, it is impossible that we can be mistaken in concluding that the district has undergone a change such as no other district in India has undergone, excepting Tanjore, from the same causes, and there the change was very slow compared with this. And what reason can be imagined why the state of every district in India should not be thus radically changed, if the same means were applied?

69. There is one special remark which the above statistical statement seems to call for. It throws a great light on the subject of internal traffic. On the Toolea Bagah the average per month the first year, 1851, was 88 small boats; the average for 1856–7 was 1,120, or an increase of thirteen-fold in number, but as the average size of the boats was greatly increased, the increase of traffic was probably not less than thirty-fold in five years. On the Vigeswarum channel the average monthly number was 200 in 1853, and 876 in the first seven months of 1857, or more than a four-fold increase of number of boats in 3½ years; the increase of goods was probably six-fold. In last month, July 1857, 1,200 boats passed through, and this not one of the busy months of the year. But what I wish particularly to bring to notice is the proof that this gives of the enormous amount of traffic that there would be in the country if water transit were general. In the case of this Vigeswarum channel, this traffic is carried on in spite of the following circumstances:

1st. The channels are not completed to any one of the three neighbouring great towns, Narsapoor, Masulipatam, and Ellore, so that the traffic is only with a portion of the Delta villages.

2d. The supply of boats cannot keep pace with the demand, so that a monopoly price is charged for freight, 4 or 5 pice (or ½ *d.*) a ton a mile, while the expense of working the boats is from 1 to 2 pie for short trips.

3d. The towns with which communication is open from this channel are only Rajahmundry, Coringa, Cocanada, and Samulcotta, towns of 15,000 or 20,000 inhabitants each.

4th. There is no distant traffic connected with this line either to the interior or along the coasts. On long trips the traffic would certainly be carried on at 1 pie (⅛ *d.*) a ton a mile.

5th. This tract is as yet by no means in a wealthy state.

6th. The people cannot get at once fully into the way of using the water for traffic. It of course takes some time for the people to discover all the ways in which they may take advantage of carriage at 4 or 5 pice a mile, when they have been accustomed to pay 2½ annas, and that only available at times.

70. Now, if we consider that under these circumstances here is a traffic sprung up of about 1,50,000 tons a year (12,000 boats, averaging 10 tons of load besides rafts), it is really impossible to estimate what the traffic will be, when—

1st. These channels, besides being opened to all the adjoining towns, and instead of connecting a small patch of country of 1,000 square miles with them, form part of an immense system of internal communication, connecting many millions of people, and 150,000 square miles of country in the north and west, with as many millions and as great an extent to the south and south-west, including vast cities containing hundreds of thousands of inhabitants.

2d. When

* Deducting 5 lacs for repairs and 5 for the share of Masulipatam in the works.

2d. When the freight is reduced to 1 or 2 pie a ton.

3d. When the country is greatly increased in wealth, as it is rapidly becoming where, as in these districts, cheap transit and irrigation are provided; and,

4th. When the people begin to perceive more fully the extent of the opportunities which such cheap transit affords.

71. We may be certain that in such circumstances it would soon be ten times what it is now, or 1½ million of tons per annum; and this is besides a proportionate passenger traffic.

72. But what a palpable fact is thus brought before us, as to the question of water or land carriage. The Madras Railway traffic during the last quarter of last year was 60 tons a day per train, or 120 tons a day in all, equivalent to 37,000 tons a year (*See* para. 109 of Colonel Pears, Consulting Engineer to Government, 2d July 1857). In a note to para. 107 of the same letter he states that the quantity passing one point was only 55 tons a day in April, but the above 120 tons appear to be the average. On further examination, it appears that the 120 tons includes the railway material. In the same note Colonel Pears states the average daily numbers of tons carried by the common road in April at 800 tons. But on referring to the return to which he alludes, I am sorry to say that I am afraid it must be classed with the sort of returns of which I have spoken in this paper; at least, on examining it, there are so many apparent contradictions in it that I can make nothing of it. If Colonel Pears is correct in the conclusion he draws from it, that the road traffic was 800 tons a day, while the railway traffic was only 55 at the same point, the railway only carried 1-16th of the whole. The return is to me so unsatisfactory that I cannot feel assured that this is the real proportion; but there can be no doubt from all that Colonel Pears writes in his papers, that the railway does really carry only a small proportion of the total goods traffic.

This 37,000 tons is the traffic on a work which has cost, I believe, 60,000 or 70,000 rupees a mile, connecting the whole of the south-west, the west, and the north-west of the Presidency, with a city of 700,000 inhabitants, the seat of Government, and the principal seat of trade. This monstrous work thus carries one-fourth part of the goods traffic that exists on a canal that cost a few hundred rupees a mile, and which connects a little patch of country of about 1,000 square miles with a port and town of 17,000 inhabitants.

73. Is it possible that anything could put in a more striking light the total unfitness of such a railway for this country? Let us again compare the saving to the country by the one traffic and the other. The rates on the railway are such intentionally as shall be only a hair's breadth below the price paid on the common road with which it competes. See para. 122 of the same letter. Colonel Pears says, "Mr. Fletcher's fundamental principle seems to be to regulate his rates by those existing on the roads, to make them only so far below them as may be necessary to monopolise the existing traffic." Thus the sole object in view is to carry the goods at the highest possible rate, so that the saving to the merchant is a mere nothing, while on the canal there is a substantial saving of at least two annas a ton a mile, or nearly 20,000 rupees a year per mile on the present traffic, 20 times the cost of the canal, allowing a portion of its cost to be charged to irrigation. The gross receipts of the railway are at present about 100 rupees a week, or 5,200 rupees a year, taking half of which for profit, gives 2,600 rupees a year on an expenditure of, I believe, about 70,000 rupees, or 3¾ per cent. (without any allowance for depreciation or repairs, everything being at present new), leaving a dead loss to the country of 1¼ per cent. or about 70,000 rupees a year on the 80 miles now open; and this is by way of relieving the country. This, too, is the first 80 miles out of Madras; the receipts at 200 miles from Madras will be a mere fraction of what they are near the city. Had a canal been cut on the same line at a quarter the cost of the railway, I have no doubt there would have been a traffic of 500,000 tons, much more likely a million, and that carried at a tenth of the charge on the railway; so that at a saving of one anna a ton a mile there would really have been a relief to the country by the half million only, of 10,000 rupees a mile, or 8 lacs a year, by an outlay of 15 lacs, instead of a loss of 70,000 rupees, by an outlay of, I believe, 60 lacs. What is here said about goods is equally applicable to passengers; the number

of

of passengers would probably be increased tenfold at least, if carried at one-quarter or 1-10th the railway rates, for by canal they could certainly be carried at ½ pie, or $\frac{1}{16}$ *d.* per head per mile. By Colonel Pears' returns it appears that the average number of passengers for the three months was 300 a day, or 93,000 a year, which certainly cannot be 1-10th of the present travellers, and probably not 1-30th of what there would be were the charge ½ pie per head per mile on a canal, instead of 4 pice, as on the railway, for the lowest class of passengers. The transit boats, on the Cocanada Canal, carry at present on an average 80 passengers a day to and from a town of 17,000 inhabitants, or one a day for each 210 inhabitants; the Madras Railway carries 300 to and from a town of 700,000 inhabitants, or 1 to 2,300, less than 1-10th of the proportion in the canal. The canal transit is at 1 pie a head, with a rate of three miles an hour; the railway charge is 4 pice a head, and the speed 20 miles an hour. The profit on the canal transit is about 24 per cent., on the railway 3½.

On the canal, indeed, there is nothing charged for the use of the work, but this does not affect the question materially, because the cost of making the canal navigable is so small, perhaps 2,000 rupees a mile, and the traffic already so great, that the charge to meet an interest of 10 per cent. would not exceed 1-12th pie a head per mile. We have thus the most palpable proof of which the country requires even for its passengers' traffic, low speed and low prices, or high speed and high prices, whether we judge by the number of travellers or the rate of profit. If the canal were worked with steam, the charge might be reduced one-half, and the speed increased to eight miles. Colonel Pears says (para. 20), "The actual results are notorious. None, as a rule, but the wealthiest classes have travelled by this rail. On all occasions of feasts at Trivellore, which lies close to the rail, a common and very inferior road, running nearly parallel to the rail, has presented to the railway officials the unsatisfactory spectacle of thousands of people, some in bullock carriages, some on foot, passing to and fro between that town and Madras." How terrible it is to see such unaccountable mistakes made in planning works for the improvement of India. The only thing that is thus gained by the railways is to show in the strongest possible light the importance of water carriage, and the enormous advantage that a district like Rajahmundry, provided with it, must have over one still paralysed by land carriage.

74. The railway, instead of creating traffic, carries only a small portion of the old traffic, while in the Vigeswarum Channel the traffic has increased about six-fold in three years and a half, and therefore we may conclude that at least 5-6ths of this has been created by the water carriage. The increase in the last year has been at the rate of 5,000 boats, or 50,000 tons for the year; the increase in a single year among this insignificant population being much more than the whole traffic on a railway entering the capital of the Presidency. We thus see, as I wrote some years ago, that the effect of one of these great railways is to seal up its line of country from cheap transit for ever, for I suppose it will now be impossible ever to cut a canal on that line; and because 60 lacs have been wasted on the railway, the country must continue to waste 10 or 20 lacs a year in the cost of traffic; and thus, instead of the railway attracting or creating traffic, it will assuredly be the means of destroying it on that line, and driving it off to those parts which have water carriage. The question of the effect of the public works in Rajahmundry cannot possibly be rightly understood without this discussion of the comparison of land and water carriage, as now illustrated by the actual operation of the two kinds of works. The results on the northern canal from Madras correspond with this. Leading, as it does at present, to nothing, without even a common road to connect the end of it with the great northern road, the traffic last year was 120,000 tons, three times that of the railway. Were it connected with the Kistnah and Godavery Channels, it would soon be increased twenty-fold.

75. The consulting engineer urges the reduction of the charges on the railway, and no doubt he is right in supposing that it would be politic to do it, but the country would gain hardly anything if the whole 300,000 tons were transferred to the railway, because the charge would still be only the least possible below that of the common roads. The defect is in the apparatus, which cannot carry cheaply.

76. Just as I had concluded this paper, the Appendix A. of the Commissioner's

Report, which I have alluded to as a paper I had not seen, was shown to me. This paper greatly increases my astonishment at the report. It seems to me such an extraordinary refutation of the report itself, that I think it necessary to make considerable extracts from it. It begins as follows:—"In proceeding to notice here more particularly the several results of the Godavery irrigation as it has affected the Government revenue, or the resources of the country, it is to be premised that, in order to afford encouragement to the general introduction of the more laborious and expensive system of wet cultivation, and to inspire confidence in the advantages to be derived from these works, it has been determined that no additional tax should be imposed upon any of the Government lands, until they may have enjoyed the benefit of irrigation from the Godavery Channels for two successive seasons. After that period, the Teerva Jasty, or extra assessment, is to be levied upon the following principle. The ryot to take the undermentioned proportions of the gross produce as his share, viz.:—

On dry lands - - - - -	Three-fifths,
On wet - - - - -	One-half,
On garden - - - - -	Two-thirds,
On sugar cultivation - - -	Three-fourths,

and the remainder to be considered as the due of Government." Now one-half of the gross produce of the irrigated land would, according to the estimate given in this same Appendix, as "the results of numerous inquiries and many careful experiments made on the spot by the late Commissioner (the Honourable Mr. Elliott)," with the view of obtaining the average produce of the land, taking the most moderate of the data thus called, is, that the out-turns of the whole irrigated area calculated, and turned into money at the average market prices of the season, is 31½ rupees per acre, including straw. It must be allowed that this is at a high price, 20 rupees a candy, and the average may perhaps be taken at 14 rupees, which would make 22½ as the produce; but against this must be set—1st, that there was hardly any rain that year, so that the produce was low; 2nd, most of the land was in its first or second year of cultivation for rice; 3rd, there was hardly any second crop, if any at all. Allowing for those things, we may certainly reckon that this estimate would be under the mark for the value of produce in average years. Hence we conclude that the Government rent to be half of this would be about 16 rupees an acre; the rate the Commissioner in this report proposes is 1¼ rupee in addition to the former average Revenue of 3¼, or 4½ rupees per acre, not one-third of what he thus lays down as sanctioned in "the liberal regulations which received the sanction of Government on the 5th January 1855." He goes on to say, "The additional demand thus made, after the free enjoyment of the water for two seasons, to be imposed, one-half in the first year and the full amount in the second. Under joint rents, this water cess can be imposed only on approximate data, greater precision not being attainable till the assessment of the land shall be finally fixed. The additional cess is to be made on the same principles on the permanently assessed lands and enams, and in each case two-thirds of the demand thus calculated to be fixed as a water tax. These liberal regulations, which obtained the sanction of Government on the 5th January 1855, necessarily defer the period of the direct returns of revenue to the public treasury."

77. In para. 2, he proceeds to say, "The collections in some villages of the Capaveram and Biccavole Talooks, under the T. Bagah Channel, are described in statement 31, &c.* * * * In the 23 villages which have had the advantage of water for five years, the increase is about 90 per cent. The ratio of increase of the remaining villages of the same talook not brought under irrigation have been 27 per cent. or 37 per cent., if fusly 1263 is compared with the former average." Now here he shows that the revenue in the irrigated villages had nearly doubled, so that the same increase throughout the Delta would add about 3¼ rupees per acre, nearly three times the 1¼ rupee proposed by the Commissioner, and making, on 12 lacs of acres, 42 lacs of rupees per annum for the increase on the whole Delta when fully irrigated. In para. 6 he says, "As the irrigation commenced, with the exception noticed, from fusly 1262, and it was not till the following year that it became general, the period of immunity from additional tax will not expire for some time to come, and a considerable period must elapse before the land tax can be brought to a fair standard; any attempt, therefore,

therefore, at the present time to ascertain the direct returns derivable from the expenditure incurred in the irrigation works is altogether premature." Compare this extract with the 21st and following paras. of the report, where, after showing that there was an increase of revenue of 2,89,000, but that much of this was owing to other causes beside the water, not one word is said about this statement being in fact no measurement at all of the effects of the annicut, because the water tax had not been levied.

78. In the 11th para. he goes on to quote as follows from an official memo. of the preceding Commissioner, dated 11th July 1854: "The indirect benefits conferred on the country by the greater facilities for transit, the increased demand for labour, and the circulation of the large sums expended on the works, cannot be expressed by figures. But not the least remarkable proof of the operations of these influences is found in the spirit of independence which it has called forth among the agricultural labourers, who were previously little better than agrestial slaves. Their sole remuneration consisted in the grain allotted to them at the threshing floor, the value of which at 8 rupees the pooty did not exceed 12 rupees a year, together with the annual gift of a cloth worth a rupee more. These men can now earn from 2 to 3 rupees a month, and what is better, they are no longer afraid to leave their masters, but boldly sally forth to seek their own fortunes." "The increase in the trade of the province must likewise be ascribed in a great degree to the improvement of inland navigation, and the large expenditure on the public works has also had its effect." "These, combined with other causes, such as the establishment of sugar factories, the demand of oil seeds in the European market which has sprung up in the last few years, have raised the value of exports from about 3½ lacs of rupees in 1841-42, to upwards of 16 lacs in 1852–53, while the imports of other goods besides grain, have in the same period risen from somewhat above half a lac to 2 lacs of rupees."

79. In para. 12, he says, "Further indirect advantages may also be traced in the increased prosperity of the extra sources of revenue since the annicut operations were begun. In the following comparison the inland transit duties abolished in 1844 have been omitted. The Sea Customs, which show an increase, although considerably reduced under Act 6 of 1844, have been retained, and the salt transactions are confined to such as relate to the consumption in the district. The average receipts have thus risen from 2,47,848 rupees to 3,55,604 rupees, giving an average annual increase of 1,07,756 rupees."

80. In para. 14, he says again, "In viewing these results it must be borne in mind, as above stated, that no general measures have yet been carried out for the increase of the revenue, and that only a trifling addition to the land rent has as yet been imposed on one small portion of the area irrigable under the works."

81. Had these paras. been put into the body of the report, and a simple tabular statement such as I have given, showing the actual progress of the district, commencing exactly with the expenditure on public works, been given, no sensible person would have been misled by the report itself; as it is, the only effect it would produce is to give a totally false view of the whole matter, and thus deprive all India, for an indefinite time, of the incalculable benefits which water for irrigation and water for navigation, and it alone, can give to it.

82. If (para. 29, end) "the annual land revenue has been augmented by a sum probably exceeding 130,000 rupees" (and if this were the result of a fair water tax levied on all the lands then watered, 1855); if (para. 51, end) it would be hardly safe to fix a higher rate than 1¼ rupee per acre, the probable increase to Government from the land, on the irrigation being perfected (making a total of 4½ rupees per acre for Delta land of the richest quality irrigated with river water); if (para. 51) "it will be necessary to raise the water by the ordinary means in use above the level afforded by the annicut," and the extent of such land is supposed to be considerable; if (para. 59) "viewed broadly, the Delta may be said to be nearly fully occupied, having an assessment" (3¼ rupees per acre), which approaches to a maximum standard, the main function of the annicut will be to give permanence to a fluctuating revenue; "then most assuredly, if the works cannot be pronounced an utter failure, at least all the great things that were said of them in anticipation, and all that have been said about them as conclusions from the actual results are mere imaginations and delusions, and the utmost that can be recommended is, that now that they have been executed they may as well be kept in repair, but that to set about spending

half a million sterling in another district would, after such a result, be a dreadful mistake. But if, on the other hand (Appendix A, para. 1,)" the wet land will bear an assessment of half the gross produce (31½ rupees as estimated in para. 10), or 16 rupees an acre, 12 rupees per acre above the former assessment, or 144 lacs on the whole area; if (para. 3) on "23 villages first watered, the increase of revenue is 90 per cent." (though nothing approaching to a fair water tax had been generally levied even in those villages); if (para. 11) "a spirit of independence has been called forth among the agricultural labourers, who were before little better than agrestial slaves;" their former remuneration being 12 rupees of grain and a cloth worth 1 rupee, and they can now earn from 2 to 3 rupees a month, and what is better, are no longer afraid to leave their masters, but boldly sally forth to seek their own fortunes; "and the value of exports have increased from 3½ lacs in 1841–2, to 16 lacs in 1852–3, while the imports of other things besides grain have increased from ½ lac to 2 lacs;" if (para. 12) "the extra revenue had increased 40 per cent., 1,07,000 rupees;" if (by the statistical statement given in this memo.) the real increase of land revenue alone is 6½ lacs, 35 per cent. upon the previous average; if, by the same statement, the outstanding balances on the last day of the fusly have fallen from 2½ lacs, or 16 per cent. of the revenue, to 30,000 rupees, or 1½ per cent.; if the increase of traffic on the main canal has been about 30-fold in five years; if the increase of revenue of 6½ lacs is, in spite of the astonishing neglect of the Revenue officers, who have levied a little more than nominal water-tax on not one-fifth of the lands irrigated; if the saving on the present water traffic, as compared with land carriage, is on a low estimate, 15 lacs of rupees a year; if there will soon be completed at least 1,000 miles of water communication under the annicut at 1 pie per ton per mile, or 1-30th of the land rate; and if all this is effected at an outlay to the present time of about 30 lacs; then I think we may, without the smallest possible room for doubt, conclude that nothing comparable to this has yet been accomplished by any means proposed for the material improvement of India, that there is not the smallest hope of anything more effective being devised, and that consequently we have now sure and certain ground for extending these blessings to every other district in India at once, as the only, and with the continuance of the blessing of God which has attended us hitherto, the sure remedy both for the poverty and consequent ignorance of the people and for the financial difficulties of the Government. Such an increase as has been already actually realised in this one district, though certainly not 1-10th of the full revenue benefits have yet been received, viz., 40 per cent. in all the districts, would add 12,000,000 a year to the India Treasury, and this increase has been accompanied with everything that can possibly indicate complete present relief to the people, and a future full of hope.

83. Lastly, if 70,000 rupees a mile spent on a railway leaves the principal part of the traffic on the common road, and carries the remaining 37,000 tons at the least possible charge under the common road rates, thus affording only a nominal saving to the public, while a new road, without charges for repairs or depreciations on the 80 miles leading from the capital of the Presidency does not pay its interest, but leaves a dead burthen upon the poor natives, shutting up also for ever the line it occupies from cheap transit, and all its following advantages; and if at the same time a few hundred rupees a mile spent on making an irrigation canal navigable creates in a few years a trade of 150,000 tons a year in an out-of-the-way part of the country, hundreds of miles from any great city (a traffic four times that of the railway entering the capital), and that in spite of a demand so far exceeding the supply of boats as to keep the charge for freight to three or four times what it need be, the actual cost of carriage being about 1-10th of what a railway can profitably carry at; then we may as safely conclude, that the whole railway system is only an obstruction to India in its present state, and that water, and water only, for transit can possibly meet the wants of the country.

84. What is said about goods is equally applicable to passengers, as I have shown above.

85. How can I help, upon this review, once more pointing out the grievous mistake that has been hitherto made in giving so much attention to the expenditure and so little to the income of the country. Commission after commission has

has been appointed to investigate what saving can be made in the expenditure, and under the pressure of a balance against the country, the recommendations of economists have unhappily been so far attended to that the country has been denuded of the troops necessary for its defence, with the present awful results; and, after all, the utmost that can be obtained by such reduction of expenditure is comparatively trifling; whereas there seems, as it were, no limit to the augmentation that might be made to the income by such means as have been tried in Rajahmundry. The increase there of 40 per cent. upon the revenue, is but a small portion of what the district even already can pay, not only without oppressing the people, but with the greatest relief to them at the same time; and if during the last 20 years such works had been carried on in every district, the consequences would have been that there would have been more than ample funds for every purpose; the country would not have been denuded of European troops, and, humanly speaking, all the late terrible events would have been prevented.

86. The whole question of these works lies in a nut-shell:

1st. Such works can be executed at a charge of at most 6 annas per acre per annum in interest and management:

2d. The increased value of produce on lands so irrigated is, on the most moderate calculation, 20 rupees an acre (viz., 10 rupees as dry land and 30 as wet).

3d. Therefore, if only 20 per cent. of the increase is taken as tax, the finances will be relieved to the extent of 4 rupees per acre per annum, and the people will gain 16 rupees.

4th. Besides this, the people will have the whole benefit of the water carriage, which alone would probably be fully equal to the whole water tax that they would have to pay.

87. As it will be allowed by all that this is a great national question, I think I may without presumption earnestly request that what is thus said upon it on both sides may be printed, that all who are interested in it may have an opportunity of forming their own judgments upon it.

(signed) *A. Cotton*, Colonel of Engineers.

Madras, 12 September 1857.

P.S.—As a further proof of the groundless nature of the proposed rate of 1½ rupee per acre for water and water carriage, &c., I may refer to Captain Taylor's pamphlet, giving the actual cost of watering land by wells throughout the territory of Bombay and Berar. He there shows that the average cost per acre per annum to the land-owners is 27 rupees. If numbers of individuals over a great extent of country find it worth their while at this cost merely to raise water for their land (and they would not do it if there was not a considerable profit on it), we may judge what sort of a charge 1½ rupee is for water, water carriage, &c.; we see it is 1–22d part of what land-owners willingly pay for water alone without cheap transit, &c.

CORRESPONDENCE referred to in Para. 6 of the above Memo.

(No. 477.)

From *J. Goldingham*, Esq., Commissioner, Northern Circar, to Captain *Rundall*, Civil Engineer, Godavery Division.

Sir,

GOVERNMENT having forwarded to me extracts paras. 15, 16 and 17 of your report on the Nuggarum aqueduct, in connexion with the imposition of an additional cess for the water received, I have the honour to request that you will be good enough to furnish me with information on the following points:

From what accounts the area, viz., 60,000 acres, the whole of which you observe may be irrigated, has been taken. The entire gudicuttoo, or cultivable area, according to the village accounts, is 26,533 acres of land, liable to full assessment, and 18,529 acres enam; total, 45,162.

For what portion of the 60,000 acres has water been supplied by the Irrigation Executive Department? According to the revenue accounts received from the

Collector, the land irrigated in fusly 1264 is 2,607 acres Government lands, and 2,389 acres enam ; total, 4,996 acres.

Within what period water sufficient for the full extent of 60,000 acres will be furnished?

2. I shall also be obliged for information in regard to the value of property saved in 1853 in the Nuggarum talook, its amount, and how calculated.

3. As you are in possession of the necessary data for furnishing the above information, I shall be glad to receive it at your earliest convenience.

I have, &c.

(signed) *J. Goldingham,*
Commissioner.

A. Cotton, Colonel,
Commandant of Engineers.

(No. 404.)

From Captain *F. H. Rundall,* District Engineer, Godavery Division, to the Commissioner of the Northern Circars.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, and to express my regret at having allowed it to remain so long unanswered. There were, however, certain returns which, not having at hand, I wished first to obtain, that I might bring them to your notice.

First, as respects the area of land in the talook. The grounds on which I stated this to be 60,000 acres are measurement of the trigonometrical survey, and a comparison of it with the village returns. The former makes the Nuggarum talook contain 120 square miles, which, if we calculate at 500, instead of 640 acres to the square mile, will give 60,000 acres, leaving, 16,800 acres occupied by sites of villages, sandy tracts near the sea, &c. The village returns give 7,086 pooties nearly, from which 1,110 pooties are deducted for village sites, poontahs, &c., leaving 5,975½ pooties as cultivable land. At 8 acres to the pooty, the whole will amount to 47,800 acres; but in all the villages which have hitherto been surveyed and measured in detail by the Sub-Collector, the actual quantity of land has been found to vary from one-third to one-fifth more than that entered in the accounts. So that the pooty, though professedly only 8, in reality contains 10 acres, and thus the area of the cultivable land in the talook will be found to amount to nearly 60,000 acres.

Secondly, as respects the amount of land actually watered. This I do not pretend to give with exactness, but can certainly give a near approximation, arrived at by two methods: one by the quantity of water actually consumed in the talook, as measured by the depth flowing daily over the aqueduct, every drop of which is carefully treasured and prevented from running to waste: the other method is by computing the area commanded by each channel. Not only are the lands under the newly excavated irrigating channels supplied, but immediately the rains have ceased the old drainages are bunded across, and filled, and so supply water to a large extent of land. Moreover, the salt swamps, hitherto left waste, have been flooded with fresh water, and are now cultivated like the rest of the land. There were never less than 20,000 cubic yards an hour going over the aqueduct, and generally more. The area of land supplied by the channels and drains is near 30,000 acres, so that when I stated 20,000 acres as the quantity irrigated, I know I was well within the mark.

The return made by the native revenue authorities naturally falls a long way below this, amounting only to 659½ pooties, or 6,553 acres. This is not to be wondered at; but the degree of reliance to be placed on the return may be judged from those of the two villages of Razole and Somepilly. In the former, out of 89½ pooties, 6½ zeroyetty and 15½ mauneyem, or a total of 22 pooties only, were returned, leaving 67 pooties as unwatered. While in Somepilly, out of 25½, 2¼ of zeroyetty and 2¾ mauneyem were watered and 20½ unwatered. As these two villages lie right under the main channel, and I had myself seen almost every acre of them under water, I had them measured, when the whole was found to have been irrigated. The villagers seeing that the matter was thus thoroughly investigated, no longer pretended concealment, but acknowledged the fact. In both these

these cases you will perceive the return is just 1-4th of the truth. If therefore the whole return is multiplied by four, it will be found to coincide with my statement, and be near the truth.

As regards the value of property saved during the year 1853. The tahsildar estimates the value of the produce raised in the village of Somepilly on the land irrigated by the annicut water at 1,746 rupees, for 10 pooties of zeroyetty land, thus giving 174 rupees per pooty. On two parcels of land in the same village, measured by my own orders, one, a third-rate crop, yielded at the rate of 12 pooties of grain to the pooty of land. The other, a second-class crop, on second-class land, yielded at the rate of 15 pooties, which, with grain at the price of 14 rupees, made the value in the one case 168 rupees, in the other 210 rupees per pooty. We may safely, then, take the tahsildar's estimate; and if in 1853 we allow for an average over the whole talook, that property to only one-half that amount was saved, we should have for its value of 5,500 pooties the sum of 4,73,500 rupees. This is reckoning that the whole crop consisted of grain; but in the Nuggarum talook the more valuable products of sugar-cane, chillies, and other garden stuffs, are raised, which would add at least another lac to the above amount; and, lastly, the most important item of farming, "the live stock," must not be forgotten, for without the timely supply of water brought by the aqueduct, it is impossible to say how many of those poor creatures might have perished in such a year of drought.

In the above calculations no estimate is made for the value of the Dalwa crop; but perhaps it would be premature to reckon upon this, as it is yet but a novelty. I must, however, in conclusion, beg leave to point out that all the return as yet levied has been the small sum of 5,000 rupees this year from the zeroyetty lands. Another fusly has passed, and the enamdars are still left untaxed.

I have, &c.
(signed) *F. H. Rundall,* Captain,
District Engineer, Godavery Division.

District Engineer's Office, Godavery Division,
Camp at Dowlaiswarem, 25 July 1856.

(No. 79.)

From Colonel *A. Cotton,* Commandant of Engineers, to *H. Forbes,* Esq., Secretary to Government.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour respectfully to return my thanks for the papers which have been sent to me by the Board of Revenue, on the subject of the results of the works in Tanjore and Rajahmundry, and to forward my remarks upon them.

I need hardly repeat how essential it appears to me that both sides of this question should be printed, and that every one concerned should thus have some means of forming his own judgment on the subject of a question of such vital importance as that of the irrigation of India.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Cotton,* Colonel,
Commandant of Engineers.

Madras, 4 March 1858.

MEMORANDUM on the Papers of the Board of Revenue, dated 21 May 1855, on the Statements made in Colonel *A. Cotton*'s Book on Public Works in India, respecting the Effects of Hydraulic and other Works in *Tanjore.*

1. IN the 4th para. the Board say, "Colonel Cotton appears to omit expenditure on repairs." In the passage which they are alluding to it is expressly said, "besides current expenses for the repair of existing works."

2. In the same para. the Board state that the actual sum expended was 43 lacs on irrigation works, but by their own statement this was in 52 years, not 50 years, the period I mention: it was under 40 lacs in the 50 years. They

then state that besides this, there were nine lacs, including two lacs of surplus pagoda funds on other works, which would make 49 lacs in all. There is no doubt that the sums expended on roads and bridges ought to be considered. The reason why they were not, doubtless was, that they were not entered in the statements that I received. The Board then go on to state that the sum expended was really 52 lacs, instead of 20.

3. It is very necessary to call particular attention to this at starting, because it shows unmistakably the bias under which the paper is written. Nothing but a violent bias could induce gentlemen to offer it as their opinion, that, in calculating the results of works, all the cost of repairs for 50 years should be added to the first cost, and the total reckoned as the capital employed. I need not use arguments against so palpable a mistake. Of course I could not say positively what portion of the expenditure was properly capital, and what was for repairs, but when I allowed one-half for each, it was certainly quite sufficiently near to be substantially a true representation of the case, while to charge the repairs as capital, was palpably a false view of the matter. Reckoning the total capital at 20 lacs, and the mean during the whole period, consequently, at 10 lacs, 20 lacs for expenses in 50 years—40,000 rupees a year would be four per cent. per annum, supposing that the whole of this money was spent on works executed for this capital; but this sum in repairs includes the cost of repairs of all the former works also, and cannot therefore be much out of the way.

4. To the 20 lacs, however, might certainly be added half of the nine lacs expended on roads and bridges, so that the real capital was 24½ lacs for the 50 years, instead of 20, as I have given it.

5. In the 5th para. the Board again say, "It may be assumed that Colonel Cotton alluded not only to the Land Revenue, &c." What can be the use of these insinuations? I expressly say the revenue of Tanjore, not the land revenue, and the sums I mention are the whole revenue; and certainly it would be giving a false view of the case not to give the whole revenue; the power of the people to pay taxes, and the amount of exports, are of course very dependent upon the wealth of the people, and whether their produce exceeds their consumption, &c.

6. They then proceed to show that the average collections of the first five years was 30,00,000. The only difference between this and my amount arose from my taking the average of the first four years, instead of five, as the Board have done, which gives just 30 lacs, as the Board have. I omitted the first years of the first series of five in the returns, because it was evidently so extraordinary a year, as to vitiate the average, if taken into it.

7. The Board then proceed to show that the average of the last five years was 48 lacs, not 50, as I have stated. In the first place, I beg to observe, it was quite unworthy of the Board to argue the matter in this way, because I was evidently speaking in round numbers, and the getting rid of one lac at the beginning, and two lacs at the end, did not affect the substantial truth of what I was exactly right. First, the Board give the average, not of the last five years of the series of 50 years of which I spoke, but of the 52 years of which they had given the expenditure.

8. The revenue of the five years I spoke of were—

1846	51	lacs.
1847	51½	„
1848	43½	„
1849	46½	„
1850	48	„
	5) 245½	„
	49	„

9. The

* So in original.

9. The average would thus be 49 lacs, but this average was undoubtedly below the real average revenue of the district at the time, on account of the very low prices of the last three years: the average was at least 50 lacs. The revenue of the following years has been—

1851	49 lacs.
1852	49 ¼ „
1853	51 „
1854	52 ½ „
1855	54 ½ „
1856	58 „
1857	56 „

10. Thus it will be seen that the five years from which the Board compute their average of 48 lacs, have years of 51 and 51 ½ lacs immediately preceding them, and 51 and 52 ¼ lacs immediately following them.

11. The increase of revenue is therefore perfectly correctly stated at 20 lacs in the 50 years, though certainly the expenditure should have been stated at about 24 ½ lacs, instead of 20; the difference being owing to the omission of the sums expended on roads and bridges, from statements I had received.

12. I shall not attempt to answer the Board's arguments "that the greater part of the increase cannot be ascribed to the outlay on public works."

13. Nobody knows better than the members of the Board the effect of irrigation on the produce of the soil, that it is increased threefold, and consequently that increase of 20 lacs on 30 in a district well watered, represents a very small part of the increased wealth of the people; nobody knows better than they do, that the saleable value of lands in Tanjore is 10 times that of the adjoining unimproved districts, and that while its revenue has increased so greatly, there has been no increase at all in the others.

14. I subjoin a statement of the revenue of the two improved districts of Tanjore and Rajahmundry with the two adjoining ones. It will be seen there, that, while Vizagapatam had fallen off half a lac, and Masulipatam had remained stationary, Rajahmundry had increased 5 ¼, according to this statement; and that, while the unimproved part of South Arcot has fallen off one lac, and Madura has increased only 1 ¼ lac, the Delta of the Cauvery (Tanjore), with the two improved talooks of South Arcot, has increased 10 ½ lacs. All the laboured arguments in the world cannot get rid of the conclusions that these plain statements will convey to any unbiased person, neither will any arguments convince others, or at least bring them to acknowledge that they are convinced, that works which make the lands produce three times as much as before, will have more effect upon the revenue, as well as upon the wealth of the people, than the wisdom of all the sheristadars in the Presidency can possibly have in arranging the details of the mode of collecting that revenue.

15. It must not be forgotten also, that this increase of revenue of 20 lacs is, notwithstanding, a net reduction of the extra taxation of 1 ½ lac, by the abolition of the land transit duties.

16. In a note to para. 9 the Board state, that the increase of revenue in 30 years before the annicuts, was 15 lacs, and the expenditure on public works in that time was 30 lacs, while in the 17 following years the expenditure was 20 lacs, and the increase only 2 ¼.

17. On this I beg to remark, 1st. That the increase not being proportioned to the expenditure proves nothing, unless the Board had shown that additional taxes had been levied or proportioned to the increase of produce and diminution of the cost of transit. Everybody knows this has not been the case in Tanjore; by far the greater part of the lands that have been so benefited by the annicuts pay no additional tax whatever, while, on the other hand, 1 ½ lacs of extra taxes have been taken off. But the benefits of the latter expenditure appear plain enough in the enormous increase of the saleable value of land of late years. This is the same refuge that has been occupied in the discussion about the results of the works in Rajahmundry. The revenue officers determinately refuse to levy the water rate, and then, concealing this fact, argue that the results of

the works are not so great as was expected. But, 2d. To state that the increase of revenue has only been 2¼ lacs.

18. I have shown above how false the average of the later years given by the Board is, viz., 48 lacs.

The true average before the annicuts is—

1832	-	44 lacs.
1833	-	46¾ „
1834	-	48½ „
1835	-	46 „
1836	-	44½ „
	5)	229¾ „
		* 46 „

19. And that of the later period at least 50 lacs, making a difference of four lacs, while the average of the last five years to the present time is—

1853	-	51 lacs.
1854	-	52¼ „
1855	-	54½ „
1856	-	58 „
1857	-	56 „
	5)	271¾ „
		* 54¼ „

But this increase is, as I have stated (besides 1½ lac net taxation) abolished. 3d. The Board further state, that in their last year, 1852-53, a hurricane desolated the district on account of which 2½ lacs of revenue were remitted; but so great was the destruction of property (at least 20 lacs, as I was informed), that the revenue of the following years must have been materially affected by it.

20. Thus it is evident that this note will not have the least examination.

21. In the 14th para. the Board again say, "It is presumed that Colonel Cotton alludes to the general revenues." I can only repeat, that there is not the least room for the Board's "presumption," when I explicitly say the revenue, and not the land revenue.

22. I must acknowledge that I have made a mistake in what I said in my book about the increase in latter years. I have said the revenue had increased from 42 to 52 lacs since the construction of the annicuts. The first average of 42 lacs was not that of the years immediately preceding the annicuts, but of those preceding the commencement of the series of great works for properly regulating the supply and distribution of the water. It was in 1828 that I was first ordered to Tanjore, for the purpose of reporting upon the then alarming state of the rivers. Previous to that time every work had been executed as an isolated improvement, and it was then that, in consequence of the threatening state of things, the Government had come to the conclusion that it was absolutely necessary to take the whole subject in hand; a system of works calculated to regulate the whole water supply was therefore planned, and they were commenced in 1830.

23. The annicuts which were planned in 1833, and executed in 1836, were only a portion of that general system of works. It is quite evident from my mentioning the average of 42 lacs, which was not that of the years preceding 1836, but which was that of the years preceding 1830, that the mentioning 1836 as the beginning of the period I intended to speak of, was an oversight.

24. Allowing for this, the statement I have made of an increase of 10 lacs, is perfectly

* So in original.

perfectly correct. The increase in Tanjore alone was 8 lacs, not allowing for the abolition of the transit duties, and in the two Delta talooks of South Arcot about 1½ lac, making in all 9½ lacs.

25. In the Board's calculated increase of 4 lacs, they do not include that in South Arcot, which was caused by the operation of the new works. I have also made a mistake in stating the revenue of Tanjore at 52 lacs, though it had one year risen to 51⅓; the average, as I have shown above, was at least 50, exclusive of abolished taxes.

26. I must acknowledge that this passage was carelessly written, but the matter had been examined by me a hundred times, and I had fully assured myself of the truth of what I meant to have said, that the increase of revenue from the new system of works, of which the annicuts formed a part, was 10 lacs. The works executed in 1830, 1831, 1832, 1833, 1834 and 1835, were large undersluices for discharging the muds of the Cauvery Calingulahs, for diminishing the floods in Tanjore, extensive excavations of the channels in South Arcot, &c. These works were essential parts of the new order of things.

27. I do not go into all the details which the Board dilate upon in the following paras. Though generally intended to show the advantages of the annicuts, all such writing rather tends to obscure the truth. The broad facts, as I have stated them (I beg to urge), show the matter in its true light, and leave no possible room for mistake. Here is a district which has been improved by the application of capital and western knowledge on public works, chiefly hydraulic, and this district in 50 years increased in revenue 20 lacs (including the talooks of South Arcot, 22 lacs for the whole Delta), while the neighbouring districts have either retrograded or remained stationary. The average up to the present time in Tanjore is 52½ lacs, being an increase of 22½, and adding to this 1½ lac increase in the other part of the Delta, the increase is 24 lacs, or a quarter of a million per annum in a single district, notwithstanding the abolition of the transit duties.

28. The whole deficiency in the Indian revenue is stated at only one million, so that four additional districts so improved would have adjusted the finances of all India.

2d. It is well known that by far the greater part of the lands have paid no additional tax for those improvements, and the whole of the Mannium lands, perhaps 20 per cent. of the district, have never paid a rupee to this day. The large French territory of Carical also has had all the benefit of the new works for nothing.

3d. The saleable value of the lands has increased in an extraordinary degree.

4th. The expenditure on these works, deducting cost of repairs, has been perhaps 30 lacs, by a rough calculation, up to the present time.

5th. It is notorious that this district, after paying this comparatively vast revenue, has more wealth in it, in the saleable value of its land and other things, than perhaps all the other districts of the Carnatic put together.

In para. 28 the Board think proper to say, "Mr. Smollett's figures are found on examination to be correct." They a little further on say, "The years which he selected in his first pamphlet, &c., were open to objection, as not giving a fair comparison." How these two sentences can be reconciled I cannot guess. The Board then give in the margin the series of years taken from the pamphlet, and proceed to point out how three ordinary years had been omitted from the series, and two added which did not belong to it, and which were such years as never occurred before or since, and which consequently would have vitiated the average had they belonged to it. They were the two years of the dreadful famine of 1823–24, when Tanjore sold a good crop at enormous prices. Besides this flagrant act, upon which the Board, I am grieved to say, have nothing to say expressive of abhorrence of such a proceeding, there are the following fallacies in the comparison then made:—

1st. This is the "demand," not the collections. I said nothing about the "demand," nor had it anything to do with the matter.

2d. It is the demand on account of land revenue; I spoke of the whole

revenue of the district. The land revenue alone does not give a true measure of the effect of the improvements.

3d. He gives the average of the years after the annicut. I did not say anything about the average of the years. The effects of the works are of course not fully seen at once, nor is the whole of the money spent at once; the comparison can of course only justly be made between the average of years preceding the improvements, and the last year, or the average of the last two or three years.

4th. The enormous land revenue realised in 23 and 24, viz. 43 lacs and 51 lacs, when the ordinary revenue was only about 36 lacs, is one of the strongest possible proofs of the incalculable importance of the irrigation works. There was a district in the very midst of the country visited by a most awful famine, the inhabitants of which, instead of being themselves divided into the two classes—one buying at famine prices, and the other dying by tens of thousands from their inability to buy—are all selling at those enormous prices, and at the same time, instead of adding to the mass of consumers only, are supplying immense quantities of grain to all the surrounding districts, saving the lives of lacs of their inhabitants. This is the effect of the irrigation works exclusively. Mr. Smollett takes these two years, and puts them into a series of years to which they do not belong, in order to give a vicious average of that period, that he may compare it with a following period, in order to show that works of irrigation do not affect the welfare of the country, thus endeavouring to make these years prove exactly the opposite of what they truly show, and most wickedly thereby doing his utmost to prevent the prosecution of works which had thus palpably and notoriously saved millions of people from a calamity, the measure of which cannot be calculated; but of this much we are certain, that had Tanjore been without its irrigation works, another million of people would have been added to those who were consumers only, instead of being suppliers, and that several hundreds of thousands of people additional would have perished. What but overwhelming caste feelings can be supposed to have so blinded faithful and honourable men to pass over without one word of conscientious indignation such an attempt, by means of a garbled return, to propagate a view which, if it could in the present day be adopted, would do such immeasurable mischief?

See Appendix (A).

30. The Board endeavour to shelter Mr. Smollett by saying that in a second edition this omission is supplied. It is painful to be obliged to point out, that what he did say afterwards, was in consequence of this flagrant proceeding being reprobated in the public papers, and that not one word of defence or apology was given by Mr. Smollett. I must state here that I speak from memory only, for I have failed to obtain a copy of that particular pamphlet at the present time.

31. In the 28th para. the Board say, "Although Mr. Smollett has successfully shown that Colonel Cotton has over-estimated the profits of the general marahmut in Tanjore, &c." I have shown above that there is no ground for this assertion; that the revenue of Tanjore had increased 20 lacs in 50 years, as I have asserted; the average is at present 24 lacs for the whole Delta above what it was in 1800.

32. I give here the revenue of the district of Tanjore according to the Board's returns, with five years' averages, striking out from those averages the three wholly exceptional years, 1800, 1823, and 1824, as they would entirely vitiate averages even of 20 years:

1800	46½	lacs.	1810	36		1820	40¾	
1801	33		1811	35½		1821	39¼	40¼ lacs.
1802	27¾		1812	38	38 lacs.	1822	41¼	
1803	24½	30 lacs.	1813	41		1823	52	
1804	35		1814	40¾		1824	58¾	
1805	33½		1815	39½		1825	44½	
1806	29¾		1816	39¾		1826	38¾	
1807	37¾	36 „	1817	39	39 „	1827	37¼	42½ „
1808	39¾		1818	38		1828	47½	
1809	38¼		1819	38½		1829	43¾	

1830	-	43½	45¾ lacs.	1840	-	46¼	46 lacs.	1850 - 49
1831	-	44		1841	-	44		1851 - 49¼
1832	-	46¾		1842	-	46		1852 - 49¼
1833	-	48½		1843	-	47		1853 - 51
1834	-	46		1844	-	46		1854 - 52¼
1835	-	44½	46¾ „	1845	-	51	49 „	1855 - 54½
1836	-	46¼		1846	-	51½		1856 - 58
1837	-	46½		1847	-	48½		1857 - 56
1838	-	48		1848	-	46¼		
1839	-	48¼		1849	-	48		

52½ lacs.

I have given the last average on the whole of the remaining eight years, because the two last years were two of unusually high prices as the first were of unusually low ones.

The difference in Tanjore alone is 22½ lacs, besides 1½ lac in South Arcot, and notwithstanding the abolition of the transit duties, amounting to 1½ lac net.

33. Nobody knows better than the Board do that there is nothing like this in any other district in the Presidency excepting those of the western coast, which are so differently circumstanced that they cannot be compared with the eastern districts. Indeed their improvement is owing to the same cause, with only this difference, that they are generally well supplied with water naturally, while the eastern tracts require it artificially.

34. Nor does anybody know better than the Board, that while this one district alone pays 75 per cent. above its former revenue, it is much better able to pay it than the other districts, or to pay their old revenue; that the increase of revenue is very far from being the measure of the increased wealth and prosperity of the district.

35. In the 27th para. the Board speak of the increased saleable value of the lands. They say that the value of land before 1833, was, on an average, about 80 rupees a vaylie, and in 1854, 163 rupees. I have fully ascertained that the latter of these is quite incorrect, and I believe the first to be wrong also. When I got returns at the former period, they gave 160 rupees a vaylie; and, judging from two different returns which I have lately seen, one sent me by the present Collector, but which I have mislaid, and one shown to me by Mr. Forbes, which are fully supported by the information I have obtained on the spot, I conclude that the present price is about 340 rupees. I should observe that in both these returns a large quantity of land of small value sold in one talook gave a lower average than this, but if the average of the mean prices in all the talooks is taken, which is undoubtedly the true way of taking it, the present price is as I have stated. Taking the difference at 180 rupees a vaylie, or 27 rupees an acre, and allowing the area of irrigated lands of the whole Delta to be 900,000 acres, including maniem lands, it gives nearly 2½ millions sterling as the increased value of the lands in our possession (besides the French territory), showing distinctly how far the increase of revenue is from being a measure of the effects of the works. The money so invested, according to my information, yields six per cent., so that that capital shows an increase of 15 lacs a year to the income of the landowners on the taxed lands only, besides any benefits to the tenants since 1833, that is, during the period that the Board endeavour to show that the district has so little benefited by the irrigation works.

36. Taking the present average value at 340 rupees a vaylie for taxed land, or 50 rupees an acre, it gives 4½ millions sterling for the actual value of those lands, and if we add to that about 25 per cent. in area for the rent-free lands, or 2,25,000 acres, and 85 rupees for price, the capital represented by the average tax of 5 rupees per annum at 6 per cent., the total capital invested in them is two millions, and it makes a total of 6½ millions sterling as the value of irrigated land in Tanjore. Compare this with the state of any unimproved district.

37. How can I conclude this paper without expressing, not my surprise, for I have had too long experience of the strength of caste feelings in the Revenue officers to expect a paper from most of them which is free from conclusions arrived at manifestly under the influence of that bias, but my sorrow to see a body of faithful men, when called upon solemnly by the Government to give a judicial decision upon a vital point in the question of the management of the country, endeavouring as far as possible to shelter this most wicked attempt

to deprive the country of the works upon which not only wealth depends, but life and death. I call it most wicked, for were men of Mr. Smollett's stamp as influential as they wish, they would succeed in depriving India of the only possible means of providing food in what would otherwise be times of famine. The Board know well, that had Tanjore not been irrigated in 1823 and 1824, probably at least a million more of people would have perished in the south, and that had Guntoor been irrigated in 1833, it would have saved at least half a million of lives in the north.

38. They know well that unirrigated land paying one or two rupees an acre, and near an inland market and a port, is unsaleable, while irrigated land cut off entirely from both by want of cheap transit, pays from 5 to 20 rupees an acre and is highly valuable property. They know also that on a large scale land can be provided with these things at an annual expense to Government of a quarter or half rupee. And yet they cannot stand forward conscientiously and heartily to denounce the attempts that are made to deprive the people of those benefits, and as openly support every effort that is made to urge forward these essential measures.

39. It is not the writings of men like Mr. Smollett that do the mischief; he himself is too well known as a man of strong prejudices, and his writings to all but men anxious to be misled answer themselves, but it is such papers as the one now under examination which really supports him that are so mischievous.

40. Here was an opportunity given to the Board to show that they were above all minor feelings, and when called upon, could and would give a manly, conscientious, and unmistakable verdict in a cause so vitally affecting the welfare of millions.

41. There is certainly such a thing as courtesy, but a courtesy which in such critical cases says that nothing is black, nothing white, but everything a little greyish; which makes out that nothing is true, and nothing false, but everything neither, or both, or something between the two, is not courtesy but something else.

42. Mr. Smollett says, "ten years ago * * I applied to the undertaking (the Godavery Delta irrigation) the soubriquet of the 'gigantic swindle;' ten years later, after scrutinising the result in detail, I deliberately assert that the epithet was well deserved." This is the ground taken up by the gentlemen whom the Board endeavour to shelter. Was it too much to expect that a body of conscientious men would in an honest, manly, and conscientious manner express what is most assuredly their real opinion on this point? I know well that every member of the Board knows that this is directly contrary to the true view of the case.

43. They know well that the revenue in Rajahmundry has increased seven lacs, the exports and internal traffic 15 or 20 fold, the produce of the land three or four fold; that not a fifth part of the lands watered yet pay one rupee of tax; that the internal traffic is now carried by the canals at one-tenth of the former cost; that passengers travel at 1 pie a head per mile, &c.; they know also well that if these works are supposed to have failed in immensely improving the country, it will greatly tend to deprive other districts of similar incalculable benefits, yet they can write courteously on the subject, and thus identify themselves with the writer of these pamphlets.

44. What I asserted was, "India is like the field after an Indian battle; there is but one cry, water, water: all that is wanted is water, and this want supplied, everything else will almost follow of course. Water for irrigation and water for transit will provide for everything else." Now either this proposition is true or it is not, and Mr. Smollett's proposition, that hydraulic works are a gigantic swindle, is either true or false. Either water for irrigation and transit is the grand means of preserving life and the most effectual way of increasing the wealth of India or it is not; hydraulic works are a "swindle" or they are not. The Board, the body to whom is entrusted the material welfare of the Presidency, the lives of 20 millions of people, are called upon by the Government to judge in this case. They know the truth of the case, and they write a long report calculated as far as possible to shelter the party which holds the view they know to be the false one. Can we be surprised if, shortly, gentlemen who brought to a decisive test of this sort utterly fail are set aside and other agents are sought for to carry out God's purposes of mercy

mercy to India, which I, for one, feel fully assured he will find agents to do, however present agency may fail. That India will be irrigated, I have no doubt, notwithstanding outward friends and open enemies.

45. There is one passage in Mr. Smollett's pamphlet which I am surprised that the Board do not notice. It seems to me that they might have heartily supported him in that without any suspicion of their motives, that is, where Mr. Smollett recommends that I should receive a grant of manium land of 2,000 acres in the delta of the Godavery. A gentleman who rents a village there was this year offered by natives 11¼ rupees an acre for the use of some land of his for one crop, and without any permanent right, and they are now his tenants. From this circumstance and the ascertained value of produce, about 40 rupees for two crops, it is quite certain that were I in a position to offer land on a permanent tenure, I should find abundance of tenants at 15 rupees an acre, so that 2,000 acres would yield me an income, without investing any capital, of 30,000 rupees or 3,000 *l.* a year. Such a proposal seems to me unexceptionable, and it seems to offer a good opening for the Board to express their further approval of Mr. Smollett's views; my only objection to it is, that so far as I am myself concerned, I have been already so much more than amply remunerated for the performance of my pleasant duties.

46. If I might be allowed respectfully to make a suggestion to Government, it would be that they should now call upon the Board of Revenue for their estimate of the cost of cultivating and value of produce of an acre of average dry land, 100 miles from the coast and without water carriage to either an inland market or a port, and the same of an acre of land irrigated from one of the great rivers, and with water carriage to both home and foreign markets; and also the average expense of providing irrigation and water carriage on a large scale. No doubt the Board could easily furnish these, as after writing so many papers on the revenue of the irrigated lands, they must have already satisfied themselves on these fundamental points.

A. Cotton, Colonel,
Commandant of Engineers.

Appendix (B.)

STATEMENT showing the Progress of the REVENUE in the Improved Districts as compared with the adjoining ones Unimproved.

Vizagapatam.	Averages.	Rajah-mundry.	Averages.	Masuli-patam.	Averages.	South Arcot.	Averages.	Tanjore.	Averages.	Mudura.	Averages.
Lacs.	*Lacs.*	*Lacs.*	*Lacs.*	*Lacs.*	*Lacs.*	*Lacs.*	*Lacs.*	*Lacs.*	*Lacs.*	*Lacs.*	*Lacs.*
1836 - 14¼		23		13¾		- 23½ -		46½		21¼	
1837 - 10		21		13¾		- 26¾ -		46¾		22	
1838 - 15¾	15½	21	21½	13½	13¾	- 27¼ -	27	48¼	47¼	23¼	22¾
1839 - 15¾		21		14		- 29½ -		48½		24¾	
1840 - 15¾		20		13¾		- 28 -		46½		23	
1841 - 15¾		22		13¾		- 26 -		44		24½	
1842 - 15¼		22		15¼		- 24 -		46¼		24½	
1843 - 15¼	15	22	21¾	14	14⅓	- 24¾ -	25	47	47	23½	23¼
1844 - 14¼		20		13¾		- 24¼ -		46¾		21¾	
1845 - 14¼		21		14⅜		- 25¾ -		51		21⅜	
1846 - 14½		22		14		- 29¼ -		51½		21¾	
1847 - 14½		22		13¾		- 29 -		48¼		22¾	
1848 - 14½	14½	23	23	15	14	- 26¼ -	27¼	46½	48¾	23	22½
1849 - 14¾		23		13½		- 23 -		48		22¼	
1850 - 14¾		23		13⅜		- 28½ -		49		23	
1851 - 15		24		14		- 30¼ -		49¾		22½	
1852 - 15		25		13½		- 28¾ -		51		24½	
1853 - 15	15	24	25¼	14¾	14	- 25¾ -	27½	52¼	53	23⅝	24
1854 - 15		25		13¾		- 23¾ -		54¼		24½	
1855 - 15		26		13⅜		- 29½ -		58		25	
1856 - 15¾	- -	26¾	- -	14⅜							
Estimated 1857 - -	- -	28					½ *lac* - - -		5¾ - -		1½
Increase - - - -		5¼	- - - - -		¼ *lac*	Deduct increase in Delta Talooks of South Arcot - - 1½		Add increase in Delta Talooks of South Arcot - 1½			
Decrease - - -	½ *lac*					Decrease - - 1 *lac*					
						Increase - - - - - - -		- 7¼ - -			1¼

For the increase in Rajahmundry I deduct the average of the first period not from the average of the last period, but from the last year's actual collections, because it is obvious that when the revenue is regularly and steadily increasing, the latter is the true way of showing the progress.

From *J. Goldingham*, Esq., First Member of the Board of Revenue, to *W. H. Bayley*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, R. D.

Sir,

GOVERNMENT having been pleased to afford me the perusal of Colonel Cotton's Memo. on my Report, dated 9 July 1855, on the probable results of the Godavery Annicut, I would beg to make the following few remarks:

2. Colonel Cotton naturally expresses much solicitude both as regards the estimation in which the annicut shall be held as a means of developing the resources of the country, as well as the actual results of the work itself. He is under the impression that the value of the work has been underrated by me, and that my report is calculated to discourage the extension of similar projects throughout India. A calm perusal of the report will, I trust, show that there are no grounds for such a conclusion. In para 50, after reviewing what has been realised, I observed that the work had become essentially necessary to the country, and that true policy required that it should be completed and maintained at all times in a state of thorough efficiency. With this feeling of the great importance of the work, I should be glad to find that means had been adopted for enlarging the supply of water, whether by raising the annicut itself, or by another work higher up, or by both.

3. Colonel Cotton occupies a position rarely attained from the many useful works he has projected during a long course of years with a total denial of self, and the really substantial benefits he has conferred by these means both on the Government and the people. It is not going too far to say that lacs of rupees would have been lost to both, but for his talents and devotedness to the cause. It is not likely that the Godavery Annicut will in any way diminish such a reputation, though the money results of that work to Government in the mere form of additions to the land tax, as originally estimated, may not be realised. Colonel Cotton was of opinion that the Godavery Annicut would ultimately bring a clear addition to the revenue of 30 lacs of rupees; the tenor of my report was to show that such magnificent expectations could hardly be realised.

4. Colonel Cotton complains of the inadequacy of present returns, and the inadequacy of the prospective estimate as to ultimate effects.

5. The present returns, it is true, do not represent every acre of land that has benefited by the annicut. It seems certain that here and there villages will be found where concealment to a considerable extent has been successfully practised; but such cases do not furnish a standard for estimating the amount of revenue that is withheld in the Delta generally. It is impossible that the Collector could have been imposed upon to the extent alleged. Colonel Cotton makes no allowance for the rule that was considered absolutely necessary of allowing two years of free enjoyment of the water before an additional impost would be imposed. The system of rents also renders it difficult to get at the true state of things. My report throughout, para. 76 particularly, points out that the authorities must be kept in ignorance of the real bearing of the new works as to the occupation of the lands under their influence till the system of settlement shall be reformed. The desired reformation is now commencing, and as it proceeds will clear up all doubts as to what the present returns should be. The survey of a few villages will show but little. Considerable progress must be made in a talook before general conclusions can be safely drawn.

6. Colonel Cotton is equally dissatisfied with the prospective estimate showing the probable ultimate returns, and complains in strong terms of the insufficiency of the rate of increase per acre, viz., 1¼ rupee, which I have assumed. It seems unnecessary to recapitulate the grounds on which this rate of increase was taken. They will be found in paras. 51 to 55 of the report. In para. 55 I pointed out that this increase did not represent the entire increase to be expected, which must embrace, besides direct augmented returns, the increase arising from the stability afforded to fluctuating revenue, from a discontinuance of remissions and the cessation of those heavy losses in capital and stock occasioned by inundations which it required years sometimes to replace before the ryot could recover his former position. The increase in sundry sources of revenue, as following an improved state of the country, was also mentioned. As regards the

the people at large, the ample supply of food held at their command must not be omitted, I observed, among the advantages derived, a benefit which the district had the good fortune to enjoy so largely during the drought of fusly 1263, A. D. 1853–54.

7. The increase of 1 ¼ rupee per acre is not the water cess, as Colonel Cotton seems to suppose (Memo. paras. 42 and 45), but, as explained in the report, it represents the probable increase per acre on the final re-adjustment of an assessment at present in a very confused state, and in many cases so high as to render an additional impost impracticable.

8. The simple fact that the present land revenue of the district was still considerably below the assets at the time of the zemindary or permanent settlement, notwithstanding the annicut and the outlay of money connected with it, was pointed out in para. 35 of the report, but not as an argument unfavourable to the work, though Government were entitled to expect the full amount of assets irrespective of any extraordinary expenditure.

9. The deterioration experienced in consequence of the decay of the manufactures of the district, did not fall under consideration in my report. It will probably be found that the increased and increasing foreign demand for its agricultural products has more than compensated for any loss under that head.

10. Viewed in its main and most important aspect, viz., that of a blessing to all concerned, I see no difference of opinion between the Memo. and the Report. In the matter of direct money returns there is a wide disagreement.

11. But the entire question of returns, present and future, is surrendered by Colonel Cotton in p. 47, where he says, " It must, however, be observed that the present population is not equal to the full cultivation of the Delta, even for paddy." Colonel Cotton's views as to the capability of the Godavery Delta are drawn from the circumstances of the Cauvery Delta. The population in the former he fixes at three-fourths of a million, while that of the latter is stated to be " nearly or quite two millions." The Godavery Delta, it is added, " will hold three millions, or four times its present population," and considering its advantages over the Cauvery Delta, " could, when filled up in population, pay 100 lacs, or about five times what it has paid without artificial advantages." It appears then that the population of the Godavery Delta must be quadrupled before Colonel Cotton's expectations can be realised. Can Colonel Cotton, from the experience of the past, assign a probable period for this consummation? His calculations of increase must remain in abeyance till the conditions on which they are founded are fulfilled.

Memo. p. 48.

Note.—These statements of the population do not correspond with the returns in the office of the Board of Revenue, but the argument is in no way affected by this circumstance.

12. In regard to the " artificial advantages " to be acquired by the Delta by means of the annicut, Colonel Cotton should not lose sight of the fact that the waters of the river have flowed through that tract, though uncontrolled, at all times, and that the presence of this water has had its effect in raising permanently the ordinary standard of assessment. And in connexion with this fact, I would call attention to p. 61 of the Report, where it is pointed out, as noticed by the Collector of Rajahmundry, that the ryot does not always require annicut water, and that he uses it or not according to circumstances, showing that a command of water is possessed in some seasons irrespective of the annicut. Lands so situated, it is obvious, are not likely to bear much additional cess, notwithstanding that the waters of the river have been brought under complete control.

13. Indications of cane culture are mentioned in para. 44 of the Memo. This commencement of investing capital in this way came incidentally under my notice lately, and I was given to understand that the speculation was likely to turn out well. More capital will doubtless be attracted to the locality if the returns of profit have not been exaggerated. The entire sugar-cane cultivation of the whole Presidency, however, in fusly 1266, A.D. 1856–57, was 32,637 acres, and that of Rajahmundry only 3,275 acres. If, as Colonel Cotton so stoutly maintains, the revenue authorities would not charge for annicut water, how comes it that the sugar-cane cultivation is so small, so much below his expectation of 100,000 acres? I believe and trust it will increase, but if it has not

done so with little or no charge for water, what may be expected from an enhancement of that charge?

14. But a check would be at once imposed on undertakings of this nature if the view enunciated by Colonel Cotton in para. 49 of his Memo. were generally entertained. "A very low assessment," Colonel Cotton thinks, "is decidedly objectionable on general principles." The expression "a very low assessment" is indefinite. There are limits beyond which the assessment cannot be carried consistently with the interests of the ryot, and the exigencies of the State will always prevent its being very low. After paying for outgoings, including the Government assessment and subsistence, the ryot must have a surplus for improvements. Without this both he and his farm, as well as the revenue of Government, must remain in a depressed state. If, in consideration of a heavy tax, Government is called upon to furnish means for improvements, the ryot is reduced to the condition of a tenant at will or a mere workman, and experience shows that work done in this way is the dearest of any. It seems quite necessary that the ryot should have capital of his own, and that he should feel that whatever he may lay out in improvements will be his own.

15. In advocating an assessment not "very low," Colonel Cotton places the ryot of India in the same category with the Pacific islanders and tenants in England. The analogy does not hold good in either case. The state of civilisation and motives to industry widely differ as regards the former, and in the latter the ryot of India is not a mere tenant, but to all intents and purposes owner of the soil, as nothing can prevent his exercising a proprietary power over it, so long as he pays the Government assessment. His tenure is more perfect than the right which it was hoped to create when the permanent settlements of 1802 were made, as it has been subsequently discovered that all that Government could make over to the zemindars under that settlement was their own right, which extended to a certain portion only of the produce of the land. As pointed out at the time by Colonel (Sir Thomas) Munro, if Government were disposed to give up their own revenue, as was done so largely at the settlement in question, the relinquishment should have been in favour of ryots, from among whom a class of substantial men would ere long have sprung up.

16. As regards the effects of a low assessment in leading to idleness and slovenly culture, the case of the enam tenures in India may, I think, be cited as a refutation of that view, and I find it stated that the tithe in England is even found to be a great hindrance to improvement. If Colonel Cotton is right, surely Government have been in error in reducing the assessment of every district, and the simplest plan would be to revert to the heavy assessments of last century.

Adam Smith.

17. As regards conclusions to be drawn from examination of small patches of produce, much caution is necessary, as not only is there a want of uniformity in the different fields of a village, but the capability of different parts of the same field is found frequently to vary. Such examinations, however interesting in themselves, must not be taken for more than they are worth, when the question of assessment is concerned. The adjustment of the assessment is a delicate operation, and much practical experience is necessary in the persons on whom the duty of fixing it may devolve. Colonel Cotton's remarks give the impression that the undertaking is easy, and that having estimates of the capability of the different classes of land, the whole work is, in fact, done. It is far otherwise. There are many disturbing circumstances arising from season, and the want of uniformity in the productive power of fields and tracts throughout, that point out that an estimate of the kind cannot be blindly applied to each field or tract, according to the class under which the assessor may place it. The average produce of each field must be correctly ascertained, and even then experience shows that the assessment cannot be finally fixed, as some correction must be first made to meet disturbing circumstances. "It is the nature of assessments proceeding from single fields to whole districts, and taking each field at its supposed average produce, to make the aggregate sum greater than what can be easily realised." The Collector has to make a further adjustment before a rate per acre can be finally applied to any field. A margin, in fact, to meet

Colonel Munro's Report on the Survey and Assessment of the Ceded Districts, 26th July 1807, p. 6.

meet all circumstances is necessary, and it is here that experience and sound practical views are so much needed.

18. Colonel Cotton glances at the desirableness of requiring the officers of the Department of Public Works to fix the assessment themselves. If, as shown above, matured experience in the particular line is required for this duty, it will hardly be supposed that the Maramut Department, whose habits of mind are chiefly familiar with strictly arithmetical processes, without any revenue knowledge, possess the necessary qualification. The whole tenor of Colonel Cotton's arguments show that he would speedily rack-rent every province, and that he could not refrain from making his works pay in this simple manner. But Government have already had ample warning of the consequences of erroneous views in fixing the assessment of the country, in the history of the survey and assessment operations of Tanjore, where the Meerassidars of the first talook surveyed and assessed, pointed to the fields which were ready for the sickle, and left the Collector to realise the survey assessment himself without their agency. Sheally talook.

19. The question of the assessment of Government has undergone mature consideration recently, and final orders as to the principles which should guide the settlement officer have been laid down by authority. The Honourable Court, in Despatch No. 17, of 1856, dated 17th December 1856, observe, with reference to the course pursued in the North Western Provinces of Bengal, that the operation of determining the assessment there has been declared to be "not one of arithmetical calculation, but of judgment and sound discretion;" and the Court state that they "are well satisfied that absolute accuracy cannot be attained." They go on to observe, that "the main point to be regarded is, that the assessment should be fixed at a rate sufficiently moderate to allow for errors of judgment on the part of the settling officer." From Government, 22d April 1857, No. 372, P. 20.

20. It seems important that these enlightened views should be borne in mind at all times, and that every tendency to a feeling of increasing the burdens of the people, for fear of their being idle, should be checked.

21. I would point out an inconsistency into which Colonel Cotton has been led in p. 57. So long as he is discussing the results of the Godavery Annicut, he expresses himself in strong language as to the false character of the accounts that are put before the revenue authorities, and the readiness with which the authorities in general lend themselves to the statements of their subordinate native officers; but when it is pointed out to Colonel Cotton that in Guntoor higher results have been attained than in Rajahmundry without an annicut or any extra expenditure, his answer is that the revenue of that district had been carried too high. The same administrative machinery, and the same means of check exist in both districts; and while their working has been so successful in Guntoor as to go beyond what was required, it will not be supposed that there has been such a complete break down in Rajahmundry as is alleged in the Memo. Report, p. 23.

22. As regards Guntoor, it is quite true that the assessment of some lands was burdensome, and that the poollery tax, which amounted to about 1,00,000 rupees, was a heavy drag upon the ryots. The former has been corrected, and the latter has been entirely relinquished. The consequence is, a higher revenue than before, as has been already reported to Government.

23. The foregoing remarks are intended to embrace the principal features of the question, and are sufficient, perhaps, to lead to a tolerably correct general view of it. To take up the minor points, as discussed in the Memo., would tend to no profit, particularly as the scientific survey now commencing will furnish correctly ascertained facts for data, which are necessarily, as already explained, to some extent conjectural. One point, however, it would be improper to pass over in silence. The increase of revenue already obtained occurs, for the most part, under the Toolia Bagah and Samulcotah Channels; but Colonel Cotton deprives the annicut of any share in producing this increase. "These channels," it is observed in para. 18 of the Memo., "were cut and improved two years before the annicut was begun." This fact, and the admission in para. 13, that much low land in the Delta had been relieved from excess of water by the new works, show that irrigation, to a very considerable extent, Commissioner's Report, para. 25 to 29. Colonel Cotton's Memo., paras. 17, 18, 24.

was enjoyed before the annicut was constructed, and confirm the view put forth in the Report, that a large increase per acre, such as would be obtained under ordinary circumstances when water is newly applied to unirrigated land, was not to be expected in the Delta of the Godavery.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. Goldingham,*
First Member and late Commissioner,
Northern Circars.

Revenue Board Office, Fort Saint George,
22 May 1858.

From Messrs. *E. Maltby* and *W. H. Bayley* to *T. Pycroft*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir,

HAVING been allowed to peruse Colonel Arthur Cotton's strictures on our Report to Government, of May 1855, on the results of the Coleroon Annicuts, we have the honour to request that the enclosed reply may be submitted to Government.

2. You are probably aware that we were the only members of the Board of Revenue called upon by Government to report on this subject. The report on the Godavery and Kistna Hydraulic Works was reported on separately, by the Commissioner of the Northern Circars.

We have, &c.
Madras, 5 June 1858. (signed) *E. Maltby,*
W. H. Bayley.

REPLY to the "Memorandum" of Colonel *A. Colton*, dated 4th March 1858, impugning the Correctness of the Statements made in the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 21st May 1855, regarding the Hydraulic and other Public Works in Tanjore.

1. COLONEL A. COTTON, in his book, entitled "Public Works in India," revised edition, March 1854, having made certain statements regarding the results of the Coleroon Annicuts in the Tanjore district, and of the Godavery and Kistnah Annicuts in Rajahmundry and Masulipatam, their accuracy was denied in a pamphlet, dated 1854, written by Mr. Smollett, of the civil service.

2. On the 7th December 1854, the Government called upon the Board of Revenue to test the accuracy of these conflicting statements.

3. At this time the only members of the Board were Messrs. Maltby and Bayley, the senior member being employed on special duty as Commissioner in the Northern Circars. It was therefore by direction of Government that the two former gentlemen undertook to investigate the results of the annicuts in Tanjore; and as the districts of Rajahmundry and Masulipatam had not been under the Board's jurisdiction for five years, the papers connected with the Godavery and Kistna Annicuts were referred to the Commissioner.

4. The two members of the Board submitted their Report to Government on the 15th May 1855, and it is this Report (connected with the Coleroon Annicuts) alone that Colonel A. Cotton deals with in the "Memorandum" now under reply.

Part I. (on General Public Works in Tanjore for 50 years).

5. It was stated in page 19 of Colonel Cotton's book, and repeated elsewhere,* that Tanjore exhibited "the example of a system of moderate but actual improvement, steadily pursued for 50 years with unvarying success, raising the revenue from 30 to 50 lacs (500,000 *l.*) a year, while the saleable value of the land has equally advanced till it is now (allowing for the difference in

* Pages 20 and 62.

in the value of money) equal to the value of land in England; all this being accomplished, not by a sudden extensive outlay of capital, producing even temporary difficulty to Government, but by an average annual expenditure of only about 40,000 rupees (4,000 *l.*) a year, besides current expenses, for the repair of existing works." This Mr. Smollett characterised as a delusion (p. 11), and supported his views by tables of revenue for the last 20 and 23 years.

6. The Board reported, that on reference to the records it appeared that from A.D. 1800 (when Tanjore was ceded to us) to 1851 inclusive, the sum expended on works of irrigation and communication in Tanjore amounted to 52¼ lacs;* and that in the same period (excluding the first year of all †) the total revenue collections has risen from 31 to 48¼ lacs per annum, or an increase of 17¼ lacs.

7. They then proceeded to consider how much of this was due to the outlay on public works.

8. Colonel Cotton in his "Memorandum" endeavours to show that the Board were grossly in error throughout, and actuated by party feeling. He commences with his observations on the question just referred to, and points out first that the Board's estimate of expenditure is for 52 years, whilst he said 50 years.

9. It is to be explained that, though Colonel Cotton did mention a period of 50 years in his book, he gave no table of annual expenditure, or used any dates whatever to show when it commenced or ended; the book was probably written in 1852, and the Board's intention was to compare the outlay from the time of the acquisition of the district, up to 1851, which they supposed ‡ would be the latest date of Colonel Cotton's returns, and then compare the revenue receipts at the beginning and end of the same period. They did not suppose that Colonel Cotton meant strictly 50 years, neither more nor less. This would have made 1849 the last year, which did not seem in accordance with views written in 1852 as to the progress of Tanjore, up to that time. Even had they taken the years up to 1849 inclusive, they would not have been on the same ground as Colonel Cotton, for he states in his present "Memorandum," para. 6, that he omitted the year 1800; but no reference to this omission is made by him in his book. The Board were, therefore, left to their own judgment, and believed they were making a comparison which was in accordance with Colonel Cotton's period, and one which would honestly show the actual outlay and the increase of revenue from the time Tanjore came into our possession, up to the date of Colonel Cotton's writing.

10. If, therefore, the years 1800 and 1851 are to be struck out, 3 ¾ lacs must be deducted from the 52 ¼, leaving 48 ½ lacs expended in 50 years.

11. Colonel Cotton then adverts to the 9 ¼ lacs stated by the Board to have been expended on "Roads and Bridges," and included in their outlay estimate of 52 ¼ lacs. He admits that this formed no part of the 20 lacs he mentioned in his book as being the expenditure in Tanjore; and his explanation is as follows:—"There is no doubt that the sums expended on roads and bridges ought to be considered. The reason why they are not doubtless was, that they were not entered in the statement that I received."

12. That Colonel Cotton should not have noticed the omission of all works of communication in a statement prepared for the express purpose of showing the results of public works of India, and which contains strong denunciations against the roads of the country, is most extraordinary; and it is still more so when we turn to page 62 of that book, and find him distinctly stating that roads and bridges did form part of his estimate. His words are "Tanjore has been irrigated and drained, and provided with common roads and bridges, at an outlay of 20 lacs (200,000 *l.*) in all (besides repairs), and both the revenue and net income of the people have increased by at least that amount annually."

13. No

* Irrigation, 43 lacs; roads and bridges, 9¼ lacs.
† For reasons of which Colonel Cotton does not question the propriety (para. 6).
‡ Colonel Cotton was not in India, and could not be referred to.

13. No one has been more severe than Colonel Cotton on others for receiving statements and arguing on them without careful scrutiny, and this confession of carelessness on his part may perhaps be a useful warning to him hereafter.

14. The next objection made in the "Memorandum" to the Board's estimate of outlay is the one no doubt on which Colonel Cotton depends as being fatal to their conclusions; as it is not very clear in the latter part, it will be better to use his own words.

15. "Nothing but a violent bias could induce gentlemen to offer it as their opinion that in calculating the results of works all the cost of repairs for 50 years should be added to the first cost, and the total reckoned as the capital employed. I need not use arguments against so palpable a mistake. Of course I could not say positively what portion of the expenditure was properly capital, and what was for repairs, but when I allowed one-half for each, it was certainly quite sufficiently near to be substantially a true representation of the case, while to charge the repairs as capital was palpably a false view of the matter. Reckoning the total capital at 20 lacs, and the mean during the whole period consequently at 10 lacs, 20 lacs for expenses in 50 years, 40,000 rupees a year, would be 4 per cent. per annum supposing that the whole of this money was spent on the works executed for this capital; but this sum in repairs includes the cost of repairs of all the former works also, and cannot, therefore, be much out of the way."

16. The charge made by Colonel Cotton, though specious in appearance, is not fair. The question before the Board was not as to the total gain in a period of years from a certain amount of capital laid out, but it was as to the increase of revenue on a comparison of one set of years with another half a century subsequently, whereas the expenditure on hydraulic works referred to the whole continuous period.

17. Had it been a question as to the total gain, the Board would of course have sought to make out a more formal account of capital and revenue, as they did in the same report when they came to consider the result of the annicuts constructed in 1836. But the Public Works Accounts of the last half century are far too imperfect to admit of such a process. The difference between the Board's way of putting the case and Colonel Cotton's is simply this. He says the increase of revenue was caused by the expenditure of 20 lacs, besides repairs, and they say (even supposing these works were the sole cause of the increase, which they were not) the expenditure was 48 ½ lacs, including repairs. He speaks parenthetically of repairs without naming the cost; they think it necessary to point out what was the expenditure with their cost, as being better adapted for the information of the public. They had not the means of showing how much was spent on original irrigation works and improvements, and how much on repairs. Colonel Cotton estimates that out of a total, 40 lacs, 20 were spent simply on repairs. He admits this is a mere guess, and the Board have every reason to believe that it is an erroneous one, for they are aware that it is usual to use the term repairs where new works would be more appropriate. For instance, the deepening of an existing channel, the widening of existing head sluices, the strengthening of existing masonry works, are often spoken of as repairs, when, in fact, they are improvements or new works. The Board would, therefore, be inclined to estimate at least 30 lacs as capital,* and 10 lacs as *bonâ fide* repairs. But whether their estimate or Colonel Cotton's is nearest the mark, it is evident that there do not exist the means of stating exactly what was the expenditure on new works and improvements and what on repairs, whereas it is known and can be safely asserted what is the total expenditure, viz.,† 40 lacs exclusive of the outlay of 9 lacs on roads.

18. The Board repeat that the question placed before them by Government was simply what is the present revenue compared with what it was 50 years ago, and what sums have been expended by the State on public works. Their reply was that the present revenue is 48 ½ lacs, whereas on first occupying Tanjore

* Out of the 40 spent on works of irrigation.

† The statements of expenditure were obtained by the Board from the Department of Public Works, and were prepared by a professional officer.

Tanjore it was 31 lacs; and that the total expenditure on public works within that period had been 52 ¼ lacs. In that reply they perceive neither bias nor error. The only inaccuracy that may be charged against their statement is, that they omitted the cost of the establishment, which has been a permanent annual charge upon the State. If this had been included, another 3 lacs at least would have been added to the expenditure, and its omission certainly does not look like a "violent bias" against Colonel Cotton.

19. In para. 5 of the "Memorandum" Colonel Cotton writes, "The Board again say, it may be assumed that Colonel Cotton alluded not only to the Land Revenue, &c.; what can be the use of these insinuations? I expressly say the revenue of Tanjore; not the Land Revenue."

20. The Board take leave to explain that as Mr. Smollett, to whose pamphlet the Government called their attention, all along repudiated the idea of bringing the extra sources of revenue into the calculation, and seemed to argue as if Colonel Cotton had excluded them, they considered it right to point out that the indirect taxes or "extra sources" of revenue, such as those derived from salt, abkarry, stamps, sea customs, &c., were included in Colonel Cotton's estimate of returns, though they themselves were of opinion, for reasons detailed in their report, that it was an erroneous assumption to attribute the increase under these heads of taxation altogether to works of irrigation and communication.

21. In para. 7, Colonel Cotton writes, "The Board then proceed to show that the average of the last five years was 48 lacs, not 50, as I have stated. In the first place, I beg to observe that it was quite unworthy of the Board to argue the matter in this way, because I was evidently speaking in round numbers; and the getting rid of 1 lac at the beginning, and 2 lacs at the end, did not affect the substantial truth of what I was saying."

22. The Board had no intention to criticise, but they had before them a statement carefully prepared from their own records and those of Tanjore, showing the revenue of each year for a long series; and if the total of five years amounted, as it did, to 2,40,65,601 rupees, they could not enter the average of this at 50 lacs when it was 48,13,120 rupees. What unworthy line of argument there is in this they are at a loss to conceive.

23. He proceeds (para. 7), "My statement however was exactly right: first, the Board give the average, not of the last five years of the series of 50 years of which I spoke, but of the 52 years of which they had given the expenditure."

24. Now the fact is, Colonel Cotton never gave any series of years at all. He did not mention a single date in his book which could guide the Board, and he admits (para. 6) that in his 50 years he did not mean the first year, though he gives no clue in his book to such an omission. For want of this definition of what years he alluded to, the Board concluded he spoke in round numbers (which in the beginning of para. 7 he says he did), and naturally, and in good faith, concluded he meant from the time Tanjore came under British rule, to the latest date on which he could have had complete statements wherewith to draw his conclusions; and this was from 1800 to 1851 inclusive, or 52 years. (The subject has been already referred to, in paras. 8 and 9 of this paper.)

25. In para. 8, Colonel Cotton says the fifth closing years he spoke of were 1846 to 1850 inclusive,* the average revenue of which he gives at 49 lacs, after giving his version of the revenue of each one of these five years.

26. The Board will therefore give their version of the revenue collections of these same five years, as compared with Colonel Cotton's; and it is clear that he has entered the revenues of the five years ending with and including 1851, and not 1850. The Board's figures are therefore correct for the years he refers to. This is another of those careless statements on which Colonel Cotton founds his supposed refutation of the results shown in the Board's report.

---

* The "50 years" of Colonel Cotton's book, being 1801 to 1850, both inclusive, as it now appears.

	Colonel Cotton.	Board's Office.
	Lacs.	*Lacs.*
A. D. 1846 - - - -	51	51·46
„ 1847 - - - -	51 ½*	48·24
„ 1848 - - - -	48 ¼	46·30
„ 1849 - - - -	46 ½	47·96
„ 1850 - - - -	48	48·95
Average - - - -	49	48·58

27. So that, even if their former estimate of 48 ¼ lacs is disputed, this gives 48 ½ lacs, and not 49, as Colonel Cotton asserts.

28. Colonel Cotton proceeds to state (para. 9), "The average would thus be 49 lacs, but this average was undoubtedly below the real average revenue of the district at the time, on account of the very low prices of the last three years. The average was at least 50 lacs."

29. Colonel Cotton seems determined to uphold his estimate of 50 lacs, by calculating an average of certain years, and then asserting that this is not the real average. It is true, that prices were low in two out of the five closing years, but on the whole it is as good an average as could have been taken. If not, why did he take it? At all events, if the revenues of five successive years are specified by Colonel Cotton for comparison, it is absurd to say that their mean is not a true average. Surely he could not pick out all the high price years, and take the average of them.

30. Colonel Cotton then goes on to state, what has been the revenue in succeeding years, since his book was written; but this has nothing to do with the question at issue.

31. The Board in their proceedings of 1855, after showing that the whole revenue of the district had increased 17 ¼ lacs, that is, from 31 to 48 ¼ lacs, pointed out that 17 ¾ lacs of this 17 ¼, was an increase in the revenue from salt, abkary, stamps and sea customs, which they considered could not fairly be said to be the result of works of irrigation and communication; that even in the Sea Customs Revenue, the increase was not in export duties (which Colonel Cotton in para. 5 of his "Memorandum" notes as dependent on public works), and that almost all these were taxes newly imposed, after those five first years which had been taken as a period for comparison with the last five years; similar items of taxation, they observed, were at the same time imposed in other districts, and had in like manner, caused a considerable increase in their total revenue, even though no public works had been undertaken. The Board do not doubt but that the result of public works has been to add greatly to the wealth of the country, and thus enable the people better to bear taxation; but they deny the propriety of carrying every rupee of the collections under these heads to the credit of public works. The imposition of a new tax may raise the revenue considerably, without any reference to State or private improvements, as in the case of the Income Tax in Great Britain.

32. The Board not only argued against Colonel Cotton claiming these 7 ¾ lacs from "extra sources," but they also maintained, and gave full reasons for, the following opinion, viz., that the increase in Land Revenue was owing greatly to improved administration. They proved from reference of official papers, that during the first few years, which have been made the period of comparison with the last, the district of Tanjore was so mismanaged, as to call for the direct condemnation and interference of Government. It was a natural consequence that when a regular system of administration was introduced, the revenues of the district would increase. This was a very marked and undeniable case, but Colonel Cotton refrains now from all allusion to it.

33. The Board do not lay to the account of improved management, the whole increase of 31 to 48 ¼ lacs of annual revenue, but they have given their reasons for

* What Colonel Cotton enters for 1847 belongs to 1846, and so on all through.

for asserting that it can be accounted for without admitting the truth of Colonel Cotton's assertion, that it all arose from the outlay on hydraulic and other public works.

34. To meet the arguments referred to in the preceding paragraphs, Colonel Cotton has nothing more to offer than this (para. 12): "I shall not attempt to answer the Board's arguments, that the greater part of the increase cannot be ascribed to the outlay on public works."

35. It may therefore be inferred, that he was unable to meet their statements, for he proceeds to generalise by saying that no one knows better than the Board the effect of irrigation on the produce, and on the wealth of the people, and on the value of the land; and he subjoins a statement of the revenue of Tanjore, as compared with South Arcot and Madura; and another of the revenue of Rajahmundry as compared with Vizagapatam and Masulipatam. All this is an evasion of the point at issue, viz.: Has the whole increase in the annual revenues of Tanjore (17 ¼ lacs, including salt, abkary, stamps and sea customs), been entirely owing to the outlay on public works, or has it not? Colonel Cotton asserts it has, the Board asserts (and give their reasons, which Colonel Cotton declines to argue upon), that it has not. They acknowledge the very great benefits derived from public works, especially those planned and executed by Colonel Cotton, and they have dwelt on them in their report to Government, but they cannot go to the length of endorsing his extreme views.

36. In para. 15, Colonel Cotton notices that the increase in the Tanjore revenue has taken place, notwithstanding a reduction of 1 ½ lac a year, formerly levied as transit duties. He however omits to mention, that at the same time (A. D. 1844), the monopoly price of salt was raised from 105 to 120 rupees a garce, and that extra duties were levied in the sea customs in order to meet the deficiency of revenue from the abolition of the transit duties, as was noticed by the Board in para. of their proceedings of 15th May 1855. The Board, however, as before stated, do not consider that any fluctuations of revenue arising from the imposition or abolition of such a tax as this, are attributable to the construction of hydraulic and other public works.

37. The Board adverted in their proceedings of May 1855, to the fact, that, during the 35 years previous to the construction of the Coleroon annicuts, namely from 1801 to 1836, 30 lacs of rupees were expended on public works, and the annual increase of revenue was 15 lacs; whereas, during the 17 years since the annicuts were built, 20 lacs had been expended, and the revenue had risen only 2 ¼ lacs annually.

38. To this Colonel Cotton replies in para. 17: "On this I beg to remark: 1st. That the increase not being proportioned to the expenditure proves nothing, unless the Board had shown *that additional taxes had been levied* in proportion to the increase of produce, and diminution of the cost of transit. Everybody knows this has not been the case in Tanjore; by far the greater part of the lands that have been so benefited by the annicuts *pay no* additional tax whatever, while on the other hand 1 ¼ lac of extra taxes have been taken off. But the benefits of the latter expenditure appear plain enough, in the enormous increase of the saleable value of land of late years. This is the same refuge that has been occupied in the discussion about the results of the works in Rajahmundry. The revenue officers determinately refuse to levy the water rate, and then *concealing this fact*, argue that the results of the works are not so great as was expected." (The *italics* are Colonel Cotton's.)

39. These remarks will apply more to the question as to the direct result of the Coleroon Annicut constructed in 1836, and will be therefore noticed hereafter (para. 60). It will be sufficient here to state, that if the civil authorities have been remiss in increasing the taxation on the irrigated land, the charge is as true in respect to those who administered the affairs of Tanjore previous to 1836, as to their successors; and the unresolved question remains as before, viz.: How is it that, during the years most money was spent on works of irrigation and communication in Tanjore, the revenues did not increase nearly as much as in the years when the expenditure was much less?

40. The subject was not adverted to by the Board with any view of cavilling

at the outlay on public works; but it struck them on going over the annual accounts of past years, as being a caution against receiving too implicitly the doctrine, that the greater the expenditure on works of irrigation and communication the greater will inevitably be the increase in the revenues of the State.

Part II. (on the Coleroon Annicuts).

41. The 2d question discussed by the Board, and on which from being of later date, they were enabled to give a more decided opinion, was the effect of the Coleroon annicuts; Colonel Cotton having stated in page 208 of his book as follows:—"Is it surprising that in Tanjore 1½ million sterling have been added to the saleable value of the land, since the construction of the Coleroon wears? Those works were executed in 1836, and up to the present time there has been expended on them, and on various other improvements in the Delta of Tanjore, perhaps 10 lacs (100,000 *l.* besides the outlay for necessary repairs), and the revenue has increased from 42 to 52 lacs. The increase of value of land has been, so far as I have been able to ascertain, from about 20 rupees an acre, to 40 or 45 rupees, making a difference on 700,000 acres of, at least, 1½ million sterling."

42. The Board, in their proceedings of May 1855, by way of comparing the revenue before and after the annicuts, took the 10 years previous to 1836, and compared them with the 10-years following. The result was an increase from 44 lacs to 47; or 3,10,000 rupees per annum in the total revenues of Tanjore (including 3,000 rupees in extra sources); and another 90,000 rupees increase in the portion of South Arcot, irrigated from these wears, or a total of 4 lacs. What portion of this sum is due to the annicuts will be hereafter discussed.

43. But it appears that Colonel Cotton's comparison was made between the five years preceding the annicuts, and the five years ending in A. D. 1850: as he did not state in his book what years he took, the Board were left to their own discretion as to the number of years to be taken for comparison. They will, however, now give the result in Colonel Cotton's quinquennial comparison.

44. In para. 18 of his "Memorandum," Colonel Cotton gives the revenue collections from Tanjore for each of the five years preceding the annicuts, and the figures agree with those of the Board's records. The annual average revenue is 46 lacs.

45. The revenue of each of the five years ending in 1850,* has already been given in this paper (para. 26), and the average annual revenue is there shown to be 48½ lacs. This, compared with the five years before the annicuts, gives an annual increase of 3½ lacs only, even including 1 lac for South Arcot, and not 10 lacs, as stated by Colonel Cotton in his book.

46. How does Colonel Cotton attempt to prove the correctness of his 10 lacs in his "Memorandum?" By a method which cannot certainly be considered justifiable. He ignores the quinquennial series preceding the writing of his book (though he had expressly said, as quoted in para. 41 above, "up to the present time.")† and takes five years (1853 to 1857, both inclusive,) after his book was written! during which the revenue of Tanjore received an addition of 1,70,000 rupees a year (in 1852) by a large extent of Pagoda-Maniem land coming into the hands of Government.

47. No real reply has therefore been made to the opinion expressed by the Board, that Colonel Cotton had exaggerated the increase which the revenues have shown, since the construction of the annicuts. That increase consisted not of 10, but of 4 lacs, and a portion of it must be assigned to other causes.

48. It is also to be observed, that although when the revenue declined Colonel Cotton has shown himself alive to the effect of low prices (see *ante*, para.

* The last of Colonel Cotton's 50 years (para. 8 of his "Memorandum").

† If the five years ending in 1853 are taken (the last edition of the book being 1854) the results would be still more adverse to Colonel Cotton's assertions.

para. 28), he here claims for the annicuts a temporary increase of revenue, caused by the accident of high prices. In the years subsequent to his book, ending with fusly 1265 (July 1855 to July 1856), to which he now refers, prices ranged unusually high, and the revenue rose accordingly; but the fallacy of attributing this increase to the annicuts will be apparent from the result of the next revenue year, or the recently expired fusly 1266, when prices underwent some decline. The annicuts still furnished irrigation, the irrigated area under cultivation showed a small increase, and yet from prices making some approach to their ordinary level, the annual revenue fell off at once more than four lacs of rupees, as shown in the following statement—

FUSLY.	Usual Bazar Price of Second Sort Paddy per Garce, being the Average of 10 Years.	Current Price for these Years.	Irrigated Cultivation.	Assessment.	Rate per Acre.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Acres.*	*Rs.*	
1265	74	93	6,98,472	42,87,358	6 2 2
1266		87	7,00,679	38,74,683	6 8 5
			Decrease - -	4,13,675	

These fluctuations of revenue from changes in the price of grain, affect so vitally the question in dispute respecting the annicuts, that the Board took care in their report (of May 1855) to show how, under the Ooloongoo system which prevails in Tanjore, the rate of the tax on irrigated land rises or falls with the price of grain.

50. But in para. 22, Colonel Cotton is thus compelled to speak of his own positive and repeated assertions: "I must acknowledge that I have made a mistake in what I said in my book about the increase on the latter years. I have said that the revenue had increased from 42 to 52 lacs since the construction of the annicuts. The first average of 42 lacs was not that of the years immediately preceding the annicuts,* but of those preceding the series of great works for properly regulating the supply and distribution of the water. It was in 1828 that I was first ordered to Tanjore," &c.

51. It is not impossible that if the comparison had been made with earlier years, the increase in later years might have been greater; but as Colonel Cotton expressly stated that he reckoned from the years preceding the construction of the annicuts, the Board, of course, followed on the same ground, and they cannot permit him to controvert their statements by shifting the period to years before the annicuts were constructed, when it is their effect that was under consideration. The "mistake" is the more extraordinary since in the very passage in which Colonel Cotton insists on the increase of 42 to 52 lacs, he expressly mentions the year 1836.—*Vide* para. 41 of this paper.

52. Here, then, instead of comparing the two quinquennial periods, one immediately before the construction of the annicuts, and the other immediately preceding the writing of his book, Colonel Cotton, to avoid the unpleasant alternative of admitting that his assertions were not borne out by facts when tested by official returns, changes the first into a period some years before the annicuts were built, and the latter into a period subsequent to the writing of his book, and then says (para. 25), "Allowing for this, the statement I have made of an increase of 10 lacs, is perfectly correct." And, as if the more the blunders the more perfect the accuracy, he says in the very next para., "I have also made a mistake in stating the revenue of Tanjore at 52 lacs, though it had in one year risen to 51½. The average, as I have shown above, was at least 50,† exclusive of abolished taxes." The extraordinary excuse that he offers for his over-estimate

* It was 46 lacs, as shown in para. 44 of this paper.

† The revenue, including extra sources, never reached 50 lacs but four times in 50 years; and the two best revenue years in Tanjore were before the annicuts were built.

over-estimate (which he still insists upon is perfectly correct, allowing for errors) is as follows, para. 26 :* "I must acknowledge that this passage was carelessly written; but the matter had been examined (?) by me a hundred times, and I had fully assured myself of the truth of what I meant to have said."

53. In para. 25, Colonel Cotton states that the Board, in assuming 4 lacs as the increase of revenue from all sources subsequent to the annicuts, do not include that in South Arcot; but it will be seen from para. 42 of this paper, that they did include 90,000 rupees annual increase in South Arcot.

54. The Board, in their proceedings of May 1855, after showing that on comparing the years before and after the annicuts, there was a total increase of revenue of about 4 lacs annually, argued that it is an error to suppose that the whole of this is owing to the annicuts. They observed that the revenue effect of the annicuts must be judged of by the effect on the revenue derived from the lands watered by them, and not by the revenue of the whole district; neither should the increase in the amount derived from the salt, stamps, abkarry, &c.,† be credited to them. Comparing the six years before the completion of the annicuts, with the last seven years up to the date of Colonel Cotton's book, they estimated the annual increase of revenue in Tanjore, from the river-irrigated lands, at 1,77,952 rupees; to which they added 90,000 rupees for South Arcot, making a total of 2,67,952 per annum. From this they deducted 10,419 rupees, the average annual expenditure on repair,‡ leaving 2,57,533 rupees as the net annual revenue, or 41,20,528 in 16 years, or a return of 118 per cent. per annum on the original cost of the works, which was 2,17,389 rupees.

55. The computation thus made of a capital of 2,17,389 rupees against an increase of 2,57,533 rupees, was the best that the materials before the Board enabled them to make. They obtained those materials from the Department of Public Works, and framed their calculation on the same principles as had been followed by the Commissioners on Public Works in making their estimates of the result of hydraulic works. But the Board omitted to make an allowance for the expenditure incurred by Government on account of "Establishment," which would probably amount to a lac of rupees. The result which they exhibited of the gain from the annicuts was, in consequence, over the mark, rather than under, and they cannot be therefore thought to have shown any "bias" against Colonel Cotton.

56. The Board further observed that the good result of the annicut was not limited to this pecuniary advantage, and they referred to the saleable value of land having risen 100 per cent., and to the discontinuance of "remissions" on account of short produce; and even as regards the increase of revenue, they pointed out that in many years, when the revenue fell short, the advantages of the annicuts were peculiarly conspicuous.

58. Colonel Cotton does not notice the correction made of his estimate of revenue increase (from 200 per cent. per annum to 118 per cent.), but says, (para. 27), "I do not go into all the details which the Board dilate upon in the following paras. Though generally intended to show the advantages of the annicuts, all such writing tends to obscure the truth. The broad facts as I have stated them, I beg to say, show the matter in its true light, and leave no possible room for mistake."

59. The Board here leave this part of the discussion, satisfied to place the result of their investigation against Colonel Cotton's "broad facts."

60. The Board must now return to para. 17 of Colonel Cotton's "Memorandum" quoted in para. 38 of this paper, which requires explanation, not so much for Colonel Cotton as for Government. He asserts that the effects on the revenue would have been much greater if a proper additional tax had been levied for the water supplied, but that the revenue officers determinately refuse to

---

* It is contained in the "revised Indian edition of March 1854."
† The increase in these "extra sources" of revenue was under 3,000 rupees during this period.
‡ For the mode of calculating the repairs, see para. of Board's Report.

to levy the water rate, and then concealing the fact,* argue that the results of the works are not so great as was expected.

61. It has already been shown that an additional revenue of upwards of two lacs of rupees a year has been levied from the lands under the annicuts, and this was of course levied from lands which formerly were not irrigated, but are so now; or else on lands which now yield regularly two crops, instead of one. So much for Colonel Cotton's assertion that by far the greater part of the lands that have been benefited pay no additional tax whatever. It appears from the correspondence which took place when the annicuts were proposed, and in which he himself bore a part, that their object was chiefly to restore the deteriorated irrigation of the District of Tanjore, and, therefore, it was not to be expected that an additional tax was to be levied on lands which were already taxed for an irrigation that had become defective. The subject was not lost sight of by the revenue authorities, and Mr. Kindersley (than whom no man knew Tanjore better), in 1838 distinctly stated, in regard to the annicut, that "its primary object was not to increase, but to keep up the cultivation and revenue; not to convert a desert into a garden, but to prevent a garden becoming a wilderness." There are peculiarities about Tanjore which should be considered, with reference to expectations of obtaining a very great increase of revenue from converting unirrigated land into irrigated, and from making single crop land yield two crops. In the first place, almost the whole area of Tanjore commanded by the river was under irrigation before the annicuts were constructed. Though the annicuts restored what had become deteriorated (chiefly by the silting up of the river Cauvery), it did not effect much (nor was it expected it would) in conveying water to higher levels, so as to bring under its influence lands hitherto unirrigated. Secondly, as regards increase in produce, it is known that the rice cultivation of Tanjore commences with the river freshes of July and August, and is brought to maturity by the rains of the N.E. monsoon in October and November. There is no storing of water in tanks in Tanjore, and when the monsoon is over, there is little or no water available for a second crop.

62. Colonel Cotton seems to think the assessment on the land should have been raised in consequence of the cost of transit being less than it was; but the means of transit in Tanjore are yet very indifferent, and even if it were better, the Board of Revenue would (as they think, rightly) object to making this a plea for now enhancing the land assessment.

63. Colonel Cotton also deprecates the non-imposition of an extra tax on the lands held "free" by grants of the former or present Government. It is to be observed that most of these rent-free lands have always been classed as "irrigated;" and it would be as unjust to put an extra tax upon them, as it would be to enhance the assessment on Government lands of the same classification. There are, no doubt, some rent-free lands which were not irrigated at the time of their gift, but are so now. There has been a discussion as to whether the terms of their grant admit of the imposition of an extra tax for the use of water, and it has eventually been ruled that they are not exempt, and perhaps some 15,000 or 20,000 rupees a year may be realised from them.

64. The next question is with regard to the saleable value of land. The Board in their report to Government pointed out this as a material advantage gained by the annicuts chiefly, and estimated the increase at double, or from 80 to 163 rupees per vaylie (of 6 $\frac{6}{10}$ acres); and they referred to a case where 138 vaylies were mortgaged for 200 rupees a vaylie. Colonel Cotton, in page 208 of his book, states that the selling value of land has risen from 20 to 40 or 45 rupees an acre; that is, from 132 to 264 or 297 rupees per vaylie; and in para. 35 of his "Memorandum" he says, 340 rupees per vaylie.

65. The revenue authorities have no official cognizance of private sales of land, and therefore the Board could not speak so decisively as in matters of revenue account, but their information was chiefly derived from the Report of the Collector, who had been many years in Tanjore, and who had taken the opportunity

* This imputation is beneath notice.

opportunity of examining several deeds of sale and mortgage. Colonel Cotton states that his information is derived from the present Collector, and also from the same officer as the Board referred to, but as he gives no data or memoranda to prove his statements, the Board must abide by their former estimate.

66. Colonel Cotton then deals with Mr. Smollett, and with the Board's view of that gentleman's pamphlet. Para. 29 of Colonel Cotton's "Memorandum" commences thus: "In para. 28 the Board think proper to say Mr. Smollett's figures are found, on examination, to be correct. They a little further on say, the years which he selected in his first pamphlet were open to objection, as not giving a fair comparison. How these two sentences can be reconciled I cannot guess."

67. There is no intention of reconciling them in the sense of making them express the same thing. Mr. Smollett gave long tables of the revenue of each year, and these were tested by the Board's records, just as Colonel Cotton's would have been, had he given any. This was the first process. They were, as far as they went, found correct; but during the next process, which was to see if they went far enough, they were found deficient, and were condemned as not giving a fair comparison; just as Colonel Cotton's comparative years, taken from a period subsequent to the printing of his book, are now condemned for going too far. Colonel Cotton calls this omission of Mr. Smollett's a "flagrant act, upon which the Board, I am grieved to say, have nothing to say expressive of abhorrence of such a proceeding."

68. In the same para. he continues: "Mr. Smollett endeavours to make these years prove exactly the opposite of what they truly show, and most wickedly thereby doing his utmost to prevent the prosecution of works which had thus palpably and notoriously saved millions of people from a calamity which cannot be calculated." * * * * "what but overwhelming caste feelings can be supposed to have blinded faithful and honourable men to pass over without one word of conscious indignation such an attempt by means of a garbled return to propagate a view which, if it could in the present day be adopted, would do much immeasurable mischief."

69. The Board had before them for consideration Mr. Smollett's revised edition, and that gentleman might very reasonably have objected to expressions of abhorrence at omissions in a table which had been corrected by him. The Board were not bound to notice Mr. Smollett's first edition more than Colonel Cotton's first edition.

70. The Board did not think it necessary in their report to Government to dilate much on Mr. Smollett's version of the Tanjore revenue. They pointed out that his conclusions drawn from the demand instead of the collections of successive years were valueless, and noticed that he argued from the revenues of the whole district, whereas the annicuts only affected a portion of the district, so that his statements were open to the same objections as were made to Colonel Cotton's; and the Board took special pains to show that even a decrease in the revenue did not necessarily tell against the annicuts, inasmuch as in the years when they brought in a very abundant supply of water, and increased the produce and breadth of cultivation, the revenue often diminished in consequence of its being dependent on the price of grain; and they explained these results by annual tabular statements showing what would have been the revenue at ordinary prices. In short, they ignored Mr. Smollett's disparagement of public works.

71. The Board certainly did assert, and do now assert, that "Colonel Cotton over-estimated the profits of the general maramut works in Tanjore;" and Colonel Cotton, in paras. 31 and 32 of his Memorandum, endeavours to refute this by giving a table of the revenues of Tanjore (including the revenue from salt, stamps, &c.) for every year from 1800 to 1857 both inclusive.

72. The Board cannot admit that this table improves Colonel Cotton's case. In the first place, he breaks it up into decennial series, giving the average of each, but omitting to include two of the best years "as they would entirely vitiate the averages." This mode of proceeding is somewhat akin to Mr. Smollett's omission, and is, to say the least, a departure from the professed object of averages,

averages, especially when two years, which would tell against what the party wishes to prove, are omitted from the calculation though entered in the table. In the second place, he brings the table up to 1857, or six years later than the date used in his book, and in this way he expects to refute the Board's statements, which of course could only have reference to the period stated in that book. Lastly, as before observed, statements of the revenue of the whole district are not a fair representation of the effects of the annicuts, which only irrigate parts of the district, and to attribute every rupee of increase derived from the salt, stamps, and spirit taxes to improved irrigation is a fallacy.

73. The Board having thus, as they trust, shown that their report of May 1855 was carefully prepared, with a scrupulous desire to arrive at just conclusions, and to point out the full benefits which have resulted from those most valuable works, and having, as they believe, successfully met every one of Colonel Cotton's objections to that report, must leave it to those who will have to dispose finally of the matter to decide whether the following comments of Colonel Cotton in para. 36 are justifiable.

74. "How can I conclude this paper without expressing my surprise, for I have had too long experience of the strength of caste feelings in the revenue officers to expect a paper from most of them which is free from conclusions arrived at manifestly under the influence of that bias, but my sorrow to see a body of faithful men when called upon solemnly by the Government to give a judicial decision upon a vital point in the question of the management of the country, endeavouring as far as possible to shelter this most wicked attempt to deprive the country of the works upon which not only wealth depends, but life and death."

75. In para. 39, Colonel Cotton says, "Here was an opportunity given to the Board to show that they were above all minor feelings, and when called upon could and would give a manly, conscientious, and unmistakable verdict in a case so vitally affecting the welfare of millions."

76. The Board purposely avoided assuming the position of a judge between two contending parties. They saw that the assertions of neither would stand the test of that investigation which the Government directed them to make, and their report was for the information of Government, and not to enable either pamphleteer to claim the award of accuracy. It was to the instructions of Government and not to the expectations of Messrs. Cotton and Smollett that they paid attention; and their instructions were as follows:—"The Board are aware that the correctness of the accounts given by Colonel Cotton in his publication have been impugned, and other writers have argued that the large returns anticipated from the outlay on these works have not been or cannot be realised. It is with a view of clearing up all doubts on this subject, so far as it is possible, that the Government have called for these reports, and it is, therefore, of the utmost importance that their accuracy should be rigidly tested by the Board both in the Revenue and Public Works Department." *

77. The Board cannot but think that any one reading their report will perceive that they have set forth most unreservedly the great success of the works of irrigation in Tanjore, especially the annicuts constructed by Colonel Cotton, but the offence taken by him seems to be that they did not go far enough in their eulogies of him, or their condemnation of his adversary.

78. As to entering into the general subject of the advantage of a liberal outlay on public works, the whole matter had been lately most fully and ably discussed in the First and Second Reports of the Public Works Commissioners, and the Board were not called upon to undertake what would have been a work of supererogation, however much it might have been in accordance with Colonel Cotton's wishes.

79. In para. 41, Colonel Cotton refers to Mr. Smollett's written assertion that the Godavery Annicut was a "gigantic swindle," and thus proceeds:—"This is the ground taken up by the gentlemen whom the Board endeavour to shelter; was

* At this time the Public Works Department was connected with the Board of Revenue.

was it too much to expect that a body of conscientious men would in an honest, manly, and conscientious manner express what is most assuredly their real opinion." * * "They know the truth of the case, and they write a long report calculated as far as possible to shelter the party which holds the view they know to be the false one. Can we be surprised if shortly gentlemen, who brought to a decisive test of this sort, utterly fail, are set aside, and other agents are sought for to carry out God's purposes of mercy to India?"

80. The Board do not know exactly what construction to put on Colonel Cotton's prophecy as to their being set aside; but with regard to this exhibition of petulancy, they have only to observe that the expression used by Mr. Smollett occurs in a pamphlet bearing date 30th June 1856, or more than a year after they had submitted their report. No such expression is to be found in the pamphlet, to which their attention was directed by Government. It was not possible, therefore, that the Board could have seen it, or tacitly admitted its truth.

81. With the same disregard of dates Colonel Cotton says in para. 44, "There is one passage in Mr. Smollett's pamphlet which I am surprised the Board do not notice. It seems to me that they might heartily have supported him in that without any suspicion of their motives, and that is where Mr. Smollett recommends that I should receive a grant of maniem land of 2,000 acres in the Delta of the Godavery." * * "Such a proposal seems to me unexceptionable, and it seems to offer a good opening for the Board to express their further approval of Mr. Smollett's views." However Mr. Smollett's ridicule might have provoked Colonel Cotton, it is only necessary to observe as regards the Board's possible view of it that it appears in the pamphlet above referred to which was written a year after the Board's report. Colonel Cotton might, therefore, in this case, as well as the other, have spared himself his remarks.

82. In conclusion, the Board assure Government that they have felt it imperative upon them to correct the mistakes into which Colonel Cotton has fallen regarding their report, but they have returned to the subject with reluctance. It is far more satisfactory to them, as their records show, to advocate the cause of hydraulic improvements than to enter into controversies regarding their precise value. The present discussion is, however, not of their seeking, and they must deplore any obstacles which are likely to retard the spread of public works, whether they arise from the attacks of open assailants or from doubts occasioned by the exaggerated statements of over sanguine partisans.

83. With respect to the Coleroon annicuts the Board took pains to prove that those works had yielded to Government a profit of no less than 118 per cent. on the capital expended in their construction, besides rendering the revenue of the Tanjore Delta more secure and adding largely to the wealth and prosperity of that province. Colonel Cotton is so little satisfied with this result as to accuse the Board not of mere inaccuracy, but of an unfair bias and a wish to suppress the truth. They, however, feel thorough confidence in the general correctness of their report, and believe that the results noted in it will be considered as sufficiently testifying to Colonel Cotton's skill, and sufficiently encouraging for Government to persevere in improving the irrigation of the country.

(signed) *E. Maltby.*
Madras, 5 June 1858. *W. H. Bayley.*

No. 23.

From *G. N. Taylor*, Esq., Acting Collector of South Arcot, to *W. H. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, Fort St. George.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for submission to Government, a short paper which I have written in correction of certain statements and figures occurring in para. 16 of a memorandum published by Colonel Arthur Cotton, on the causes of a recent breach in a branch of the Godavery Annicut.

2. Colonel

2. Colonel Cotton's pamphlet is, I believe, an official paper and printed copies have been circulated to public officers in every district of the Presidency. I refrain from entering into any discussion on the subject of which he writes in the paragraph alluded to, but it has appeared to me proper to bring to notice officially the errors into which he has fallen in regard to the revenues of the Sub-division of Rajahmundry.

I have, &c.

South Arcot, Collector's Cutcherry, Cuddalore, 31 May 1858.

(signed) *G. N. Taylor*,
Acting Collector.

MEMORANDUM.

Colonel Cotton's printed memorandum on the late breach in the Godavery annicut having reached me only within the last few days, I have been unable to take earlier notice of the remarks which he has been led to make regarding the increase of revenue in the Sub-division of Rajahmundry. I have no intention to discuss in this place the merits of the settlement which is called in question by Colonel Cotton, but I desire to correct the erroneous impressions which his observations, evidently written under great misapprehension, are calculated to convey.

In para. 16 of the paper in question, after stating that the present officiating Sub-Collector had shown him a letter prohibiting a departure from the terms of my settlement, Colonel Cotton proceeds to say, "as the whole former revenue was only four lacs, this prevents him (Sub-Collector) from levying more than 40,000 rupees." The inference to be drawn from this statement and from the remarks which follow, clearly is, that the former revenue independently of the annicut was four lacs, and that the present revenue is 4,40,000 rupees, and will continue at the latter figure until the survey. This, however, is far from being the fact. If by former revenue is meant the actual collections realised from the three talooks of the division in former years, the sum of four lacs is rather above the average. On referring to official returns in my possession, I find that the average collections for a series of years before the construction of the annicut, amounted to 3,75,000 rupees, and a paper recently received, gives the average of the last five years of the series (fuslies 1251 to 1255) as only 3,55,000 rupees. In the fusly year 1256, when the annicut was commenced, the collections were, however, a little above four lacs, the average of the succeeding six years (fusly 1257 to 1262) was nearly 4½* lacs, and the actual collections from the three talooks in each successive year since fusly 1262 have been in round numbers, as follows:

	Rs.
Fuslies 1263	4,73,000
„ 1264	4,74,000
„ 1265	5,20,000
„ 1266	5,44,000
„ 1267	5,57,000

The collections of the current fusly (1267) are not yet complete; the figures opposite to that year represent the demand. But as the uncollected balance for fuslies 1265-66 was only a few hundred rupees, there can be little doubt that the demand for fusly 1267 will be similarly realised. The present revenue therefore is 1,17,000 rupees above the limit supposed by Colonel Cotton.

Rs.
5,57,000
4,40,000
1,17,000

The settlement to which exception is now taken was made for fusly 1265, not by an addition of 10 per cent. to the former, but to the present revenue, *i. e.*, the revenue of 1264. It is shown by the above returns that the revenue of the current fusly (1857-58) from the three talooks of the Sub-division is 83,000 rupees in advance of the collections in fusly 1264 (1854-55); 1,10,000 rupees, or nearly 25 per cent., above the average of the six years immediately following the commencement of the annicut; 1,82,000 rupees, or nearly 50 per cent., over the average† former revenue; and a trifle more than two lacs, or 57 per cent. above the average collections from fusly 1251 to 1255. I am not aware of

* 4,47,000.

† 3,75,000.

of any error in the above figures, but believe that the records of the Collector's or the Sub-Collector's office, will prove them to be correct.

With respect to the watered area, it is impossible to determine anything with certainty until a survey is made. Colonel Cotton assumes the watered area of the Sub-division to be 200,000 acres, which, according to district accounts, is about equal to the entire culturable ayacut of the three talooks. His estimate is, I think, in excess of the truth; but assuming it to be correct, as the present collections are nearly two lacs of rupees above the former revenue, the increased teervah is at the rate of one rupee per acre. In advocating a survey, I have so repeatedly pointed out the palpable inaccuracy of the present district accounts, that I have no wish to go over this ground again. I suppose, however, that in the absence of more accurate returns, the revenue officers are compelled to accept the talook and village accounts for what they are worth, to check them by all available means, and to assess accordingly. The difficulty of this process can only be properly understood if we attempt to realise the hopeless confusion into which lands, classes, fields, and teervah must inevitably fall where a village has been rented out in common for a number of years. As the joint rents could not be disturbed until the survey, the object of my settlement was to enhance meanwhile the collective demand upon the ryots in a tangible form; and to secure a gradual increase to the revenue, without depending upon doubtful returns of watered area. I am not in a condition to compare the results with other parts of the Delta, where a different course has been pursued, but so far as the circar lands are concerned, I believe the comparison would not be unfavourable to the sub-division.

G. N. Taylor, Sub-Collector of Rajahmundry,
Cuddalore, 29 April 1858. and Acting Collector of South Arcot.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

(No. 1108.)

EXTRACT from the Minutes of Consultation, under date the 10th August 1858.

READ the following Papers:—

Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, being the Report of Messrs. Maltby & Bayley on the Coleroon Annicuts	(Here enter 21st May 1855, No. 1325.)
Proceedings of Commissioner Northern Circars (Mr. Goldingham), being his Report on the Dowlaishwaram and Kistna Annicuts	(Here enter 9th July 1855, No. 84.)
From Colonel A. Cotton, being his Memorandum on Mr. Goldingham's Report	(Here enter 19th September 1857.)
From Colonel A. Cotton, being his Memorandum on Messrs. Maltby & Bayley's Report	(Here enter 4th March 1858.)
From Mr. Goldingham, reply to Colonel Cotton	(Here enter 22d May 1858, No. 1250.)
From Messrs. Maltby & Bayley, reply to Colonel Cotton	(Here enter 5th June 1858, No. 1247.)
From the Sub-Collector of Rajahmundry and Acting Collector of South Arcot	(Here enter 31st May 1858, No. 23.)

Revenue Diary, 12th Dec. 1854, No. 12.
Revenue Diary, 17th April 1855, Nos. 15 and 16.

Para. 1. In the proceedings above recorded, the Board of Revenue and Mr. Goldingham, late Commissioner in the Northern Circars, furnish in compliance with the requisition of Government contained in extract Minutes Consultation 7th December 1854, No. 1592, information regarding the effects of the Coleroon

roon Annicuts in Tanjore, and Godavery Annicut in Rajahmundry, on the revenues and prosperity of those districts. The circumstances which led to the call for this information, and the object which the Government had in obtaining it, are stated in the resolution of the above date. It might be here briefly mentioned that the correctness of certain statements made by Colonel Arthur Cotton of the Engineers in his book on Public Works in India, regarding the results obtained and expected from the great works of irrigation on the Godavery, the Cauvery, and the Coleroon, which were planned and executed by him, having been impugned, and certain other writers having also argued that the large returns from the outlay on these works had not been, or could not be realised, the Government were most anxious that the matter should be fully investigated and finally set at rest. An opportunity for this purpose offered itself by the receipt of a report, dated 23d September 1854, from Mr. G. N. Taylor, the Sub-Collector of Rajahmundry then in charge of the district, showing the effects of the Godavery Annicut and its subsidiary works upon the general circumstances of the district; but as this report was unaccompanied by any opinion from the Board of Revenue, the Government resolved on having the statements it contained carefully tested. The Sub-Collector's report and statements, with others that had been received from the officers administering the affairs of the Tanjore and Guntoor districts bearing on the subject of the advantages derived from the annicuts in those districts, were accordingly sent to the Board of Revenue, and the Commissioner of the Northern Circars; the Commissioner to report on the results in the districts under his charge as affected by the Godavery and Kistnah Annicuts, and the two other members of the Board of Revenue upon the results in Tanjore and South Arcot, as affected by the Coleroon Annicuts, for the above purpose; and these authorities were informed that as it was intended to publish all these reports for general information, the Government were very desirous that they should exhibit with the strictest accuracy possible, and with the utmost impartiality, the results of the outlay on these important works.

2. The two reports of the Board and of the Commissioner having been forwarded to Colonel Cotton, have elicited the two papers, dated 19th September 1857 and 4th March 1858, and these again have a rejoinder from the Commissioner (who has now removed his seat at the Board of Revenue), dated 22d May 1858, and another from the two members of the Board who reported on the southern districts. It is not the desire of Government to enter into a discussion of the various, and in some instances, conflicting statements contained in these papers; the matter appears to have gone to a sufficient length, and as any further agitation would lead to an interminable controversy, the Government resolve to direct in pursuance of the intention of the order of the 7th December 1854, that the whole of these papers be printed, and copies of the compilation forwarded for the information of the Honourable Court of Directors, who will thus have the opportunity of forming their own opinion of the value of the different statements.

3. The Government have recently received a communication from Mr. G. N. Taylor from South Arcot, the district to which he now stands appointed Acting Collector, in reply on some remarks reflecting on his management of the Subdivision of Rajahmundry, which appear in a printed pamphlet by Colonel Cotton, and designated a "Memorandum on the late breach in the Murdoor section of the Godavery Annicut." As bearing on one of the points in discussion, the Government resolve to have it printed and submitted to the Honourable Court with the other papers.

4. As regards that part of the discussion which relates to the "area under the influence of the Godavery and Kistnah Annicuts, and the returns which should have been obtained from those works," and regarding which there are no absolute data at present, the Government would remark, that in reviewing on a recent occasion a report furnished by the Acting Collector of Masulipatam, on the effects of the two annicuts on the revenues of that district, the Government resolved on deputing a revenue officer to the two districts of Rajahmundry and Masulipatam, for the special purpose of ascertaining, in communication with the district engineers, the actual area irrigated in a certain number of villages under

Cons. 12th March 1858, Nos. 99, 100, and 101.
Cons. 19th March 1858, No. 45.
Cons. 18th May 1858, Nos. 39 and 40.

under the influence of the annicuts and their increased produce. Mr. Dykes has been directed to undertake this duty, and it is to be hoped that his inquiries will set at rest the disputed point.

(True extract.)

(signed) *T. Pycroft,*
Chief Secretary.

(True copies.)

(signed) *W. T. Thornton,*
Secretary, Public Works Department.

India Office, 14 April 1859.

MEAN OOMAID SING.

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 21 February 1854;—*for*,

COPY "of the CORRESPONDENCE between the Court of Directors of the East India Company and the Governor-General of India in Council, between the said Governor-General and his Local Officers, or any other Persons in *India*, and between the said Court of Directors, and any Persons in this Country purporting to act on behalf of *Mean Oomaid Sing*, with reference to the CLAIM of the said *Mean Oomaid Sing* to the CHIEFSHIP of BUGHAT."

East India House,
29 March 1854.

JAMES C. MELVILL.

(*Mr. Isaac Butt.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
11 *April* 1854.

LIST OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Extract India Political Narrative, N. W. P., October, November, and December 1839	3
Extract Political Letter from the Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated 28th April (No. 10) 1841	3
Political Letter from Government of India to the Court of Directors, dated 12th December (No. 18) 1842	4
Extract Political Letter from Court of Directors to Government of India, dated 4th October (No. 30) 1843	4
Letter from the Governor-General to the Court of Directors, dated 14th April (No. 19) 1849	4
Political Letter from the Court of Directors to Governor-General in Council, dated 21st November (No. 37) 1849	6
Extract Foreign Letter from Government of India to the Court of Directors, dated 29th April (No. 18) 1850	7
Extract Foreign Letter from Government of India to the Court of Directors, dated 2d June (No. 17) 1851	7
Extract Political Letter from Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated 19th November (No. 39) 1851	7
Extract Political Letter from Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated 21st September (No. 39) 1853	7
Letter from the Envoy to the Court of Lahore to Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, dated 10th November 1842	7
Letter from the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States to the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, dated 11th January (No. 9) 1849	10
Letter from the Superintendent Hill States to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States, dated 30th December (No. 157) 1848	10
Letter from Secretary Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States to the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, dated 19th January (No. 13) 1849	12
Letter from the Superintendent Hill States to the Secretary to the Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States, dated 11th January (No. 4) 1849	13
Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General to the Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States, dated 26th February (No. 239) 1849	13
Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General, to the Board of Administration, Punjab, dated 20th May (No. 261) 1850	13
Memorial of Mean Oomaid Sing, Cousin to Beejoy Sing, to the Governor-General of India, dated 25th October 1850	14
Office Memorandum, 6th November 1850	14
Petition from the Jemadars of Bughat to the Governor-General of India, dated 25 th October 1850	15
Office Memorandum, 16th November 1850	15
Letter from Messrs. Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn, to J. C. Melvill, Esq., dated 21st July 1851	15
Memorial of Mean Oomaid Singh to the Court of Directors	16
Letter from J. C. Melvill, Esq., to Messrs. Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn, dated 31st July 1851	17
Letter from Messrs. Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn, to J. C. Melvill, Esq., dated 23d December 1851	17
Letter from J. C. Melvill, Esq., to Messrs. Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn, dated 3d January 1852	19
Letter from Messrs. Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn, to J. C. Melvill, Esq., dated 5th January 1852	19
Letter from J. C. Melvill, Esq., to Messrs. Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn, dated 19th February 1852	19

East India House, 29 March 1854.

T. L. Peacock,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

COPY of the CORRESPONDENCE between the Court of Directors of the East India Company and the Governor-General of India in Council, between the said Governor-General and his Local Officers, or any other Persons in *India*, and between the said Court of Directors and any Persons in this Country purporting to act on behalf of *Mean Oomaid Sing*, with reference to the CLAIM of the said *Mean Oomaid Sing* to the CHIEFSHIP of BUGHAT.

EXTRACT India Political Narrative, North Western Provinces; October, November, and December 1839.

77. RANA MOHUNDUR SING, chief of the Hill State of Bughat, demised on the 11th July 1839, without direct heir, and as there appeared in the present case no special reason for deviating from the rule by which jagheers and other maafee tenures lapse to the State on failure of heirs entitled to succeed to them, the estate was authorized to be sequestrated. Subathoo.

78. The annual revenue of the estate is estimated at *Rs.* 2,855. 3., out of which pensions to the extent of 1,282 rupees have been assigned to members of the late Rana's family, and all incumbents at present enjoying jagheer or maafee lands have been permitted to retain them during their respective lives.

79. An establishment at a monthly expense of 78 rupees has been sanctioned for the management of the estate.

80. The Political Agent at Subathoo submitted a recommendation that the estate be continued to Beejah Sing, the younger brother of the late Rana (now 60 years of age), during his life, and on condition of his paying an annual tribute of 800 rupees, and guaranteeing pensions to the extent of *Rs.* 1,080. 13. to other members of the family; but there appeared no grounds for adopting Colonel Tapp's suggestion.

81. The Political Agent also submitted a proposal from the Raja of Putteealah to purchase the escheat in question for the sum of 1,50,000 rupees, with a view to re-annex it to the other portion of the Bughat estate, which was sold to him for a lac and 80,000 rupees, shortly after the Hill Provinces had been acquired by us, but the proposition was deemed inadmissible.

EXTRACT Political Letter to India, dated 28 April (No. 10) 1841.

Death of Rana Mahunder Sing, Chief of the Hill State of Bughat, and lapse of that state to Government. Its annual revenue is estimated at *Rs.* 2,855. 3.

45. WE are unable to understand without explanations, which are not given, how this estate can have lapsed to Government when the chief has left a younger brother, and had himself succeeded to the estate by birth, not by adoption; Mr. Metcalfe states that Beeja Sing, the younger brother, never expected, and was never intended, to inherit the estate; but it was not without necessity that the Governor-general called upon Mr. Metcalfe, and the agents at Umballa and Subathoo, for a report (which will of course be transmitted to us) on the rights of collateral heirs in the Hill Provinces, especially as the admission of a distant collateral as successor to the Jheend State is *primâ facie* inconsistent with the decision in the present case.

(No. 18.)

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

DURING my residence at Simla, I received a petition from Bijye Sing, brother of the late Mohundur Sing, of Bughat, claiming as his inheritance the family estate which had been in the possession of his late brother, but appropriated by the British Government on his death.

2. I requested Mr. Clerk to place before me the circumstances of the case, and I have the honour to enclose his letter to Mr. Maddock.

3. I entertained no doubt that Bijye Sing had a just claim to his late brother's estate, and I desired his attendance at Kussowly, which is part of the property, and there informed him that he was placed in possession of his inheritance. Bijye Sing, who is an old man without children, offered the mountain of Kussowly as a nuzzur to the British Government.

4. I declined the offer in that form, but accepted the property for an ample compensation in money which I informed him he should receive.

5. He will receive 5,000 rupees.

6. I subsequently, in order that the act of justice might be complete, desired Mr. Clerk to have the sum paid to Bijjee Sing at once, and likewise the annual value of the whole estate, from the time of Mohundur Sing's death, to which he seemed to me to be equally entitled.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Ellenborough.*

Camp, Ferozepore, 12 December 1842.

EXTRACT Political Letter to India, dated 4 October (No. 30) 1843.

Answer to Political Letter from the Governor-general, dated 12 Dec. (No. 18) 1842.

Restoration of the lapsed Hill Estate of Bughat to Beijee Sing, brother of the late Rana Mohunder Sing.

118. MR. CLERK's report of 10th November 1842, is quite conclusive in favour of the propriety of restoring this petty estate to the family of the late chief, which is in entire conformity with the opinions expressed by us in para. 45 of our political letter dated 28th April (No. 10) 1841.

119. The Governor-general very properly rendered this act of justice complete by making over all the revenues which have accrued since Mohundur Sing's death.

120. The new settlement of Kussowlie, which had been somewhat prematurely formed in the lapsed territory, was offered by Beejee Sing as a nuzzur to the British Government. The Governor-general, in a laudable spirit, declined the offer, but accepted the property for a pecuniary compensation, which has been fixed at 5,000 rupees.

(No. 19.)

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

I HAVE the honour to solicit your instructions, upon a reference made by the Superintendent of the Hill States, through the Chief Commissioner of the Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States, regarding the succession to the chiefship of Bughat, consequent on the death, in January last, of Bijye Sing, the late Rana.

2. There is no direct heir to the estate; the nearest claimant is a cousin of the Rana's, named Omed Sing. Under these circumstances I might have been disposed to entertain the question whether the estate should not be regarded as having lapsed to the British Government; but referring to your Honourable Court's despatch, dated 4th October 1843, No. 30, I observe that you expressed your

your concurrence in the views of Mr. Clerk, stated in 1842, according to which Bijye Sing was recognised as successor to his uterine brother, the former chief; and the tendency of those views seem to be, to allow collateral succession to such chiefships as Bughat in any degree, however remote, that conforms with or is not opposed to the customs of the family or of the tribe.

3. I have therefore thought it right to refer, for your Honourable Court's instructions, the question which has now come before me for determination. I shall be glad to be in early possession of your sentiments upon it. Meanwhile the Superintendent of Hill States has been directed to assume the management of the estate for the present, making a suitable provision for the family not exceeding the net revenues of the country.

4. In referring this particular case for your instructions, I think it proper to point out the expediency of taking into your consideration the general question of escheats in the Hill principalities.

5. These States, which were of trifling importance when they first came under British protection, will rise in value with the extending cultivation of tea. At present, if we wish to establish a tea nursery, or a cantonment, we have to pay for the little patch more than the revenues of the whole state.

6. If the decision of your Honourable Court, in the case of Bijye Sing, is understood to have established a broad rule for admitting the claims of collateral heirs, even in a remote degree of kinsmanship, then there is a distinction made between the Hill States and jagheer tenures in our other provinces, for which, in my opinion, no adequate reasons can be adduced.

Court's Letter, No. 30, of 4th October 1843.

7. In the Koomharsein case, the renewal of the grant in favour of a collateral heir who has rendered services to the British, was perfectly in accordance with the prerogative of the paramount power to resume or continue a lapsed jagheer to other than direct heirs: it did not trench at all upon the general question to which I am adverting, and differed in that respect from Bijye Sing's nomination to the chiefship of Bughat. Mr. Clerk, in advocating Bijye Sing's claims, did not make it a special case. He seemed to base his arguments on two prominent grounds:

Proceeding, 3d July 1839, No. 3 to 6.
" 3d August " 3 to 6.
" *Vide* Coll. No. 54.
Vide paragraphs 54 to 56 of the Honourable Court's Despatch, No. 1 of 1841, dated 1st June.
Proceedings, 8th May 1841.
F. C., 22d March 1843, No. 132, 133.

1st. That when the Hill States were restored to their respective chiefs, the grants were declared to be "renewed from generation to generation."

2d. That it had been the custom among those States, before they came under our power, to recognise the nearest of kin as successor. Mr. Clerk affirmed that there were no uniform Hindoo laws for settling questions of succession, and that the best plan would be to judge each case on its own merits, and to recognise the "prescriptive customs of inheritance."

8. It is questionable whether the term "from generation to generation" admits the claims of collateral heirs. It may fairly be supposed that it restricts the descent to direct issue. It is worthy of notice, that from the wording of several sunnuds, Mr. Metcalfe was of opinion that it was not originally intended that the estates should be continued in other than the direct line.

Nar. Pro. 1841, 11th Nov., No. 25.

9. It is true that the custom of admitting collateral succession alluded to above, was observed during the Goorkha supremacy; but this originated from motives of policy, and not from a deference to the wishes of the conquered. The Goorkhas seldom availed themselves of lapses, because they preferred extracting as much money as they could from these States in the shape of tribute, to taking the management, with all its attendant trouble, into their own hands. It was stated by Mr. Metcalfe and Colonel Tapp, when Bijye Sing's claims were referred to them for their opinions, that the right of the paramount power to resume or continue lapsed jagheers to other than direct heirs, and even to choose successors, had never been questioned in the Hill Provinces.

Nar. Pro. 1839, 9th Oct., No. 10.
Nar. Pro. 1841, 11th Nov., No. 2.

10. Under the above circumstances your Honourable Court may perhaps be disposed to reconsider the question of collateral succession. On the occurrence of a lapse, the entire, or nearly entire revenue at the time of resumption, can be paid in the shape of money pensions to the family of the deceased chief.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Dalhousie.*

Camp, Right Bank of Sirsa,
14 April 1849.

(No. 37.)

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

Our Governor-General of India in Council.

Succession to the Chiefship of Bughat.

Para. 1. IN a letter in the Foreign Department, dated 14th April (No. 19) 1849, the Governor-general requests our instructions on the question of succession to the Hill Chiefship of Bughat, in consequence of the death of Bijye Sing, the late Rana.

2. This estate formed part of a much larger chiefship which existed previously to 1814. In consequence of the unfriendly conduct of the chief at that time towards the British Government, the whole territory was, on the expulsion of the Goorkhas, confiscated, but subsequently a small portion of it was restored to the Rana, Mahendur Sing, under a new sunnud, granting it to him and his heirs from generation to generation.

3. In 1839 he died, without legitimate male issue, and the then Government considered the estate to have become an escheat, the person who derived his title from the British Government having left no direct heirs; it was accordingly resumed, and held in our possession from 1839 to 1842.

4. Doubts, however, were expressed by us as to the propriety of the resumption, and the question was referred by Lord Ellenborough for the opinion of Sir George Clerk, then envoy at the court of Lahore; on whose report, dated 10th November 1842, Lord Ellenborough reversed the decision of the former Government, and recognised the succession of Bijye Sing, the younger brother of the deceased; of this decision we expressed our approval.

5. In January last Bijye Sing died, also having no direct heir; Mr. Edwards, the Superintendent of Hill States, submitted the claim to the succession advanced by Omed Sing (a first cousin of the late chiefs, Mahendur Sing and Bijye Sing), who, as he stated, "was regarded by the people as the heir to the chiefship, and appears from his character and abilities to be in every way fitted for the position." The Governor-general, however, has assumed the management of the territory pending a reference to us, and had it not been for the previous decision with respect to the estate, his Lordship would have considered it as a lapse to the British Government; his Lordship has at the same time referred for our decision and orders the whole subject of escheats in the Hill principalities.

6. With respect to the general question, we are not prepared at present to lay down any rule; we shall therefore content ourselves with deciding the case immediately under consideration.

7. In the war against the Goorkhas, the Chief of Bughat adhered to our opponents, and his estate came into our possession by conquest; the portion, therefore, which we thought fit to restore to him, he must be considered to have held by virtue of the new grant; and his family can claim no rights in excess of those which the terms of the sunnud conceded to them.

8. We are therefore of opinion that the succession to Bughat could only be claimed by the direct descendants of Mahendur Sing; that the admission of his brother, Bijye Sing, was an indulgence, and that by the death of both brothers without legitimate issue the estate has lapsed to Government.

9. We leave it to your judgment, with reference to the feelings of the people, and as a question of general expediency, either to annex the estate to our territories, or to grant it by a new sunnud to Omed Sing, subject to such a tribute, and to such other conditions of any kind as may be consistent with the respectability of the family and with the credit of our own Government.

10. Should you resume the estate, you will make an adequate provision for all relatives and dependents who have an equitable claim on it.

We are, &c.
(signed) *A. Galloway*,
J. Shepherd,
&c. &c.

London, 21 November 1849.

EXTRACT Foreign Letter from India, dated 29 April (No. 18) 1850.

102. UNDER the consideration of the Governor-general at present.

Letter from, dated 21st November (No. 37) 1849, communicating instructions on the question of succession to the Hill Chiefship of Bughat.

EXTRACT Foreign Letter from India, dated 2 June (No. 17) 1851.

1850.
Cons. 14 June, No. 98.
Cons. 15 Nov. No. 100 & 101.
Cons. 29 Nov. No. 202 & 203.

123. UNDER the discretion vested by your Honourable Court in the letter dated 21st November, No. 37, of 1849, the Governor-general resolved to treat the Bhugat estate as a lapse to Government; the Board of Administration was requested to issue orders to that effect, making at the same time an adequate provision for all relations and dependents of the late Raja who may have an equitable claim upon it. His Lordship has been informed that no objection existed to immediate annexation, and that the feelings of the people would be consulted in bringing them under British rule.

124. Petitions were presented by Meeah Oomed Sing complaining of having been dispossessed of the Bughat estate, and by certain inhabitants of that estate praying that it might be restored to Oomed Sing; but they were informed that the decision in the case was final.

EXTRACT Political Letter to India, dated 19 November (No. 39) 1851.

14. YOU will not fail to make a liberal provision for the relatives and dependents of the late Raja of Bughat.

Letter, dated 2 June (No. 17) 1851. (123, 124). Under the discretionary authority granted by Court, the Bughat estate has been declared a lapse to Government.

EXTRACT Political Letter to India, dated 21 September (No. 39) 1853.

5. THE pensions assigned to the various members and connexions of the late Rana's family are liberal; but those individuals, with a few exceptions, refuse to accept them. You have fixed a period of two years, after which, if the pensions be applied for, no arrears will be granted. Bughat.

(No. 451½.)

From the Envoy to the Court of Lahore, to *T. H. Maddock*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.

Sir,

THE Governor-general having put into my hands the petition of the widows of Mohindur Singh of Bughat, and the petition of Bijjee Singh, the brother of Mohindur Singh, and having desired me to report upon them, I have the honour to submit the following observations:

Mohindur Singh, of Bughat, died on the 11th July 1839. His estate was considered an escheat to the British Government. He left a brother, and he left wives; these claim the restoration of Mohindur Singh's small chiefship, yielding about 1,500 rupees a-year net revenue. There appear to be no rival pretensions between these parties, the widows advocating the cause of their husband's brother.

Colonel Tapp, in his report on this case (11th September 1839) terms these Hill States jageers, and the term has been since applied by others to them. I do not regard them in the light of jageers, or the rules relating to jageers as at all applicable to them. A jageer is an assignment of part of the revenues of the state, frequently for services to be performed, and is neither alienable nor hereditary. The Hill Chiefships are territories conquered by these chiefs some six centuries ago, invaded by the Goorkhas, who in some cases occupied them, in others relinquished them to the rightful owners; and wrested from the Goorkhas by the British, who, previous to making the attempt, called upon all the chiefs by

written proclamation, to aid in the recovery of their own possessions; and finally, in restoring them, declared the grant to be "renewed" (*az sir-ir-no*) "from generation to generation" (*nuslun bād nuslun*). I deem that our views towards these Hills were then one thing, and our view now a very different one; and it is this inconsistency, caprice, and mutability in our opinions, regarding all great principles, that is the bane of our supremacy in India. Colonel Tapp, in advocating the escheat, admits that "the Hindoo law of inheritance generally holds good in these Hills" (meaning Hill principalities); but this cannot be, because the Hindoo law of inheritance relates only to private property. If this position were correct, there would be little need, one would suppose, for the British Government to be devising rules. Colonel Tapp, however, might have said that the general rule from time immemorial has been, for these Hill Chiefships to descend entire to the nearest of kin; and this, too, should suffice to relieve the British Government from the necessity for introducing other rules.

Mr. Erskine, when called upon for a report on rules of inheritance, commences by affirming (30th September 1841) that "the paramount power is invariably considered to possess the right of exercising its own judgment in admitting or rejecting the claims of collateral heirs to a state or jagheer, where the reigning chieftain may have died without legitimate issue." It is, then, inferred that Bughat "is a fair unexceptionable lapse," because "Mohindur Singh's conduct in the Goorkha war was such as to forfeit all claim to indulgence." This reasoning is open to some objections, 1st. It is not a jageer; 2dly. There are heirs of a degree deemed legitimate for all kinds of inheritance all over Hindostan; and 3dly. Mohindur Singh paid the forfeit of his omissions, in the transfer, to his vigilant greedy neighbour, of a proportion of his ancestral domain, estimated at three-fourths of the whole.

In the present case it was not, I conceive, the intention of Sir David Ochterlony to exclude collateral heirs from the succession. It was Mohindur Singh personally who had been neglectful; his having previously married his daughter to the Goorkha general, Ummur Singh Thappa, was enough to cause some backwardness on his part in co-operating with us; still a portion of his ancestral territory was restored to him "from generation to generation." I doubt the benevolence of this grant was rather out of consideration for the family generally, which would have been otherwise destitute, than for the delinquent himself. But he no sooner dies than, in order to constitute it an escheat, the grant is construed as limited to himself, because he leaves no heir nearer than an uterine brother.

These Hill Chiefs are extremely ignorant, and often brutal; they have yet scarce had the means of acquiring the knowledge that should make them better. They tremble at our standard of fitness for princes, which they hear is very high, and feel it very capricious, varying with the dispositions of the British officers connected with them. But a just Government, in the exercise of its paramountry, should assign a long period for amendment, during the operation of its most fostering care, before it measures the crimes of its barbarous allies by its own standard of morality.

The proper punishment for the paramount state to inflict for gross mismanagement and oppression, such as prevails to a considerable extent in these Hills, would be sequestration of the chieftaincies; but this would not be fair until we had revived their interest in their ancestral territories, by our manifesting the same respect for their rights, founded on a possession of many centuries, as is entertained by the people in general. Could we inspire them with confidence in our general disinterestedness, our severity, when called for, would be rightly and beneficially understood; and, for the most part, that confidence would correct the motives to neglectful or tyrannical conduct requiring punishment.

I have for some years had under my charge the three principal Hill States between the Sutlej and Jumna, bordering on the plains, and I have occasionally been deputed on duty still further within the Hills. I have almost everywhere observed signs of deterioration—the poorest peasantry; extensive tracts, thrown out of cultivation half a century ago on the Goorkha invasion, still lying waste; and the chiefs screwing the utmost out of the lands and people as they are. Enquiries have suggested to me no other cause for this but in the apprehension of the vigilance, benevolence or avidity, of the British Government (for our encroachments are described by us by all these epithets, according to our opinions at the time). I omit further allusion to the Goorkha dominion. It was a period of strong universal military dominion, new and distressing. But previous to that, these

these chiefs, of the highest caste originally in Rajwara and Bundelcund, and subsequently of many centuries as rulers here, had felt perfectly secure in their Hills from any interference on the part of the strongest of the Mahomedan governments of Dehlee, to the degree of ejecting their dynasties. They served the empire, one with a quota of horse (for a money allowance), another with ice, another with beautiful brides and slave girls, but as long as they fulfilled all reasonable demands of the empire, they never felt an apprehension that a continuance of their immemorial customs, many of which we call vices, and mark for punishment, would draw attention to their domestic administration, or be regarded as faults to be dealt with by the paramount State. Hence they regarded their people as their children, and improved their lands, and laid out money in advances to cultivators, and fed them in times of drought and famine. Now, on the contrary, they feel most insecure, first, in their knowledge that we deem Suttee, female infanticide, witchcraft, and poison, downright crimes; and secondly, in the apprehension that, do what they will to prevent abominations of such a complexion, there is still an indefinite extent of our moralities which can be conveniently stretched, in order to allege the infraction of some of them, for the transfer of territories to our grasp. And thus they grind and hoard treasure, to provide means of resistance, or bribes, or flight, as the times may be when the encroachment comes. At the time of the last hard year, I had occasion to pass through these Hills, and I noted that the only chief who opened his granary and treasury to assist his zumeendars, was the Chief of Kotaba, a Mahomedan of the plains, to whose father Sir David Ochterlony gave the Hill district of Mornee, for his zealous co-operation, to the extent of his humble means, when the general called on him for a quota of troops during the Goorkha war.

Thus are our notions of escheat in respect to the domains of these chiefs (notions borrowed from I know not where, certainly not from our country or from theirs) detrimental to this region, by alienating its chiefs from its people. Those of the former class, who have no direct heirs, look upon their chieftaincy as a mere life tenure; and those who have, are little more at ease, because they fully comprehend that our appropriating their estates at all arises, not from any fixed ideas upon the subject of heirdom, but from the desire to get all we can under our direct dominion. They consequently apprehend that pretexts may be found to further our schemes, even where lineal heirs exist, and they know that whatever the British Government desires to do in India, with the rights of the people, it sooner or later does it.

The annexed copy of a report upon one of these States, may serve to illustrate some points to which I have adverted. It was written after my deputation to inquire into the condition of Keonthul.

I have observed, in the Bughat correspondence, a confounding together of things which bear no analogy. What has the decision of the Jeend case, or any other Sikh inheritance, to do with the ancient customs of these Rajpoots? Shortly before our connexion with the Sikhs they were mere associations of robbers, a mixture from all castes, destitute of any interest or property in the soil; and without any law but the sword. On the other hand, the customs of the Rajpoots are so ancient and so comprehensive, that it seems folly or worse for us to dictate rules for their inheritance of real property, except in cases between rival parties claiming our arbitration.

But, after all, it is hunting after a shadow to search for laws of inheritance to chiefships here, or elsewhere in India, so fixed as the Government desires to obtain. The inheritance often descended amid anarchy; the sword, the dagger, or the poison cup sometimes varied and determined a succession. The Hindoo law, which is so comprehensive regarding rights in private property, provides not distinctly for chiefships. It is not fair, therefore, to desire a claimant to support his pretensions by adducing fixed laws. We should be content to recognise their prescriptive customs of inheritance; to arbitrate dispassionately between rival claimants; to judge every case requiring interposition on its own merits, abandoning the vain hope of introducing uniformity throughout provinces and classes differing essentially in their customs and prejudices; and to prevent that minute and ruinous subdivision of landed property which speedily follows on our aversion to see native chiefships maintained in respectability.

I have, &c.
(signed) *George Clerk*, Envoy.

Envoy's Office, Camp, Simla,
10 November 1842.

(No. 9.)

From *John Inglis*, Esq., Secretary to the Honourable the Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States, to *H. M. Elliot*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, with the Governor-General.

Sir,

I AM directed by the Honourable the Chief Commissioner to forward, for the information and orders of the Right honourable the Governor-general of India, the accompanying copy of a despatch from the Superintendent Hill States, No. 157, dated 30th December 1848.

2. The Chief Commissioner considers, under the circumstances stated, the proposition of Mr. Edwards to be judicious, and recommends that Omeid Sing be acknowledged as the successor to the chiefship of Bughat on the demise of the present Rana Beejah Sing.

I have, &c.

Lahore, 11 January 1849. (signed) *John Inglis.*

(No. 157.)

From *W. Edwards*, Esq., Superintendent Hill States, to *J. F. D. Inglis*, Esq., Secretary to the Honourable the Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States.

Sir,

THE advanced age and great infirmity of Beejah Sing, the present Rana of Bughat, appear to me to render it advisable to bring the circumstances of that small principality to the notice of the Honourable the Chief Commissioner, in order that his Honor may take into his consideration the measures to be adopted in the very probable event of the chief's early demise.

2. The state of Bughat, originally consisting of nine purgunnahs, yielding an annual revenue of 19,000 rupees, was, on the first establishment of the British power in these Hills, held by Rana Mahendur Sing.

3. This chief having connected himself by marriage with the Goorkha leader, Kajee Ummur Sing, refused to avail himself of the terms of the general proclamation issued by Government in 1814, to all the Hill Chiefs, promising them, on condition of their espousing British interests, protection against the Goorkhas, and guaranteeing them restoration to and confirmation in their ancestral possessions, rights, and privileges, but persisted in maintaining his connexion with the Goorkha power, and in refusing to listen to the overtures made to him by the British General Sir David Ochterlony.

4. To mark its sense of the Rana's unfriendly conduct, the British Government, on the expulsion of the Goorkhas, resolved at first that the entire territory of Bughat should be confiscated.

5. Subsequently, however, these orders were modified, and four pergunnahs out of the original nine, estimated to yield 4,000 rupees per annum, were directed to be made over to Mahendur Sing, for the maintenance of himself and family, and the remaining five pergunnahs were transferred to the Maharaja of Puttiala, in lieu of a nuzzerana of one lac of rupees. A sunnud was granted to Rana Mahendur Sing, confirming to himself and his heirs for ever the above-mentioned four pergunnahs upon certain conditions therein detailed.

6. In July 1839, Rana Mahendur Sing died without male issue, and there appearing no special reason why the rule that all jagheers and maafee tenures, on failure of direct heirs, are to lapse to the paramount power, should in the instance of Bughat be departed from, that state, under the orders of the Government of India, dated 9th October 1839, was declared an escheat, and resumed accordingly, a certain

a certain amount of jagheer and pensions being secured to the family and dependents of the deceased Mahendur Sing.

7. Bughat remained under British management until 1842, when the brother, widows and relatives of the late Rana presented a petition to the then Governor-general, Lord Ellenborough, praying that the state might be restored to Beejah Sing, the uterine brother of the late Rana.

8. The petition was referred by the Governor-general for report to Sir George Clerk, then envoy to the Court of Lahore.

9. That officer, in his reply, dated the 10th November 1842, stated his opinion that the Hill States, and Bughat among the rest, were erroneously considered in the light of jagheers, and that the rules relating to jagheers were not consequently applicable to them. Jagheers being assignments of part of the revenues of the state, frequently for services to be performed, and neither alienable nor hereditary; whereas the Hill chiefships consisted of territories conquered by these chiefs some centuries back, which were subsequently invaded by the Goorkhas, and wrested from these latter by the British Government, who, previous to making the attempt, called upon all the chiefs of the Hills, by written proclamation, to aid in the recovery of their own possessions. These states were ultimately restored by the British Government to their original possessors, under new sunnuds, which distinctly declared the grants to be " renewed" (*uz sir-ino*) " from generation to generation."

10. Sir George Clerk further stated it to be his opinion, that the British agent, Sir David Ochterlony, on first making the grant of four pergunnahs to Mahendur Sing, did not intend to exclude collateral heirs from the succession, for the grant was rather out of consideration for the Rana's family generally, than for himself, as he deserved no indulgence at the hands of the British Government. The envoy further remarked, that there happened to be, in the present instance, an heir existing of a degree deemed legitimate for all kinds of inheritance all over Hindoostan, viz. an uterine brother, and that therefore Bughat should be made over to him.

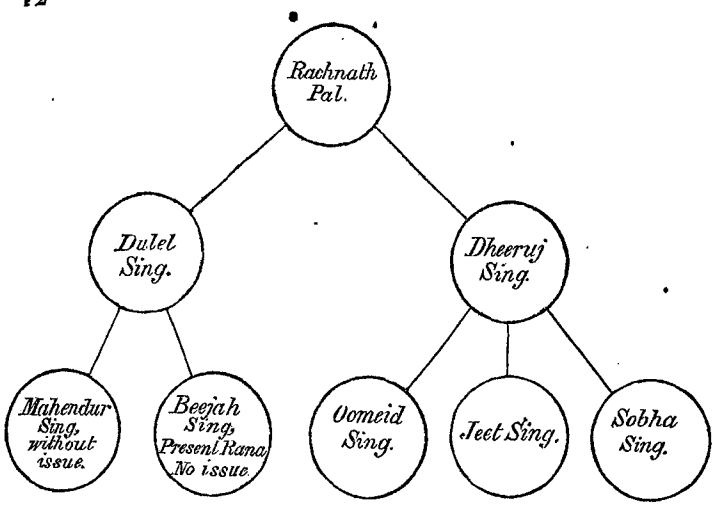
11. The Governor-general acquiescing in the view taken by Sir George Clerk, informed that officer, in Mr. Assistant-Secretary Edwards' despatch of the 18th November 1842, that the Bughat State should never have been withheld from the brother of the late Rana, and that his Lordship intended that it should be restored to him, together with the entire revenues realized therefrom during the period of its resumption by the British Government.

12. In accordance with these instructions, the four pergunnahs of Bughat, valued at the time of their restoration at 7,000 rupees per annum, were, in May 1843, made over to Rana Beejah Sing.

13. At the same time it was agreed, that the Rana should make over to the British Government for a European cantonment, the Hill of Keessowlie, receiving as an equivalent for the same 5,000 rupees, a sum which was considered greatly to exceed its value.

14. From the date of its restoration up to the present time, Rana Beejah Sing has continued in undisturbed possession of the state, realising the revenue at which the lands were assessed by the British Government on their restoration to him. He has however bestowed a large portion of the country in jagheer, upon members of his deceased brother's family.

15. The Rana has no legitimate son, but as the Supreme Government has admitted the right of collateral heirs to succeed to these Hill principalities, and as the principle has been acted upon in the instance of Kyhloor and also of Bughat, I beg to lay before the Honourable the Chief Commissioner the claims of Meean Omeid Sing to succeed to the chiefship on the death of his cousin, the present Rana.



16. From the genealogical tree inserted in the margin, the Honourable the Chief Commissioner will perceive the position in which Omeid Sing stands to the present chief; and as this person is regarded by the people as the heir to the chiefship, and as he appears, from his character and abilities, to be in every way fitted for the position, I would recommend, that on the present Rana's demise I may be authorised to nominate Omeid Sing as his successor, and to place him at once on the guddee.

17. I am led to make the above recommendation, because the Bugdalee Ranee, widow of Mahendur Sing, the former Rana, has a natural son, whose claims to succeed to the chiefship she is constantly urging, declaring that she has a written promise to that effect from Beejah Sing, the present Rana. I consider it probable, that as she has a considerable party in her favour in the state, she may, on the demise of the present chief, unless the question of succession be at once decided, endeavour to create a disturbance in the state, with the view of securing the succession to her child.

18. This Ranee has a money-pension allowed to her from the Bughat State, under the orders of the Government, amounting to 261 rupees per annum. Of this amount she has hitherto received 100 rupees in money, and three villages instead of the remainder; but her intrigues have been lately so constant, and she has given so much anxiety to the Rana, that he has, with my permission, resumed the three villages, and pays into this Treasury the total amount of the Ranee's pension, in order that she may not have any longer any ostensible reason for interfering in the affairs of the Bughat State, or to carry on intrigues, which she would have continued to do, so long as she held jagheers therein, or were permitted to reside upon them.

I have, &c,
(signed) *W. Edwards,*
30 December 1848. Superintendent Hill States.

(No. 13.)

From *John Inglis*, Esq., Secretary Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States, to *H. M. Elliot*, Esq., Secretary to Government of India with the Governor-General.

Sir,

No. 4, dated 11 January 1849.

In continuation of the Chief Commissioner's letter, dated 11th instant (No. 9), suggesting the expediency of acknowledging Oomed Sing as the successor to the chiefship of Bughat, I am desired by his Honour to forward, for the information and orders of the Right honourable the Governor-general, the copy of a letter from the Superintendent Hill States, reporting the death of Rana Bejey Singh.

I have, &c.
19 January 1849. (signed) *J. Inglis.*

(No. 4.)

From *W. Edwards*, Esq., Superintendent Hill States, to *J. F. D. Inglis*, Esq., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States, Lahore.

Sir,

With reference to my despatch to your address relative to the affairs of the Bughat State, I have the honour to report, for the information of the honourable the Chief Commissioner, the demise, on the 9th instant, of Rana Bejey Singh. No. 157, dated 30 December 1848.

2. In consequence of this event, it appears desirable that I should be favoured at an early date with the views of Government relative to this small State.

I have, &c.

Simla, 11 January 1849. (signed) *W. Edwards.*

(No. 239.)

From the Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General to Lieutenant-Colonel Sir *H. M. Lawrence*, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States.

Sir,

The Governor-general has had under consideration Mr. Inglis's letters, No. 9 and 13, dated respectively the 11th and 19th ultimo, regarding the succession to the chiefship of Bughat consequent on the death of Bijye Sing, the late Rana, and recommending Oomeid Sing, a cousin of the deceased, as the successor.

2. In reply, I am directed to inform you that a reference on the above question has been made to the Honourable the Court of Directors. In the meanwhile, his Lordship requests that you will direct the Superintendent of Hill States to take the management of Bughat for the present into his own hands, till the pleasure of the Court is known, making a suitable provision for the family not exceeding the net revenue.

I have, &c.

Camp, Ferozepore, 26 February 1849. (signed) *H. M. Elliot.*

Extract Fort William Foreign Consultation, 14 June 1850.

(No. 261.) No. 98.

From Sir *Henry Elliot*, K.C.B., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General to the Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjab.

Sirs,

With reference to my letter to the address of the Chief Commissioner Cis- and Trans-Sutlej States, No. 239, dated 26th February 1849, requesting that officer to direct the Superintendent Hill States to take the management of the Bughat estate into his own hands, pending the orders of the Honourable Court, and to make a suitable provision for the family of the late Bijye Sing, I am desired to acquaint you that the reply of the Honourable Court to the reference then made to them has been received. Acting upon the discretion vested in him by those orders, the Most Noble the Governor-general has resolved to treat the estate as a lapse to Government, and you are requested to issue orders to that effect, making at the same time an adequate provision for all relations and dependents of the late Raja who have an equitable claim upon it. His Lordship is given to understand that no objection exists to immediate annexation, and that the feelings of the people would be consulted in bringing them under British rule.

I have, &c.

Simla, 20 May 1850. (signed) *H. M. Elliot.*

EXTRACT Fort William Foreign Consultation, 15 November 1850.

No. 100.

To the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

The humble Memorial of *Meeah Oomeid Sing*, Cousin to Beejoy Sing, late Rana of Bhughat in the Agency of Simla.

Most humbly showeth,

THAT your Lordship's memorialist most humbly begs to take the liberty of submitting his deplorable circumstances before your Lordship, in hopes of obtaining redress. Your Lordship's memorialist is the son of Dheeruj Sing, who was paternal uncle to Mahendra Sing, Rana of Beghaut. Mahendra Sing died in 1839 without issue, so that the State of Beghaut was taken by the British Government for a period of more than three years, but afterwards the Guddee of Beghaut was conferred upon Beejoy Sing, who was younger brother to Rana Mahendra Sing, and apparent heir to the State, and thus a sunnud was granted to the late Beejoy Sing in 1843, under the signature of the Honourable J. C. Erskine, late sub-commissioner of these States. Rana Beejoy Sing died on the 3d of January 1849, leaving no issue. Your Lordship's memorialist is the cousin of the late Rana, that is, the son of the Dheruj Sing, who was paternal uncle to the late Beejoy Sing. After the death of Beejoy Sing your Lordship's memorialist had had orders from the Superintendent of the protected Hill States, W. Edwards, Esq., to manage the affairs of the State regularly, that is, in the same way as his cousin Beejoy Sing has been doing, and your Lordship's memorialist was executing all orders of Government with zeal and obedience, but after a lapse of three months an ameen was sent to Beghaut for the management of all duties, and subsequently the State was taken from your Lordship's memorialist on the plea that he has no right claim for the State in question. But your Lordship's humble memorialist most respectfully begs to say that Government has never disappointed any apparent heir from his claim but your memorialist. In want of direct descendant the British Government has on many similar cases been pleased to sanction the installation to guddees to the nearest relations of the deceased chiefs, such as Billaspore, Khoomarsain, and many others; but your memorialist being the cousin to Rana Beejoy Sing deceased, was deprived of the guddee, which is only novel to your memorialist, and as he can claim, both in accordance of Hindoo laws and religion and in there having been no precedent, so he hopes your Lordship will be graciously pleased to inquire on your memorialist's case, and should his declarations be just and right, your Lordship will be pleased to restore to him his rightful State.

Major-general Sir D. Ochterlony has granted to the Raja of Pettealah five pergunnas from Bughaut; the remaining pergunnas were only adequate to yielding a common support for so large a family; the restoration of these pergunnahs will oblige the whole family to pray for your Lordship's grace and prosperity.

And your memorialist, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Simla, 25 October 1850.

No. 101.

ORDERED, That the following Office Memorandum be issued:

No. 2416.—FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM.

READ a petition from Meeah Oomed Sing, dated 25th October 1850, complaining of having been dispossessed of the Bughat estate.

Ordered, that the petitioner be informed that the decision in his case is final.

(signed) *E. C. Bayley,*
Under Secretary to the Government of India
with the Governor-General.

Camp, Gurshunker, 6 November 1850.

EXTRACT Fort William Foreign Consultation, 29 November 1850.

PETITION from the Jemadars of Bughat to the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India. No. 202.

Humbly showeth,

OH! our Lord,—That your poor petitioners, being hopeless no remedy of any other, they humbly beg leave their deplorable case before your Lordship as following. *Sic orig.*

That the Rannah Beejoy Sing, of Bughat, when he was dead, during which time his brother Omed Sing, been protected the state of Bughat, by order of the Superintendent Hill State of Simla, also an order by the Superintendent Hill States, "on the Meah Oomed Sing, you do not fear, I have reported to the Government for you."

Oh! our Lord, after three months the Superintendent Hill States has appointed an ameen on the above State, and entirely given an order to Meah Oomed Sing, and proclamation purwanahs on the Bughat, that the late Rannah Beejoy Sing's state taken possession of by the Government could not get the state of his brother, Meah Oomed Singh.

Oh! our Lordship, we were never heard nor seen in the Hill Country during the time of the Honourable Company's possession in this present state on the Meah Oomed Singh, of Rannah of Bughat.

Oh! our Lord, where can we give an example as "That the present Raja of Belaspore he is a relation of the late Raja Khurug Chund, about five poostan from the late Raja Khuriuj Chund, between Juggut Chund and a Rannah Koomar Sain, about seven poostan between the late Rannah Kehere Sing and Preetun Sing, how can they their relations state, and why not yet Beejoy Singh's state, Meah Oomed Singh, because it is very surprising that the Beejoy Sing's and Meeah Oomed Sing's father, they are two brothers, named elder Rannah Dallell Sing, and younger Meah Dhin Sing. Beejoy Sing, the son of Rannah Dallel Sing, and Meah Oomed Sing, the son of Meah Dhow Sing. Oh! our Lord and God, it is considerable, and we hope your Lordship will bestow kindness upon poor Meah Oomed Sing by your Christian justice towards that poor Meah and the jummundars of Bughat, by which Meah Oomed Sing to have the state of Bughat, and he shall ever pray for your Lordship's long life. *Sic orig.*

25 October 1850.

ORDERED, That the following Office Memorandum be issued:

No. 2597.—FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

OFFICE MEMORANDUM.

READ a petition from certain inhabitants of the Bughat estate, dated the 25th ultimo, praying that that estate may be restored to Meah Oomed Sing. No. 203.

Ordered, that the petitioners be informed in reply to the above, that the case having been decided under instructions from the Honourable the Court of Directors, it cannot now be altered.

(signed) *H. M. Elliot,*
Secretary to the Government India with the Governor-general.

Camp, Deenanuggur, 16 November 1850.

Sir, Bush-lane, 21 July 1851.

WE have the honour to enclose a Memorial, addressed to the Directors of the Honourable the East India Company on behalf of Mean Oomaid Singh, of Bughaut, Simla; and we request that the same may be laid before the Court at the earliest opportunity.

Requesting that the answer of the Company to the Memorial may be forwarded to us,

We have, &c.
(signed) *Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn.*

J. C. Melvill, Esq.,
&c. &c. &c.

To the Honourable the Directors of the East India Company.

The MEMORIAL of *Mean Oomaid Singh*, Cousin and Heir of Beejai Singh, late Rana of Beeghaut, in the Agency of Simla.

Showeth,

That your memorialist's ancestor, Rana Rogonauth Paul, as independent Raja of Beeghout, was possessed of nine villages at Beeghaut, paying an annual rent of 14,000 rupees, and that the same villages were taken possession of by the Government of your Honourable Company during the Ghoorka war: that at the close of the Ghoorka war, four of the above-mentioned nine villages were restored by the Government to Rana Mohinder Singh, the lineal descendant and representative of the said Rana Rugonath Paul, and the remaining five villages were granted to the Raja of Puttealah.

That Rana Mohender Sing continued in undisturbed possession of the said four villages, and received the rents and profits thereof until his death, which took place in the month of June 1839.

That upon the restoration of the said four villages to the said Rana Mohender Singh, a sunnud or grant by the Government of your Honourable Company, under the hand and seal of General Sir David Ochterlony, was made to the said Rana Mohunder Sing, securing to him and to his posterity the possession of the said four villages; a certified copy of which grant is now in the possession of your memorialist, and to which he craves leave to refer.

That upon the death of the said Rana Mohender Sing, Colonel Horatio Tapp, the Resident at Simla, acting on behalf of the Government of your Honourable Company, took possession of the said villages, whereupon your memorialist's cousin, the late Beejai Singh, being the brother and heir of the said Rana Mohender Singh, presented a memorial to the Government of your Honourable Company, praying that the possession of the said villages might be granted to him as the representative of the said Rana Mohender Singh; and in the year 1843, after a delay of three years, possession of the said four villages was conferred on the said Rana Beejai Singh, by a sunnud or grant of the Honourable J. C. Erskine, late Sub-commissioner of the Hill States, and the arrears of the income of the estate for the three years from the time of Rana Mohender Singh's death were paid to the said Rana Beejai Singh, who continued in possession of the estate to the time of his decease.

That the said Rana Beejai Singh died without issue on the 3d day of January 1849, leaving your memorialist, his cousin and heir; your memorialist being the son of Dherey Singh, who was the paternal uncle of the said Beejai Singh.

That the said Rana Beejai Singh left a will in the Hindee language, dated 17th November 1843, and thereby declared that your memorialist was to succeed him in the estate of Beeghaut, if he, Beejai Singh, should die without issue.

That the will is signed by the said Rana Beejai Singh, and witnessed, and is in the possession of your memorialist, and he craves leave to refer thereto, and to produce same to your Honourable Court.

That on the death of Rana Beejai Singh your memorialist wrote to Mr. Edwards, the Superintendent of the Hill estates, informing him of the death of the Rana, and that your memorialist was the successor to the estate. And your memorialist received in reply directions from Mr. Edwards to superintend and manage the affairs of the country as they had been theretofore conducted.

That your Memorialist accordingly executed all orders of Government, and superintended the affairs of the state with zeal and obedience, and without any complaint having been made against your memorialist; but after a lapse of about three months, Bishen Doss, the Naib Tehsildar of Joobbul, was sent to Beeghout, and took possession of the estate on behalf of the British Government, and your memorialist was deprived of the estate.

That your memorialist received a letter from Mr. Edwards, the Superintendent of the Hill States, dated the 10th July 1850, stating that he had been directed by the Board of Administration for the Affairs of the Punjab to inform your memorialist that his claim to the estate of Beeghaut had been submitted to the Honourable the Court of Directors, and that, in their opinion, the claim of your memorialist was not proved, and therefore a suitable pension would be granted to your memorialist for his maintenance.

That your memorialist is utterly unable to comprehend the grounds on which the opinion of your Honourable Court was formed, your memorialist having undoubted proofs of his pedigree and relationship to the late Rana Beejai Sing, and which proofs he is desirous and ready to submit for the examination of your Honourable Court, and also the said Rana Beejai Sing having made his will directing that your memorialist should succeed him in the estate, as before set forth.

That on the 25th day of October 1850, your memorialist presented a petition to the Governor-general of India, stating the death of the late Rana Beejai Sing, and showing your memorialist's claim as his lawful heir to the estate at Beeghaut, of which he died possessed, and praying that your memorialist's case might be inquired into, and that as the rightful heir and successor of Rana Beejai Sing, he might be put in possession of the villages or estates of which the said late Rana died possessed.

That the only reply your memorialist received to his petition was a memorandum or document, of which the following is a copy; viz.

"No. 2416.—Foreign Department.

"Office Memorandum.

"Read a petition from Meean Oomaid Singh, dated 25th October 1850, complaining of having been dispossessed of the Beeghaut estate:

"Ordered, that the petitioner be informed that the decision in his case is final.

(signed) "*E. C. Bayley,*
"Under Secretary to the Government of India
"Camp, Gurshunker, 6 Nov. 1850." with the Governor-General."

That beyond the reason given in Mr. Edwards' letter of the 10th July 1850, your memorialist has received no explanation of the grounds for the refusal of the Government to grant to your memorialist the possession of the villages or estate of which the late Rana Beejai Singh died possessed, and to which your memorialist humbly submits he is in justice entitled as the lawful heir and successor of the deceased Rana; and your memorialist submits that it would be contrary to the principles of British justice, as well as to the Mahomedan and Hindoo laws, that he should be deprived of his lawful succession and inheritance without any cause assigned.

That in cases similar to that of your memorialist's, where there has been no direct descendant, the British Government have been pleased to confer the estate on the nearest relation of the deceased owner, such as in the cases of Billashore, Khormarsain, and many others, and in the case of the estate in question, on the death of Rana Mohunder Singh, the estate was granted to his brother, the late Rana Beejai Singh.

That your memorialist's conduct has at all times been approved of by the British authorities, and in the recent wars with the Sikhs your memorialist, with his sowars, or cavalry, rendered great assistance to the British forces, and gained the highest approbation of the British authorities.

That the late Rana Beejai Singh, being desirous of appointing your memorialist as his Mooktear Kar, or Prime Minister, in the year 1844, addressed a letter to the Honourable J. C. Erskine, Sub-commissioner of Kohistan, for his approbation of such appointment, who addressed a letter in reply to Rana Beejai Sing, on the 10th January 1844, and stated, that having seen the intelligence, activity, and capability of your memorialist, he reposed every confidence in him, and highly approved of your memorialist being selected for the office.

That on the 28th February 1846, the Honourable J. C. Erskine addressed a letter to the late Rana Beejai Sing, stating that your memorialist and Ram Dutt Wuzzeer had remained with him, the Honourable J. C. Erskine, together with the troops of Rana Beejai Singh, during the Sutlej campaign against the Sikhs in 1845 and 1846, and had performed their duties to his entire satisfaction.

That on the death of Rana Beejai Singh, all the vassals or ryots of the Beeghaut estate presented a petition to Mr. Edwards, praying that your memorialist might succeed Rana Beejai Singh, thereby testifying the popularity of your memorialist with the subjects or vassals of the estates.

Your memorialist, therefore, humbly prays that your Honourable Court will take the case of your memorialist into consideration, and direct such inquiry to be made with reference to your memorialist's petition as may be deemed necessary; and that the villages or estate of Beeghaut, of which the late Rana Beejai Singh died possessed, may be granted to your memorialist, and that he may be put in possession of the same as the lawful heir and successor to the deceased Rana.

And your memorialist will ever pray, &c.

(signed) *Meean Oomaid Singh,*
By Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn,
23, Bush-lane, his Agents.

Gentlemen, East India House, 31 July 1851.

In reply to your letter, dated the 21st instant, enclosing a memorial to the Court of Directors of the East India Company on behalf of Mean Omaid Singh, of Bheeghat, I am directed to inform you that all applications from persons in India complaining of the acts of the local governments, must be transmitted through these Governments, who are required to forward such applications, accompanied by their remarks, to the Court, without delay.

I am, &c.,
(signed) *James C. Melvill.*

Messrs. Vandercom, Cree, Law & Comyn.

Sir, Bush-lane, 23 December 1851.

On the 21st July last we had the honour of addressing you on the subject of the case of Mean Omeid Sing, of Beeghat, and of enclosing to you a memorial on his behalf, addressed to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India

Company, praying that the Court would grant to the petitioner the estate of Beeghat, which the British Government had taken possession of, he being the heir of Beejai Singh, who died possessed of the estate, in the month of January 1849, and being also the person designated as successor thereto under Beejai Singh's will.

In answer to our letter you favoured us with a reply, of which the following is a copy:—

Gentlemen, East India House, 31 July 1851.

"In reply to your letter, dated the 21st instant, enclosing a memorial to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on behalf of Mean Oomaid Singh, of Beeghat, I am directed to inform you that all applications from persons in India, complaining of the acts of the local Governments, must be transmitted through these Governments, who are required to forward such applications, accompanied by their remarks, to the Court without delay.

"I am, &c.
(signed) "*James C. Melvill.*

"To Messrs. Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn."

In consequence of the intimation thus given us, we forwarded the memorial, with a copy of your letter, to Omaid Singh, in India, that he might, in compliance with the directions contained in it, present the memorial, through the local Government, which he accordingly did, accompanied by a letter from himself to Sir H. M. Elliot, the Secretary of the Government, and of which the following is a copy:—

"To Sir *H. M. Elliot*, K.C.B., Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General.

"Honoured Sir,

"Accompanying this letter, I enclose a Memorial addressed to the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company, praying that the Raj of Beeghat may be granted to me as the next of kin and successor of the late Rana Bijjai Sing, of Beeghat, and I have the honour to request that you will lay the memorial before the Governor-general, and that it may be forwarded to the Honourable the Court of Directors in London, with, I hope, the favourable recommendation of his Lordship and yourself.

"I have, &c.
(signed) "*Oomaid Singh.*"

In reply to this letter, Oomaid Singh received an official communication, under the signature of the Secretary of the Government, returning to him the Memorial. The communication is as follows:—

No. 3211.—Foreign Department.

"Office Memorandum.

"Read a letter from Rana Omeid Sing, of Beeghat, dated the 25th ultimo, submitting memorials in triplicate, to the address of the Honourable the Court of Directors, praying that the Raj of Beeghat, which had been resumed by the British Government, may be granted to him as the next of kin and successor of the late Rana Bejye Sing.

"Ordered, that the memorials above alluded to be returned to Rana Oomeid Sing, with an intimation that the Honourable the Court of Directors having already most fully considered the case, there seems no occasion to transmit the Memorials in question to that authority.

(signed) "*H. M. Elliot,*
"Secretary to the Government of India with the Governor-General."

"Simla, 14 October 1851."

We do not presume to complain of the time which has been lost, or of the disappointment which our client has experienced by the refusal of the local Government to transmit the memorial to the Honourable Court of Directors; but we venture to ask that our client's interests may not suffer by the delay, or by the unusual course taken of returning the memorial to the memorialist, instead of forwarding

forwarding it to this country, and as Oomaid Singh and the writers alike regard the reconsideration of the case on the facts now presented as essential to a just disposal of the memorialist's claims, we anxiously and earnestly ask either that the Honourable the Court of Directors will be pleased to receive the memorial here through us, or that an instruction may be given to the Local Government to receive and transmit the memorial for the consideration of the home authorities.

We would, however, take leave to remark, in answer to the observation contained in the official memorandum "that the Honourable the Court of Directors had already most fully considered the case;" that a former memorial presented to the Honourable Court by Omaid Sing contained but an imperfect statement of his case, and of the facts on which his claim is founded, and that these are supplied in the memorial, the receipt of which we are instructed to solicit; and we venture to entertain a confident expectation that, if it shall be the pleasure of the Honourable Court to receive the present memorial, the facts stated in it, and which it is desired to bring under the Court's consideration, will lead to a favourable answer to our client's application.

We have, &c.

J. C. Melvill, Esq.,
Secretary, India House.

(signed) *Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn.*

Gentlemen, East India House, 3 January 1852.

I HAVE laid before the Court of Directors your letter, dated the 23d ultimo, stating that a memorial to the Court from Mean Oomad Sihgh, of Beeghat has, conformably to Court's letter of the 31st July last, been presented to the Government of India, with a request that it be forwarded to the Court, and that the Government have declined to transmit it; and requesting in consequence that the Court will receive the memorial through you, or that the local Government may be instructed to forward it to the Court.

I am directed in reply to inform you that the rules applicable to the case having been complied with, the Court will no longer refuse to receive the memorial transmitted through you.

I am, &c.

Messrs. Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn,
Cannon-street.

(signed) *James C. Melvill,*
Secretary.

Sir, Bush-lane, 5 January 1852.

REFERRING to your letter of the 3d instant, in which you inform us that the Honourable Court of Directors will no longer refuse to receive the memorial of Meean Oomaid Singh, of Beeghat, transmitted through us, we have now the honour to place the same in your hands to be laid before the Honourable Court.

We are, &c.

J. C. Melvill, Esq. (signed) *Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn.*

Gentlemen, East India House, 19 February 1852.

YOUR letter, dated the 5th ultimo, enclosing a memorial from Mean Oomaid Sing, of Bughat, claiming the succession to that estate, has been laid before the Court of Directors, and I am instructed to inform you that the Court's reply to that memorial will be communicated to the memorialist by the Government of India.

I am, &c.

Messrs. Vandercom, Cree, Law, & Comyn. (signed) *James C. Melvill.*

(True copies.)
T. L. Peacock,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

MEAN OOMAID SING.

COPY of the CORRESPONDENCE with reference to the Claim of *Mean Oomaid Sing* to the CHIEFSHIP of BUGHAT.

(*Mr. Isaac Butt.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
11 *April* 1854.

188.

Under 3 *oz.*

EAST INDIA (ANNEXATION OF JHANSI).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 17 July 1855;—*for*,

COPIES "of a TREATY between *Ramchund Rao*, Soubadar of Jhansi, and the British Government, concluded in the Year 1817:"

"And, of all REPORTS and CORRESPONDENCE relative to the ANNEXATION of the TERRITORY of JHANSI to the British Territories."

East India House,
26 July 1855.

JAMES C. MELVILL.

(*Mr. Cayley.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
27 *July* 1855.

LIST.

	PAGE.
Treaty; dated 17 November 1817	3
Extract Letter from Government of India to Court of Directors; dated 4 March (No. 21), 1854	5
Letter from Government of India to Court of Directors; dated 29 April (No. 39) 1854	5
Extract Letter from Court of Directors to Government of India; dated 2 August (No. 34) 1854	5
Letter from Political Agent, Gwalior, &c., to Secretary to Government of India; dated 25 November 1853	6
Letter from Political Assistant, Bundlecund, to Political Agent, Bundlecund; dated 20 November 1853	8
Letter from Political Assistant, Bundlecund, to Political Agent, Bundlecund; dated 21 November 1853	8
Letter from Political Assistant, Bundlecund, to Political Agent, Bundlecund; dated 21 November 1853	9
Translation of Khareeta; dated 20 November 1853	9
Genealogical Table	*facing* 9
Letter from Political Agent, Gwalior, &c., to Officiating Secretary to Government of India; dated 1 December 1853	10
Letter from Political Assistant, Bundlecund, to Political Agent, Bundlecund; dated 22 November 1853	10
Letter from Political Assistant, Bundlecund, to Political Agent, Bundlecund; dated 23 November 1853	11
Letter from Political Assistant, Bundlecund, to Political Agent, Bundlecund; dated 23 November 1853	11
Letter from Captain Martin, Commanding at Jhansi, to Political Assistant, Jhansi; dated 22 November 1853	11
Letter from Political Assistant, Bundlecund, to Captain Martin, Commanding at Jhansi; dated 23 November 1853	12
Minute by the President; dated 9 December 1853	12
Minute by the President; dated 12 December 1853	12
Letter from Officiating Under Secretary to Government of India to Political Agent, Bundlecund, &c.; dated 16 December 1853	13
Letter from Political Agent, Bundlecund, &c., to Officiating Secretary Government of India; dated 15 December 1853	13
Letter from Political Assistant, Bundlecund, to Political Agent, Bundlecund; dated 4 November 1853	13
Genealogical Table	*facing* 14
Letter from Political Agent, Gwalior, &c., to Secretary to Government of India; dated 31 December 1853	15
Letter from Political Assistant, Bundlecund, to Political Agent at Bundlecund; dated 14 December 1853	15
Genealogical Table	*facing* 15
Letter from Political Agent, Gwalior, &c., to Secretary to Government of India; dated 13 January 1854	16
Letter from Political Assistant, Bundlecund, &c., to Political Agent at Bundlecund, &c.; dated 24 December 1853	16
Note by Officiating Secretary, Government of India	16
Minute by the Governor-General; dated 27 February 1854	19
Minute by Honourable J. A. Dorin; dated 28 February 1854	23
Minute by the Honourable Colonel J. Low, concurred in by Honourable F. J. Halliday; dated 1 March 1854	23
Letter from Political Agent, Gwalior, &c., to Secretary to Government of India; dated 28 February 1854	24
Letter from Officiating Under Secretary to Government of India to Political Agent for Bundlecund, &c.; dated 17 March 1854	27
Letter from Political Agent, Gwalior, &c., to Secretary to Government of India; dated 16 March 1854	27
Letter from Political Agent, Gwalior, &c., to Political Assistant, Bundlecund, &c.; dated 15 March 1854	29
Translation of Proclamation; dated 13 March 1854	30
Minute by the Governor-General; dated 25 March 1854	31
Letter from Secretary to the Government of India to Political Agent for Bundlecund, &c.; dated 31 March 1854	31
Letter from Secretary to the Government of India to Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces; dated 31 March 1854	32

East India House,
26 July 1855.

T. L. Peacock,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

COPIES of a TREATY between *Ramchund Rao,* Soubadar of Jhansi, and the British Government, concluded in the Year 1817: And of all REPORTS and CORRESPONDENCE relative to the ANNEXATION of the TERRITORY of JHANSI to the British Territories.

TREATY with *Rao Ramchund,* Soobadar of Jhansi, dated the 17th November 1817.

Treaties, &c., Bombay.

WHEREAS a Treaty of defensive alliance was concluded between the British Government and the late Sheo Rao Bhaoo, Soobadar of Jhansi, under date the 6th February 1804, (or 10th of Phalgoon Vud 1860, Sumvut), when the said Soobadar was in the condition of a tributary to His Highness the Peshwa; and whereas the whole of the rights of His Highness the Peshwa over the Principality of Jhansi have since that period, been transferred to the British Government, in virtue of the Treaty concluded between the Government and the Peshwa, under date the 13th June 1817,* (corresponding with the 14th Ashadh 1874, Sumvut), and in consequence of that transfer, the relations established by the former Treaty between the British Government and Jhansi have become virtually extinct; and whereas the British Government, in consideration of the very respectable character borne by the late Soobadar, Sheo Rao Bhaoo, and his uniform and faithful attachment to the British Government, and in deference to his wish expressed before his death, that the Principality of Jhansi might be confirmed, in perpetuity, to his grandson Ramchund Rao, to be conducted during the minority of the said Rao Ramchund Rao by Rao Gopal Rao Bhaoo, manager nominated by the late Bhaoo, and confirmed by the British Government; on these considerations, and in the confident reliance of the continuation of the same friendly disposition on the part of the Government of Jhansi, and of its strict adherence to the engagements comprised in this Treaty, the British Government has consented, on certain conditions, to constitute Rao Ramchund the hereditary chief of the lands actually held by the late Rao Sheo Bhaoo at the commencement of the British Government in Bundelkhund, and now possessed by the government of Jhansi. The following Articles have, accordingly, been concluded between the British Government and Rao Ramchund Rao, under the direction and with the concurrence of his said manager, Gopal Rao Bhaoo.

* *Vide* pp. 530 to 536.

Article I. THE treaty concluded between the British Government and the late Sheo Rao Bhaoo, under date the 6th February 1804 (or 10th of Phalgoon Vud 1860, Sumvut), is hereby confirmed, excepting such parts as are altered or rescinded by the provisions of this treaty.

Art. II. The British Government, with a view to confirm the fidelity and attachment of the Government of Jhansi, consents to acknowledge, and hereby constitutes Rao Ram Chund, his heirs and successors, hereditary rulers of the territory enjoyed by the late Rao Sheo Bhaoo at the period of the commencement of the British Government, and now in the possession of Rao Ram Chund, excepting the pergunna of Mote, which being held by the Jhansi Government in mortgage from Raja Bahadoor, will continue on its present footing, until a settlement of the mortgage takes place between the parties. The British Government further engages to protect the aforesaid territory of Rao Ram Chund from the aggression of foreign powers.

Art. III. The British Government having, by the terms of the foregoing Article, engaged to protect the Principality of Jhansi from the aggressions of foreign powers, it is hereby agreed between the contracting parties, that whenever the Government of Jhansi shall have reason to apprehend a design on the part of any foreign power to invade its territories, whether in consequence of any disputed claim, or any other ground, it shall report the circumstances of the case to the British Government, which will interpose its mediation for the adjustment of such disputed claim; and the Jhansi Government, relying on the justice and equity of the British Government, agrees implicitly to abide by its award. If the apprehended aggression shall be referable to any other cause, the British Government will endeavour, by representations and remonstrances, to avert the design; and if, notwithstanding the Soobadar's acquiescence in the award of the British Government, the other power shall persist in its hostile designs, and the endeavours of the British Government should fail of success, such measures will be adopted for the protection of the Soobadar's territories as the circumstances of the case may appear to require.

Art. IV. In consideration of the guarantee and protection afforded by the two foregoing Articles to Rao Ram Chund, the chief of Jhansi, that chief hereby binds himself to employ his troops, at his own expense, wherever required to do so, in co-operation with those of the British Government, on all occasions in which the interests of the two Governments may be mutually concerned. On all such occasions, the Jhansi troops shall act under the orders and control of the commanding officer of the British troops.

Art. V. Rao Ram Chund hereby agrees to submit to the arbitration of the British Government all his disputes between other States, and implicitly to abide by its award.

Art. VI. Rao Ram Chund engages at all times to employ his utmost exertions in defending the roads and passes of his country against any enemies or predatory bodies who may attempt to penetrate through it into the territories of the Honourable Company.

Art. VII. Whenever the British Government may have occasion to send its troops through the dominions of Rao Ram Chund, or to station a British force within his territories, it shall be competent to the British Government so to detach or station its troops, and Rao Ram Chund shall give his consent accordingly. The commander of the British troops which may thus eventually pass through or permanently occupy a position within the Jhansi territories shall not in any manner interfere in the internal concerns of the Jhansi Government. Whatever materials or supplies may be required for the use of the British troops during their continuance in the Jhansi territories, shall be readily furnished by Rao Ram Chund's officers and subjects, and shall be paid for at the price current of the bazaar.

Art. VIII. Rao Ram Chund hereby binds himself to maintain no correspondence with foreign States, without the privity and consent of the British Government.

Art. IX. Rao Ram Chund engages to give no asylum to criminals nor to defaulters of the British Government, who may abscond and take refuge within his territories; and should the officers of the British Government be sent in pursuit of such criminals and defaulters, Rao Ram Chund further engages to afford such officers every assistance in his power in apprehending them.

Art. X. This treaty, consisting of 10 Articles, having this day been concluded between the British Government and Rao Ram Chund, through the agency of John Wauchope, Esq., in virtue of powers delegated to him by the Most Noble the Governor-general, on the one part, and Narayun Bulwunt Rao, the Vakeel, on the other, Mr. Wauchope and the said Vakeel have signed and sealed two copies of the treaty in English, Persian, and Hindee, one of which, after being ratified by the seal and signature of the Most Noble the Marquis of Hastings, Governor-general, will be returned to the said Vakeel; and the said Vakeel having

having obtained the ratification of the Soobadar to the other copy, engages to deliver it within the same time to Mr. Wauchope.

Signed, sealed, and exchanged at Pipree, on the 17th day of November 1817 (corresponding with the 24th Kartik 1874, Sumvut, and 7th of Mohurrum 1233, Hijree).

(signed) *J. Wauchope,*
Superintendent Political Affairs.

Signature of Nana Bulwunt Rao.

MEMORANDUM.—Ratified by His Excellency the Governor-general, in camp at Pipree, on the 18th day of November 1817.

(signed) *G. Swinton,*
Persian Secretary to Government.

EXTRACT Foreign Letter from India, dated 4th March (No. 21) 1854.

2. THE chief of the State of Jhansi, which was created by the British Government a tributary and dependent principality, adopted a son the day before his death. We have decided, in accordance with a precedent in the case of this same State, that this adoption shall not be recognised as conferring any right to succeed to the rule of the principality, and that as the chief has left no descendants, and no descendants of any preceding chief of this State are in existence, the State has lapsed to the British Government.

Fort William, Foreign Department, 29 April (No. 39) 1854.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

WE have the honour to transmit herewith copies of the further correspondence which has taken place subsequent to the despatch of our letter, No. 21, dated 4th March last, in regard to the affairs of the State of Jhansi.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Dalhousie.*
J. Dorin.
J. Low.
Fred. Jas. Halliday.

Fort William,
29 April 1854.

EXTRACT Political Letter to India, dated 2 August (No. 34) 1854.

2. The Raja of Jhansi adopted one of his cousins as his son, and his widow has demanded that this boy should be acknowledged as the future ruler of the principality; but after full consideration of our relations with this State, you have determined not to recognise the adoption as conferring any right to the succession.

3. In 1804 a treaty was concluded with Sheo Row Bhow, Subadar of Jhansi. That engagement was merely personal. In 1817 the British Government "resolved to declare the territory of Jhansi to be hereditary in the family of the late Sheo Rao Bhow, and to perpetuate with his heirs the treaty concluded with the late Bhow. Accordingly a treaty was made with Rao Ram Chund, grandson of Sheo Row Bhow, by the second Article of which the British Government consents to acknowledge, and hereby constitutes, Rao Ram Chund, his heirs and successors, hereditary rulers of the territory enjoyed by the late Rao Sheo Bhow." By an indulgent construction of this engagement, it was held not to be confined to the lineal descendants of Rao Ram Chund, but to extend to the lineal descendants of Sheo Row Bhow. There is no such

descendant now living; and we have no hesitation in approving your intention to annex the territory of Jhansi to the British possessions; and you will make such provision for the widow or widows of Gungadhur Rao as you may deem expedient.

No. 24 of 1853.

From Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlecund, and Rewah, to the Secretary to the Government of India.

Sir, Foreign Department, Fort William.

It is with much regret I have to report, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-general in Council, that Gungadhur Rao, the Maharajah of Jhansi, died on the 21st instant at that place.

2. The day previously to this event the Maharajah adopted a boy five years of age, named Damoodur Gungadhur Rao, *alias* Anund Rao, whom he styles his grandson (Naheerah Khood), but who is in reality, I believe, the fifth in descent from their common ancestor, Rajhoonath Rao, and would, by our mode of reckoning degrees of consanguinity, be denominated his fifth cousin.

3. Copies of Major Ellis's letters and enclosures, reporting his interview with the Maharajah on the 20th instant, and the Maharajah's demise on the following day, are herewith enclosed for his Lordship's information. A copy and translation, also, of the Maharajah's khareeta to my address of the same date, detailing the reasons which had induced him to adopt the boy Anund Rao, will also be found among the annexed papers.

4. The sudden resolution of the chief of Jhansi to adopt a successor on his deathbed has, I believe, taken every one at his court by surprise. It was understood that he would probably make an attempt to induce us to allow him to leave his estate in the hands of his widow during her lifetime; but, from the circumstance of there being no heir male existing in the line of Sheo Rao, the Soobadar of Jhansi, with whom our first treaty was concluded, or no near relative of any description, the question of adoption was, I believe, considered one which was not ever likely to be brought forward.

5. I annex, for the information of Government, a rough genealogical tree of the Jhansi family, which may, I believe, be considered correct. From this it will be seen that the boy now adopted is descended from Rughonath Rao, the great great grandfather of the late Maharaja of Jhansi, and great grandfather of Sheo Rao, the Subadar of that State, with whom our first treaty was concluded.

6. Major Ellis has proceeded to act under the instructions conveyed in my letter of the 2d instant, a copy of which was submitted to Government on the 3d idem; and he will, of course, abstain from taking any notice of the adoption made by the late Rajah pending the instructions of Government as to the course to be adopted in regard to the affairs of the State.

7. A short sketch of our relations with the Jhansi family may, perhaps, prove acceptable to Government in this place, and assist it in forming a definite opinion as to the right, which appears to me very questionable, of the Rajah to nominate by adoption an heir to his principality.

8. On our first connexion with Bundlecund in 1804, we formed a treaty with Sheo Rao Bhow, as a servant and a tributary of the Paishwa, and in 1817, when the whole of the rights of the Paishwa over the Jhansi principality were transferred to the British Government by treaty, we acknowledged his grandson Rao Ram Chunder as the hereditary ruler of the State, with reversion to his heirs and successors; and subsequently, in 1832, we conferred the title of Raja upon him in lieu of that of Soobadar, which he had held under the Paishwa Government, and under our own subsequent to the treaty of 1817.

9. On the demise of Rao Ramchunder in 1835, without male heirs, the question of resuming the State was, I believe, discussed, but as it was found that there

there were still two sons of Sheo Rao alive, namely, Rughonath Rao and Gungadhur Rao, the State was allowed to continue in that line, which has now been brought to a close by the death of the late Raja, Gungadhur Rao.

10. I may here mention, that on the demise of Rao Ramchunder, in the year 1835, two individuals laid claim to the State, one on the plea of adoption by the late Rajah, the other by his widow, but that both were rejected as inadmissible. The records of that period are not at present with me; but the correspondence which took place on the subject will be found in your office, and a reference to it will probably show that the terms under which the State of Jhansi was held under us, precluded, in the opinion of Government, the Raja or his widow from making any adoption to the prejudice of the paramount power.

11. The widow of the late Gungadhur Rao, in whose hands he has expressed a wish that the government should be placed during her lifetime, is a woman highly respected and esteemed, and I believe fully capable of doing justice to such a charge; but as, under all the circumstances of the case, I do not consider it probable that Government will forego its right to resume this State, I trust that I may be allowed to assure her that she will be allowed to retain all the personal property of her late husband, and the palace situated in the town of Jhansi, and that such an allowance will be made for herself and the old adherents of the family as will maintain them in comfort and respectability during the remainder of their lives.

12. It is difficult for me to assign a sum which may be considered sufficient for the wants of the Ranee; but as this is the last of the Maharatta families settled in Bundlecund, and the funds derived from the Peshwa and Venaik Rao are no longer available for purposes of charity, many adherents of these chiefs will probably look to her for maintenance and support, and as Government, taking all these things into consideration, will probably wish that a liberal settlement should be made upon her, I would respectfully submit, for its consideration, that the stipend assigned to her should not be less than 5,000 rupees per mensem.

13. With regard to the adherents of the family, I have no means at present before me of stating their numbers or the amount they have hitherto received from the late Rajah; but their case can be left for future consideration, when a list of them has been prepared.

14. The State of Jhansi was for many years under our control, and so little deviation has been made in the mode in which it was managed by Major Ross, that I believe, should Government decide on resuming it, very little difficulty will be experienced in placing it on the same footing as the districts we manage for Scindia in its immediate vicinity.

15. Should Government deem it advisable that I should assume charge of it, I shall of course be prepared to do so; but as neither Major Ellis, my assistant, or myself, have any experience in revenue matters, and are much occupied with our political duties at Gwalior and Bundlecund, which will frequently require our presence in distant parts of the country, I would respectfully beg to suggest, as the preferable course, that the State of Jhansi should be incorporated with the districts in Bundlecund, now under the charge of Captain Erskine, Commissioner at Jubbulpore.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. A. Malcolm,*
Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlecund, and Rewah.

Political Agency Office, Camp Puna,
25 November 1853.

To Major *Malcolm*, Political Agent for Bundlecund, Camp.

Sir,

WITH reference to the instructions contained in your letter, dated 2d instant, I have the honour to forward a khurreeta, in original, delivered to me this morning by the Raja of Jhansi, stating that he had adopted Wamand Rao Gungadhur, *alias* Anund Rao, a boy of five years of age, a descendant of his grandfather, to be his successor, and appointed his widow to manage affairs during the minority, and begging that the sanction of Government might be obtained to the arrangement.

I returned from camp this morning, at the request of the Rajah, in consequence of finding himself worse, and when Captain Martin and myself visited him, as we did at his own request, I regret to state that we found him in what appeared to us to be the very last stage of existence; the khurreeta was read over in his presence, and it was scarcely finished before he was seized with a fit of convulsion, when we left the room, and shortly afterwards returned home.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis*,
Jhansi, 20 November 1853. Political Assistant for Bundlecund.

TRANSLATION of a Khareeta from *Maharaja Gunga Dhur Rao* of Jhansi, to the address of Major *Ellis*, Political Assistant in Bundlecund and Rewah; dated 19th November 1853.

After Compliments,

The manner in which my ancestors were faithful to the British Government previously to the establishment of its authority (in Bundlecund?) has become known even in Europe, and it is well known to the several agents here that I also have always acted in obedience to the same authority.

I am now very ill, and it is a source of great grief to me that notwithstanding all my fidelity and the favour conferred by such a powerful Government, the name of my fathers will end with me; I have therefore, with reference to the 2d Article of the treaty concluded with the British Government, adopted Damoodhur Gungadhur Rao, commonly called Anund Rao, a boy of five years old, my grandson through my grandfather (Nabeerah Juddee*).

I still hope that by the mercy of God and the favour of your Government I may recover my health, and as my age is not great I may still have children, and should this be the case I will adopt such steps as may appear to be necessary. Should I not survive, I trust that in consideration of the fidelity I have evinced towards Government, favour may be shown to this child, and that my widow during her lifetime may be considered the Regent of the State (Malikeh) and mother of this child, and that she may not be molested in any way.

(True translation.)
(signed) *D. A. Malcolm*,
Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundelkund, and Rewah.

To Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent for Bundelkund.

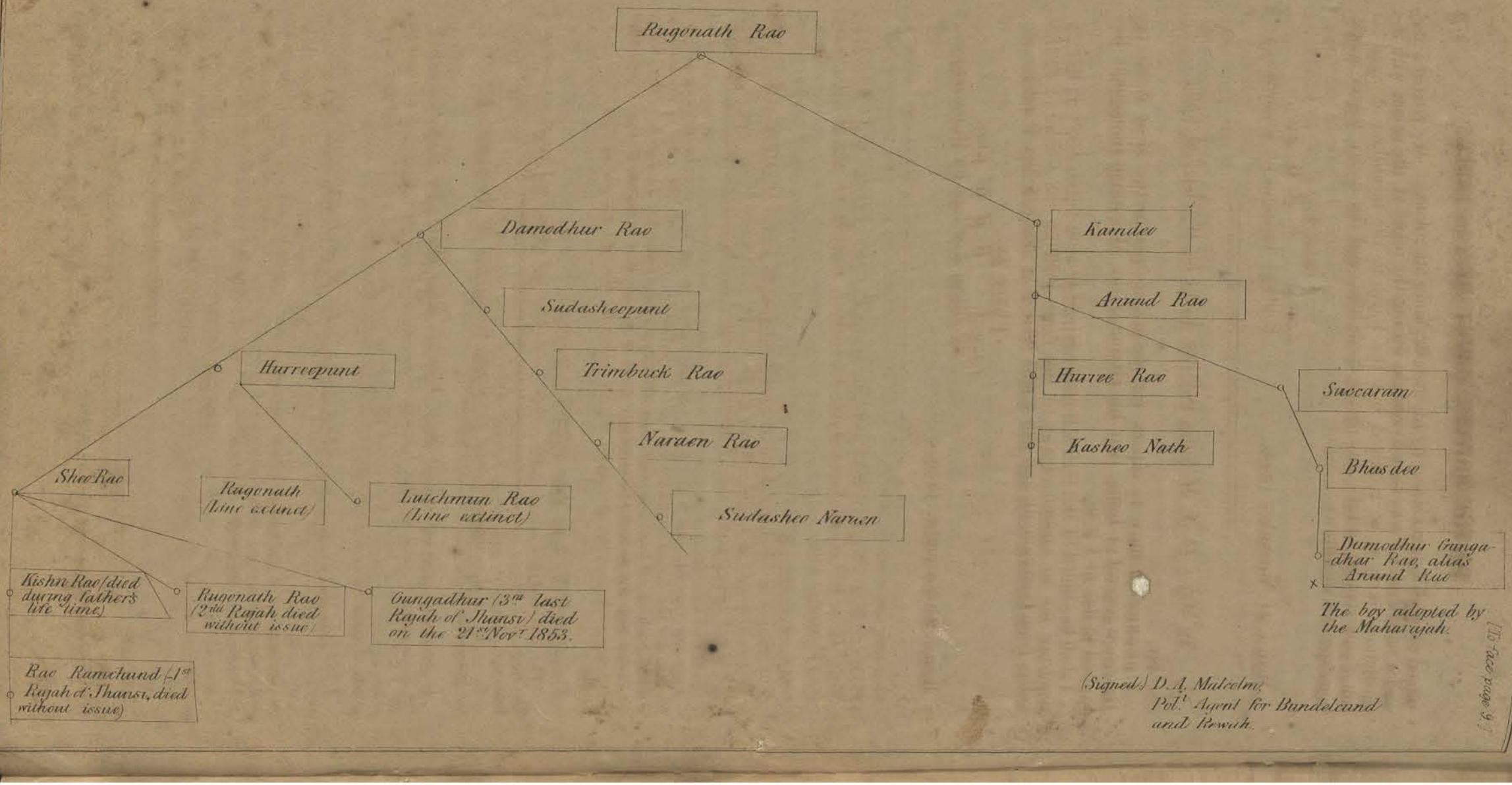
Sir,

IN continuation of my letter of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform you that I went to see the Rajah a second time yesterday evening, accompanied on this occasion by Dr. Allen, the medical officer at Jhansi; we were met on the road to the palace by a sowar telling us that the Rajah was in a fainting fit and could not receive us, in consequence of which we were returning home when a second sowar came after us, saying that the Rajah had heard of our intention to visit him, and begged that we would return and do so. We did so accordingly, and on arrival at the palace found that since the morning he had been removed from the upper storied apartment which he then occupied to one on the ground floor adjoining the female apartments as a sign that his attendants considered his end to be near at hand. He appeared however to have rallied a good deal since the morning, and entered into a detal of his ailments to Dr. Allen, from which it appeared that he was suffering from dysentery; he has consented to take any medicines which Dr. Allen might send him, provided the liquids were mixed

---

* This is a term used to denominate cousins in the third and fourth degrees, tracing their descent by the male line to a common ancestor.

Genealogical Tree of the late Rajah of Jhansee Gungadhur Rao, and of the Boy Anund Rao he has adopted.



(Signed) D. A. Malcolm,
Polt Agent for Bundelcund and Rewah.

[To face page 9.]

No 431 Ordered by Th. H. ...

mixed up with Ganges water by his own Brahmin attendants. We retired home, and a native doctor was sent to remain during the night at the palace with the medicines likely to be required, but the Rajah in the meantime changed his mind and refused to take any of the medicines, and the native doctor was in consequence withdrawn.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis,*
Political Assistant for Bundelkund.

Jhansi, 21 November 1853.

To Major *D. A. Malcolm,* Political Agent for Bundelkund, Camp.

Sir,

I REGRET to have to report, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-general of India, that his Highness the Maharajah Gungadhur Rao expired to-day at 1 p. m.

I shall be guided by the instructions contained in your letter, dated 2d instant, requiring me to assume charge of the State pending the receipt of further orders from Government, and will report further as occasion may require.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis,*
Political Assistant for Bundelkund.

Jhansi, 21 November 1853.

TRANSLATION of a Khareeta from *Maharaja Gungadhur Rao* of Jhansi, to the Address of Major *D. A. Malcolm,* Political Agent for Gwalior, Bundelkund, and Rewah ; dated 20th November 1853.

After Compliments,

THE manner in which my ancestors were faithful to the British Government previously to the establishment of its authority (in Bundlecund?) has become known even in Europe, and it is well known to the several agents here that I also have always acted in obedience to the same authority.

I am now very ill, and it is a source of great grief to me that notwithstanding all my fidelity, and the favour conferred by such a powerful Government, the name of my fathers will end with me; I have therefore, with reference to the following 2d Article of the treaty concluded with the British Government, adopted Damoodhur Gungadhur Rao, commonly called Anund Rao, a boy five years old, my grandson through my grandfather (Nabeerah Juddee).*

The article of the treaty above referred to, is this:

"The British Government, with a view to confirm the fidelity and attachment of the Government of Jhansi, consents to acknowledge, and hereby constitute, Rao Ramchunder, his heirs and successors, as hereditary rulers of the territory enjoyed by the late Sheo Rao Bhow at the period of the establishment of the British Government in Bundlecund, and now in the possession of the Jhansi Government."

In compliance with my request Major Ellis and Major Martin, the officer commanding the troops, waited upon me, and I explained to them all that I have written in this paper, and I gave them a letter which I prepared to the above effect intimating my having nominated my grandson (Nabeerah i Khoord) in my place, and I feel assured that these gentlemen will forward it to you.

I still hope that by the mercy of God and the favour of your Government I may recover my health, and as my age is not great I may still have children, and should this be the case I will adopt such steps as may appear to be necessary. Should I not survive, I trust that, in consideration of the fidelity I have evinced towards Government, favour may be shown to this child, and that my widow during her lifetime may be considered the Regent of the State (Malikeh) and mother of this child, and that she may not be molested in any way.

(True translation)
(signed) *D. A. Malcolm,*
Political Agent,
Gwalior, Bundelkund, and Rewah.

---

* This is a term used to denominate cousins in the third and fourth degrees, tracing their descent by the male line to a common ancestor.

No. 26 of 1853.

From Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent for Gwalior, Bundelcund, and Rewah, to *J. P. Grant*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.

Sir,

I BEG to submit, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-general in Council, the accompanying copies of letters, with enclosures, received to my address from Major Ellis, Political Assistant in Bundlecund, reporting the steps adopted by him on the demise of the late Rajah of Jhansi, and offering an opinion in regard to the number of troops which he thinks would be required in the event of our assuming the permanent management of the country.

2. When the country was formerly under our charge there were I believe several zemindars at large, who gave us considerable trouble, and required to be strictly watched, but as they have either been placed in confinement, or brought under complete subjection, the necessity of permanently employing the same number of troops in the country appears no longer to exist.

3. Still, as it is, I believe, the intention of Government to retain only a wing of native infantry at Jhansi, and this small force will be unable to furnish detachments to garrison the fort of Jhansi and Kureira, both of which should be occupied for a short time if we assume the permanent charge of the country, I would suggest that in the event of no Company's troops being available for that purpose, I should be authorised to retain the wing of the 6th Regiment, Scindiah's Contingent, now at Jhansi, till further orders, in addition to the wing of the Regiment of Bengal N. I., now on its march from Mooltan to this place.

4. As the latter force will not probably reach Bundelcund for some weeks to come, I would suggest as a temporary measure, and pending their arrival, that Brigadier Parsons, commanding the Contingent, should be directed to detach to Jhansi four additional companies of infantry from Moovar, with which a garrison of two companies might be furnished for the fort of Jhansi, and two for that of Kureira.

5. Whatever may be the decision of Government in regard to the estate of Jhansi, I do not contemplate that any disturbance will be excited against us by any members of the late Rajah's Government; but as a measure of precaution against the zemindars of the districts, it will, I think, be as well for a few months, till our Government is established, that our force at Jhansi should not be less than a regiment of Native Infantry and one of Irregular Cavalry.

I have, &c.
(signed) *D. A. Malcolm*,
Political Agent for Gwalior, Bundelcund, and Rewah.

Agency Office, Camp Sahawul,
1 December 1853.

To Major *Malcolm*, Political Agent for Bundelcund and Rewah.

Sir,

IN continuation of my letter of yesterday's date, reporting the death of the Rajah of Jhansi, I have the honour to report that immediately on receipt of the above intelligence I proceeded to the palace, accompanied by Captain Martin, the officer commanding the station, and attended by an escort of Irregular Cavalry, and offered my condolence to the Lakshim Bai, the widow of the Rajah, on the occasion.

2. I then proceeded to the fort, where the greatest part of the public treasure is lodged, and where all the prisoners are kept, and in the presence of the Killadar and Jevala Nath, pundit, on the part of Jhansi, placed seals on the locks of the apartment, where Government treasure to the amount of *Rs.* 2,45,738. 15.

in

Genealogical list of Anund Rao styled Damodhar Rao, Gungadhur Rao, son of Basdeva, adopted by Gungadhur Rao, late Maharaja of Jhansi.

Ragonath Rao 1st

- **Kandera**
  - **Ramchund**
    - **Anund Ram** (had ten sons, the names of two of which only are given)
      - **Hari Bhow**
        - **Kasi Nath** (is Tuhseeldar of Jhansi, aged about 40 years)
      - **Sakha Ram**
        - **Basdeva**
          - **Anund Rao** (adopted by the Raja as his successor and called after him Damodhar Rao Gungadhur)
- **Damodhar**
  - **Hari Punt**
    - **Ragonath Rao 2nd** – (first Subadar of Jhansi – died in A.D 1796, and was succeeded by his brother)
      - **Krishna Rao**
        - **Ramchund Rao** (second Treaty with him dated 1817 – died in 1835, without issue.)

        Krishna Rao, nephew (sister's son) to the above, now claims the Gaddi.
    - **Sheo Rao Bhow.**
      - **Ragonath Rao** (succeeded the Gaddi on the death of Ramchund Rao, died without issue in 1838.)
    - **Lakshman Rao**
      - **Gungadhur Rao** (late Raja of Jhansi) succeeded to the Gaddi on the death of Ragonath Rao in 1838 – Treaty of 1817, confirmed by new Treaty in 1842
      - **Lalla Bhow** (has no issue)
  - **Sadashea Punt**
    - **Trimbak Rao.**
      - **Narain Rao**
        - **Sadasheo Narain** aged 25 – in Deccan The present Claimant.

(True Copy)
(Signed) D. A. Malcolm,
Pol.l Agent for Bundlecund and Rewah.

(Signed) R. R. N. Ellis,
Pol.l Assis.t for Bundlecund.

[To face page 15.]

in gold and silver in different currencies is said to be deposited, and left a guard, as per margin, from the 6th Regiment, Scindia's Contingent, inside the fort, in possession of the gates, with orders to co-operate with the Jhansi troops in the protection of the place.

1 Subadar.
1 Jemadar.
5 Havildars.
5 Naicks.
2 Drummers.
100 Sepoys.

3. For four days previous to the death of the Rajah, I had held several interviews with Lahori Mull, Nara Singh, Rai Appa, and Futtaychund, and had warned them of the necessity of their adopting effectual measures for preventing any outbreak on the part of the prisoners, or attempt to release them, consequent upon the death of the Rajah, and I am happy to be able to add, that the very best results attended these precautions, and that everything here continues in a state of profound tranquillity.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis,*
Political Assistant for Bundelcund.

Political Assistant's Office, Jhansi,
22 November 1853.

To Major *D. A. Malcolm,* Political Agent for Bundelcund and Rewah, Camp.

Sir

WITH reference to your letters dated 27th ultimo and 2d instant, I have the honour to report that in pursuance of these instructions I have assumed charge of the Jhansi State in consequence of the death of the Rajah, and that affairs will be conducted as usual under the existing system of management pending the receipt of further orders.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis,*
Political Assistant for Bundelcund.

Political Assistant's Office, Jhansi,
23 November 1853.

To Major *D. A. Malcolm,* Political Agent for Bundelcund and Rewah, Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward copies of the correspondence as per margin, regarding the present temporary occupation by our troops of the Fort of Jhansi in co-operation with those in the service of the late Rajah, and if the measure is likely to be considered permanently necessary, would beg leave to suggest that the wing of the 6th Regiment, Scindiah's Contingent, now stationed here, should be increased to the strength of a full regiment, and that military detachments should likewise be stationed in the fort of Kurrara, also at Mhow, Ranipore, Moyapore, and other places where they were stationed during the former period of Jhansi having come under our rule in 1838.

No. 24, dated 22d instant, from Captain Martin, commanding at Jhansi. Reply from Major Ellis, dated 23d instant.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis,*
Political Assistant for Bundelcund.

Political Assistant's Office, Jhansi,
23 November 1853.

No. 24.

To Major *R. R. W. Ellis,* Political Assistant, Jhansi.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to bring to your notice that from the number of men belonging to the Jhansi Raj employed in the fort guarding property of the State, the large guard necessary over 250 prisoners, and also from the size of the fort and the numerous buildings in it, I consider the company of the Gwalior

Contingent placed on duty there yesterday quite inadequate, n case of any disturbance, and that it can in reality only be considered as nominal, to show that the Raj is now under the protection of the British Government.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. P. Martin*, Captain,
Jhansi, 22 November 1853. Commanding at Jhansi.

To Captain *A. P. Martin*, Commanding at Jhansi.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 24, of yesterday's date, and in reply, to inform you that the occupation of the fort of Jhansi by our troops, in co-operation with those of the late Jhansi Rajah, is intended to give public confidence, by showing that the territory is under the protection of the British Government, and that any attempt to create disturbances will be punished accordingly.

2. Copy of your letter and my reply has been forwarded to Major Malcolm for such further instructions as he may consider necessary.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis*,
Political Assistant's Office, Jhansi, Political Assistant for Bundelcund.
23 November 1853.

(True copies.)
(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis*,
Political Assistant for Bundelcund, &c.

MINUTE by the Honourable the President of the Council of India.

Adoption of the Raja of Jhansi.

I DO not think this adoption can be supported, but it is a case that had better lie over for the consideration of the Most Noble the Governor-general. Meanwhile the political agent may be cautioned not to commit the Government in any manner whatever, and informed that its ultimate orders will be communicated to him hereafter.

(signed) *J. Dorin.*

9 December 1853.

THE question should lie over, I think, till the return of the Governor-general; public tranquillity being in the meantime preserved under the immediate authority and orders of the political agent, without his altering any of the native modes of administration, and neither confirming nor rejecting the adoption, as was done at Kerrowlee.

10 December 1853. (signed) *J. Low.*

12/12. (signed) *Fred. Jas. Halliday.*

MINUTE by the Honourable the President of the Council of India.

State of Jhansi.

I DO not think the Jhansi question can be settled without reference to the Governor-general, but meanwhile the political agent may be instructed to keep all quiet, and, if necessary, apply for such military aid as he may require to Brigadier Parsons.

(signed) *J. Dorin.*

12 December.

I concur entirely.

12 December. (signed) *J. Low.*

12/12. (signed) *Fred. Jas. Halliday.*

No. 5,305.—Foreign Department.

From *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, to Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent, Bundlecund and Rewah.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatches, dated the 25th ultimo, No. 24, and the 1st instant, No. 26; and in reply, I am directed by the President in Council to acquaint you that the orders of Government respecting the disposal of the Jhansi estate will be communicated to you hereafter. Meanwhile, you will take due measures to preserve public tranquillity. No change should be made in any of the native modes of administration; and you will be careful not to commit the Government regarding the adoption, either by confirming or rejecting it.

2. Should additional military aid be required, his Honour in Council authorises you to apply for it to Brigadier Parsons.

I have, &c.

Fort William,
16 December 1853.

(signed) *J. W. Dalrymple*,
Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India.

No. 28 of 1853.

From Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent for Bundlecund and Rewah, to *J. P. Grant*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.

Sir,

I BEG to submit, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-general in Council, the copy of a letter, under date the 4th instant, which I have received from Major Ellis, giving cover to a khurreeta (with translation) from Lukshmee Baee, the widow of the late Maharaja of Jhansi, to his Lordship's address, soliciting the sanction of Government to Anand Rao, styled Damodhur Rao Gungadhur, the boy adopted by her husband before his death, being recognised as his successor in the rule of the Jhansi principality.

2. I also beg to transmit a genealogical tree of the Jhansi family, as prepared by Major Ellis, from information derived from the Jhansi durbar.

3. This document agrees entirely with the paper I forwarded to Government on the 25th ultimo, with the exception of making Anand Rao, the boy adopted by the late Raja, the representative of the elder branch of the family, and the sixth in descent from their mutual ancestor, Rughonath Rao, instead of the fifth, as stated in the document above referred to.

I have, &c.

Agency Office, Camp, Bhilsia,
15 December 1853.

(signed) *D. A. Malcolm*,
Political Agent for Bundlecund and Rewah.

No. 6.

From Major *R. R. W. Ellis*, Political Assistant for Bundlecund, to Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent for Bundlecund and Rewah, Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward a khurreeta, with English translation, from the Lukshmi Baee, the widow of the late Maharaja of Jhansi, to the address of the Most Noble the Governor-general of India, soliciting the sanction of Government to Anand Rao, styled Dumodhur Rao Gungadhur, the son of

Basdeva, a boy of five years of age, adopted by her husband before his death, being recognised as his successor in the rule of the Jhansi principality.

I have, &c.

Political Assistant's Office, Jhansi,
4 November 1853.

(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis,*
Political Assistant for Bundlecund.

(True copy.)

(signed) *D. A. Malcolm,* Political Agent.

TRANSLATION of Khareeta from Her Highness the Lukshmi Baee, the Widow of *Gungadhur Rao,* the late Maha Raja of Jhansi, to the Address of the Marquis of *Dalhousie,* the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

After Compliments,

THE services rendered by Sheo Rao Bhao, the father of my late husband, to the British Government, before its authority in this part of the country was established, are recorded, with other State documents, and have been amply rewarded by the unceasing flow of benefits which his family have derived from the acknowledged favour and protection of such a mighty power.

The concluding article of the treaty with my late husband, signed by Colonel Sleeman in 1842, guarantees to the Jhansi Government the continued existence of all the benefits claimable by virtue of a former treaty made with Ramchand Rao in 1817, not specifically cancelled by the terms of the new agreement then made.

This treaty was declaredly made in consideration of the very respectable character borne by the late Subadar Sheo Rao Bhao, and his uniform and faithful attachment to the British Government, and in deference to his wish expressed before his death, that the Principality of Jhansi might be confirmed in perpetuity to his grandson, Ramchand Rao.

As the means of effecting this, and with the view to confirming the fidelity and attachment of the Government of Jhansi, the second article acknowledges and constitutes Rao Ramchand, his heirs and successors, hereditary rulers of the territory enjoyed by the late Sheo Rao Bhao; thereby meaning that any party whom he adopted as his son to perform the funeral rites over his body necessary to ensure beatitude in a future world would be acknowledged by the British Government as his successor, and one through whom the name and interests of the family might be preserved.

The Hindu Shastras inculcate the doctrine that the libations offered to the manes of a deceased parent are as efficacious when performed by an adopted as by a real son, and the custom of adoption is accordingly found prevalent in every part of Hindustan. My husband, therefore, upon the evening of the 19th November last, sent for Dewan Nara Sing, Rao Appa, Lalla Lahori Mull, and Lalla Tatti Chund, the ministers, and myself, and told us to consult with the Shastra, and select a duly qualified child from his own "Gote" (clan), to succeed him as ruler of Jhansi, as he found himself getting worse, and the medicines doing him no good.

Ramchund Baba was in consequence summoned, when, at his recommendation, out of several children of the Gote, it was agreed that Anand Rao, a boy of five years of age, the son of Basdiva, was the best qualified for the purpose. My husband then ordered the shastri to perform the rites of adoption. The next morning Benaik Rao, pundit, performed the sangkalpa, when Basdiva, the father of Anand Rao, having poured water on my husband's hands with the usual ceremonies, the boy was named Damodhur Rao Gungadhur, when the ceremony was completed.

The ministers, by order of the Raja, wrote to Major Ellis, who was encamped at Sayer, six coss from Jhansi, and to Major Martin, the officer commanding the station, requesting their attendance at the palace, with the view of bearing witness to what had been done. These two gentlemen came to the palace at 10 a. m. the next morning, the 20th November, when my husband delivered a letter to Major Ellis, requesting him to obtain the sanction of Government to the adoption, which was read over in their presence, when Major Ellis promised that he would make known his wishes to your Lordship.

The next day, Monday, the 21st November, my husband expired; the different funeral rites required to be performed by a son have all been discharged by Anand Rao, styled Damodhur Rao Gungadhur.

My late husband before his death made the boy over to the protection and favour of the British Government; and as the adoption made by Parakshata, the late Raja of Datia, that of Bala Rao, the last chief of Jalown, and that of Tej Sing, the last Raja of Urcha, have all been sanctioned by Government, I hope that the present adoption will also be sanctioned by your Lordship, the more strongly as the term ("Dawana") perpetuity, made use of in the treaty with the Jhansi State, is not mentioned in theirs.

(True translation.)

(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis,*
Political Assistant for Bundlecund.

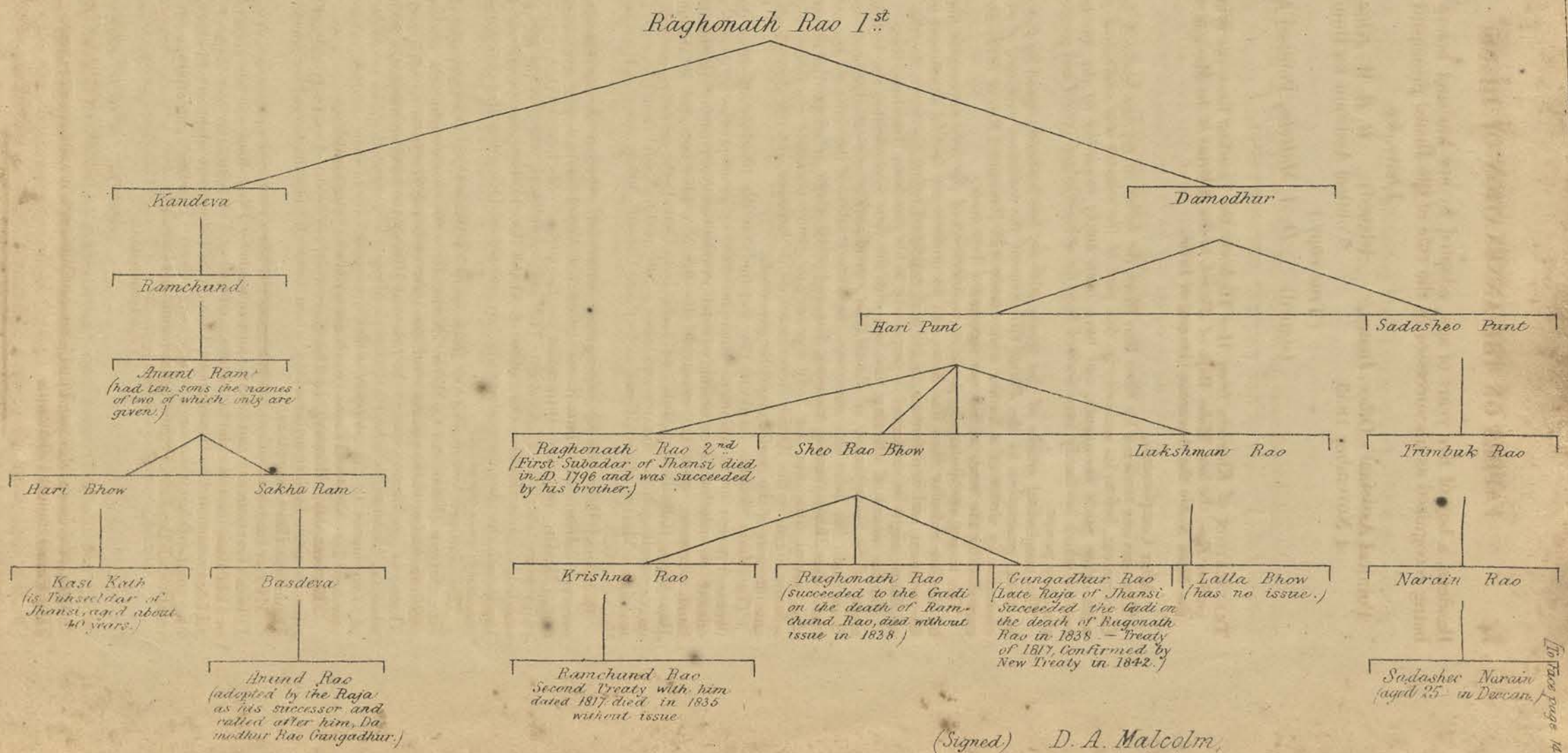
Note.—Correct with regard to Urcha and Jalown, but not so as to Dattia; *vide* page 211 De Cruz's Political Relations.

(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis.*

No. 431. Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 27th July 1855.

Henry Hansard Printer

Genealogical List of Anund Rao, styled Damodhur Rao, Gungadhur Rao, son of Basdevoo, adopted by Gungadhur Rao, late Maharaja of Jhansi.


Raghonath Rao 1st.
Kandeva
Ramchund
Anunt Ram
(had ten sons the names of two of which only are given.)
Hari Bhow
Sakha Ram
Kasi Kaik
(is Tuhseeldar of Jhansi, aged about 40 years.)
Basdeva
Anund Rao
(adopted by the Raja as his successor and called after him, Damodhur Rao Gangadhur.)
Damodhur
Hari Punt
Sadasheo Punt
Raghonath Rao 2nd
(First Subadar of Jhansi died in A.D. 1796 and was succeeded by his brother.)
Sheo Rao Bhow
Lukshman Rao
Trimbuk Rao
Krishna Rao
Raghonath Rao
(succeeded to the Gadi on the death of Ramchund Rao, died without issue in 1838.)
Gungadhur Rao
(Late Raja of Jhansi Succeeded the Gadi on the death of Rugonath Rao in 1838.—Treaty of 1817, Confirmed by New Treaty in 1842.)
Lalla Bhow
(has no issue.)
Narain Rao
Ramchund Rao
Second Treaty with him dated 1817 died in 1835 without issue
Sadashee Narain
(aged 25 in Deccan.)

[To face page 14.]

(Signed) D. A. Malcolm,
Pol^l Agent for Bundlecund and Rewah.

No. 34 of 1853.

From Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlecund, and Rewah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.

Sir,

I BEG to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch of the 16th instant, a copy of which has been forwarded to Major Ellis, for his information and guidance.

2. Since the death of the Raja of Jhansi two persons have advanced claims of right of succession to the Gadi, namely, Kishen Rao, and Sadasheo Narain.

The first is a nephew (sister's son) of Ramchunder Rao, the Raja of Jhansi, who died in the year 1835. The claims of this individual were then, I believe, rejected as totally inadmissible, and his present appeal appears to be deserving of no consideration.

The second individual is a person called Sadasheo Narain, now in the Deccan. It will be seen, from the enclosed letter from Major Ellis, that he considers this man's claims also inadmissible; but on an examination of the genealogical tree herewith enclosed, it will be seen, that if the claims of heirs male of the ancestors of the late Raja are admitted, this individual is actually the nearest relative left to claim the Gaddi on these grounds.

I have, &c.

(signed) *D. A. Malcolm*,
Political Agent,
Gwalior, Bundlecund, and Rewah.

Political Agency Office, Camp Kotra,
31 December 1853.

To Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent for Bundlecund and Rewah, Camp.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward, for such orders as you may deem necessary, a khureeta to your address from Sadasheo Narain, the son of Narain Rao, of Parola, in the Dekhan, regarding his pretensions to the Jhansi succession, and which appear to me to be utterly void of all just foundation.

I have, &c.

(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis*,
Political Assistant for Bundlecund.

Political Assistant's Office, Jhansi,
14 December 1853.

(True copy.)

(signed) *D. A. Malcolm*,
Political Agent,
Gwalior, Bundlecund, and Rewah.

No. 4 of 1854.

From Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlecund, and Rewah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.

Sir,

I FIND I have neglected to send, along with my letter of the 31st ultimo, No. 35, from Camp Kotra, a copy of Major Ellis's letter to my address of the 24th idem. I now beg to transmit it, and to request you will have the goodness to place it on the file of the enclosures sent with my letter above referred to.

I have, &c.
(signed) *D. A. Malcolm*,
Political Agent,
Gwalior, Bundlecund, and Rewah.

Political Agency Office, Camp Antree,
13 January 1854.

No. 36.

To Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent for Bundlecund and Rewah, Camp.

Sir,

WITH reference to your letter, No. 71, dated 20th instant, I beg leave to observe that we have a treaty of alliance and friendship with the Jhansi as well as the Urcha State, and that I cannot discover any difference in the terms of the two which would justify our withholding the privilege of adoption from one State and allowing it to the other.

2. The right of the Native States to make adoptions is most clearly acknowledged in paragraphs 16 and 17 of despatch No. 9, dated 27th March 1839, from the Honourable the Court of Directors; and it appears to me that it would be opposed to the spirit of enlightened liberality which dictated those orders, if the privilege was to be now refused to families created by ourselves as a reward for the services rendered to the British Government, on the grounds that they were not of so ancient an origin as others.

I have, &c.
(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis*,
Political Assistant for Bundlekund.

Political Assistant's Office, Jhansi,
24 December 1853.

(True copy.)
(signed) *D. A. Malcolm*,
Political Agent,
Gwalior, Bundlecund, and Rewah.

NOTE.

Jhansi adoption.

MAHARAJAH GUNGADHUR ROW of Jhansi died without issue on the 21st of November last. A day before his death he very unexpectedly adopted a boy of five years of age, named Damooda Gunga, a distant cousin, and the recognition of this adoption is solicited by the widow.

Major Malcolm reports that this adoption by the late chief of Jhansi, on his deathbed, has taken every one at his court by surprise, and that officer does not appear to recognise the right of the Rajah to nominate an heir to his principality by adoption.

Besides the adopted son, two other claimants to the succession have since come forward.

The claim of one of them, Krishna Rao, appears to Major Malcolm to be deserving of no consideration. He is stated to be the son of a sister of Raja Ramchand Rao, who died in 1835; and Major Malcolm observes, that his claim was then put forward, and rejected.

The

The other claimant, Sudasheo Narain, belongs to a branch of the family, none of the members of which have ever shared in the succession; but if the claims of heirs-male of the ancestors of the late Raja are admitted, the political agent states that this individual is actually the nearest relative left to claim the guddee on these grounds.

The following history of our relations with Jhansi, and of the origin of this chiefship, will show that in this State the grant of the British Government goes no further back than Ramchand Row, the third Subahdar, and that the extreme point to which succession has been extended, is to the descendants of the two first Subahdars; also, that adoption in this family has been very decidedly not recognised.

In 1804 a treaty of friendship and amity was concluded with Sheo Rao Bhow, Subadar of Jhansi. As afterwards explained by Government, this "treaty with the Bhow, as distinctly implied in the terms of the preamble, was, in fact, concluded by the British Government on the part of the Peishwa, under the sanction of whose nominal authority indeed our operations and measures in Bundlecund were undertaken and conducted." The Subahdar in 1812 wished this treaty to be renewed in favour of his grandson, Rao Ramchand; but the British Government declined to do so, inasmuch as it would encroach on the rights of the Peishwa, whose subject the Subadar was. The Governor-general in Council pronounced that the British Government were not entitled to declare the subahdaree of Jhansi "to be hereditary, without the consent of the Peishwah." The former treaty was declared to be strictly personal.

Vide Cons. 3d March 1804, No. 238/240.

On this occasion the Governor-general in Council reviewed the past history of the Bhow's relations with the Peishwa, and distinctly explained the position of that Subahdar. He showed that the "tenure of the Bhow has been more that of an aumil or governor of the Subadaree of Jhansi, than of a chief possessing a proprietary right in the soil." The Governor-general in Council remarked, that "several of the papers furnished by the Bhow designate the person vested with the charge of the district of Jhansi by the title of collector; and the accounts which he has transmitted of receipts and disbursements correspond with that designation."

Orders of Government of 17th July 1812.

Sheo Rao Bhow died in 1814, and was succeeded by his grandson, Rao Ram Chand, who applied to the British Government for a khelat of investiture, which was refused, in the following terms: "The Governor-general is of opinion that, under the present state of suspense as to the confirmation of Rao Ram Chunder by the Peishwa, the investing of him with a khelat might imply the recognition of his title by the British Government, and might have the effect of giving umbrage to the Peishwa, by appearing to bar his pretensions to the superiority of the "Soubah of Jhansi."

Orders of Government, 24th March 1815.

In 1817 the Peishwa having ceded to the British Government all his rights, feudal, territorial, and pecuniary, in the province of Bundlecund, the British Government, adverting to the fidelity and attachment of the Subadhars of Jhansi, "resolved to declare the territory of Jhansi to be hereditary in the family of the late Sheo Rao Bhow, to perpetuate with his heirs the treaty concluded with the late Bhow, and to relinquish all claim to tribute, on condition of the chief furnishing at all times, when required by the British Government, a small body of good horse." The Governor-general in Council directed that the above stipulations should "be reduced to the form of a supplemental article, professedly founded on the transfer to the British Government of the Peshwa's supremacy over Jhansi, and reciting the motives for the concessions in favour of the chief of that State."

Letter dated 29th July 1817.

Government orders of 29th July 1817.

The treaty concluded with Rao Ram Chund, of 17 November 1817, is of the above tenor. The 2d Article "constitutes Rao Ram Chund, his heirs and successors, hereditary rulers of the territory."

In 1832 the title of Rajah was conferred by the Governor-general on the Subadar of Jhansi.

In 1835 Rao Ram Chund died, without issue. Four claimants appeared: Rao Rugnath Rao (second son of Sheo Rao Bhow, and therefore paternal uncle of the late Raja), was considered the rightful successor to the estate by the agent, Mr. Begbie. His succession was accordingly recognised by the Supreme Government, "it being presumed that he was able to establish his authority, and that his succession would be acknowledged by disinterested parties at Jhansi."

On this occasion the lawful heir by blood, descended of the body of Sheo Ram Bhow, was recognised as successor to the Raj, to the disallowance of a boy alleged to have been adopted, or nominated as successor by the late Raja the day before his death, who, if adopted, would have been unquestionably the heir to any property of his adoptive father, to the exclusion of the uncle; and this was done without inquiry into the fact of adoption or nomination (which was doubtful), as though it was an immaterial circumstance. Rugnath Rao died in April 1838.*

The following persons advanced their claims to succeed to the Raj; viz.

1st. Gungadhur Rao, who grounded his claims upon his natural right, as the only surviving son of Sheo Rao Bhow.

2d. Krishna Rao, the alleged adopted son of the late Rajah's predecessor, Rao Ram Chund.

3d. Allee Bahadoor, an illegitimate son of Rugnath Rao.

4th. The widow of the late Rajah.

A commission, composed of Lieutenant-colonel Speirs, Resident at Gwalior, Mr. Simon Fraser, and Captain D. Ross, were appointed by the Governor-general to examine into the rights of these several claimants to the chiefship of that State.

The attention of the commission was particularly drawn to the fact that, though the treaty strictly confirmed the succession of the Raj of Jhansi to the heirs and successors (or descendants) of Rao Ram Chund, the Government seemed to have waived this strict limitation by the admission of Rugnath Rao in 1835. Lord Auckland was therefore disposed to adopt the more liberal construction, which would admit to a right of inheritance all the descendants of Sheo Rao Bhow.

The commissioners declared an opinion in favour of Gungadhur Rao's right to succeed. This was a confirmation of the principle acted upon in 1835, Gungadhur Rao being the younger brother of the late Rajah.

This history will show that Jhansi unquestionably falls within the class of those who hold by gift from a sovereign or paramount power, and whose grants therefore, "the power which granted, or the power standing in its place, would have a right to resume on failure of heirs male of the body," according to Sir C. Metcalfe's Minute on the question of adoption in respect of Bundlecund chiefs, dated the 28th of October 1837.

There is now no male heir of the body of any Rajah or Soobadar of Jhansi.

Rughoonath Row was a leper, and was an incapable ruler. The late Raja Gungadhur Rao was kept out of real power till 1843, owing to his incompetency and the bad state of the country. The revenues of Jhansi once yielded 18 lacs, but had fallen in 1832 to 12 lacs; and in 1838, owing to gross mismanagement, to three lacs. Under our management it rose next year to seven lacs and a half. Territory to the value of 2,27,458 rupees was ceded in 1843, in lieu of the maintenance of half the Bundlekund legion. The settlement of 1844–45, for the remainder of the territory, was at a jumma of 5,91,970 rupees.

See De Cruz's Book, p. 27.

Amongst the papers now laid before Government is a letter from the widow of the late Raja of Jhansi, asking for the acknowledgment of her late husband's adopted son, and his succession to the Raj. She cites the cases of adoption allowed in Oorcha, Dutteea, and Jaloun as examples in favour of her claim.

The cases of the States of Oorcha and Dutteea are not in point, because they were neither granted by the British Government nor the Peshwah. They were independent States before the Mahrattas entered Bundlecund, and on that ground the Government recognised the adoption of sons by Rajas of those States.

The case of Jaloun is not quite the same, either with the cases of Dutteoa and Oorcha or with that of Jhansi. It belonged to a Mahratta family who emigrated from the Deccan. In 1806 we made a treaty with the chief of Jaloun, as though he were independent, without reference to the Peshwah, guaranteeing to him his territory as an hereditary possession; and taking in exchange territory from him, also without reference to the Peshwah. But in 1817

* Agra Narrative of Proceedings, for the fourth quarter of 1838, pp. 10 to 32; and first quarter of 1839, p. 18.

1817 a treaty was made with the same chief, in which he was certainly described as having been subordinate to the Peshwah, whose right of supremacy was stated, and in that second treaty the right of the chief was assured in the following words: "The British Government moreover acknowledges, and hereby constitutes, Nana Govind Row, his heirs and successors, the hereditary rulers of the territory at present in the Nana's actual possession."

In 1832 the ruler died without issue; and his widow adopted a son, whom we recognised, because it was agreeable to the wishes of the people.

The State, however, has since, in 1840, on the death of the adopted son, lapsed to Government. In 1832 its revenue was stated at 15 lacs, but under the adopted minor successor the rule was extremely disastrous. The Governor-general, Lord Auckland, thus described it: "Its Rajah, at 11 years of age, was under the tutelage of his sister and her minister. In the course of nine or ten years the lands had been most profusely alienated; debts to the amount of more than 30 lacs had been contracted; extensive districts had been mortgaged as security for them; there was neither order nor security in the territory; every village was exposed to the attacks of plunderers; cultivation was deserted, and a country which had been fruitful and prosperous, was day by day becoming desolate." To rescue the territory from ruin, we assumed the management in 1838. In 1839 the revenue amounted to seven lacs and a half; in 1843–44 it had risen to upwards of 12 lacs.

As the paramount power has it, in any case, in its discretion to authorise an adoption if it conceives that measure best for the public good, the fact of authorisation in the case of any particular State is no proof that authorisation was accorded as of right; far less can it be accepted as a proof that authorisation can be claimed as a right in the case of any other State.

As to the question of whether the grant to an adopted son of succession to the rule of a Bundela State be or be not a measure likely to be the best for the public good, so far at least as the people of the State itself are concerned, the case of Jaloun, relied on by the widow, may perhaps appear to his Lordship in Council very much to the point.

(signed) *J. P. Grant,*
Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

Jhansi.

1. MAHARAJAH GUNGADHUR RAO, the Rajah of Jhansi, died in the end of the month of November 1853. He left no child; but on the day before he died he adopted a son, and his widow, the Luchsmee Baee, now solicits the Government of India to recognise the adopted son as the successor to the Raj of Jhansi.

2. The note prepared by the Secretary has given a full and clear exposition of the relations between the British Government and the State of Jhansi. Having carefully considered these statements, and having examined the correspondence that has passed since we first came into communication with Jhansi, I have the honour to submit the opinion I have formed regarding the proper disposal of the territory lately ruled by the Raja of Jhansi.

3. It is my opinion that this territory, which has lapsed to the British Government, should be retained by it, in accordance equally with right and with sound policy.

4. The principles which must govern the disposal of Jhansi have very recently been fully considered and discussed in connexion with the case of Nagpore and Tehree. Guided by them, I have no hesitation in concluding that the right of the British Government to retain Jhansi, as a lapse or escheat, is clear, both under the general principle laid down by the Honourable Court in 1849, regarding dependent States, and on the particular principle laid down by the Lieutenant-governor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and accepted by the Supreme Government, in 1837, regarding the petty States in Bundlecund.

 5. For

5. For the sake of perspicuity, I will quote again the terms in which those principles have been communicated.

The Honourable Court of Directors declared, that "by the general law and custom of India, a dependent principality like that of Sattara cannot pass to an adopted heir without the consent of the paramount power; that we are under no pledge, direct or constructive, to give such consent; and that the general interests committed to our charge are best consulted by withholding it."*

Minute, 28th Oct. 1837. Printed Papers, p. 141.

In reference to the chiefs of Bundlecund, Sir Charles Metcalfe wrote thus:—"The question is, whether chiefs and princes, not having heirs of the body, have a right to adopt a successor to the exclusion of collateral heirs, or of the supposed reversionary rights of the paramount power, and whether the British Government is bound to acknowledge the adoption."

"In the disposal of this question there is a wide difference, to which Mr. S. Fraser has not adverted, between sovereign princes and jageerdars, between those in possession of hereditary sovereignties in their own right and those who hold grants of land or public revenue by gift from a sovereign or paramount power." * * * * *

"In the case, therefore, of Hindoo sovereign princes, I should say, that in failure of heirs male of the body, they have a right to adopt to the exclusion of collateral heirs; and that the British Government is bound to acknowledge the adoption, provided that it be regular, and not in violation of Hindoo law." * * * * *

"With respect to chiefs who merely hold lands or enjoy public revenues under grants such as are issued by a sovereign to a subject, the power which made the grant, or that which by conquest or otherwise has succeeded to its rights, is certainly entitled to limit succession according to the limitations of the grant, which in general confirms it to heirs male of the body, and consequently precludes adoption. In such cases, therefore, the power which granted, or the power standing in its place, would have a right to resume on failure of heirs male of the body."

6. Jhansi is a "dependent principality," in like manner as, and even more distinctly than Sattara; it was held by a chief under very recent grant from the British Government as sovereign; it is, therefore, liable to lapse to the Government that gave it on the failure of heirs male.

7. The dependent nature of the chiefship of Jhansi does not admit of dispute.

It never was a sovereign State, even in the sense in which Tehree was so regarded; it was, in fact, a portion of Tehree, separated from it by the Peishwa, the superior of Tehree, and placed under the superintendence of a Soubadar.†

Cons. 3d March 1804. Government of India, Cons. 17th July 1812, para. 2. Para. 4.

In 1804, a treaty, which recited that the "Soobedar of Jhansi is a tributary of his Highness," was formed by the British Government with Sheo Rao Bhow. Subsequently the Government, in reference to the treaty, observed, that "Sheo Rao Bhow," in the wajib-ool-urz which he transmitted to the late Commander-in-chief, Lord Lake, in 1803, and which formed the basis of the existing treaty, distinctly acknowledges that he held his country under the authority of the Peishwa; "on whose part the treaty with the Bhow, as is distinctly implied in the terms of the preamble, was, in fact, concluded by the British Government."

Accordingly, in reply to the application made by Sheo Rao Bhow to have the treaty confirmed to his grandson as his successor, the Government of India stated that it was "not" . . . . . "entitled to declare it (the State of Jhansi) to be hereditary without the consent of the Peishwa."

Cons. 17th July 1812, para. 4.

In the course of this correspondence the real position of the Soobedar of Jhansi was clearly ascertained and defined.

Letter, 25th June 1812, para. 3.

The agent to the Governor-general in Bundlecund stated thus: "From the documents produced, it appears that the tenure of the Bhow has been more that of an aumil, or governor of the Soubedaree of Jhansi, than that of a chief endowed with proprietary right to the soil; and that the sole claim of this chief to retain his possession, or tenure, whatever it may be termed, rests upon his demand on the Poonah Government."

The Governor-general in Council observing that this statement is consistent with

---

* Court of Directors to Government of India, No. 4, 24th January 1849, para. 8.
† Political Relations, De Cruz, p. 27; also Consultation, 17th July 1812.

with "what is known of the history of Bundlecund," further illustrates the definition given by the agent of the position of the Subadar of Jhansi in these words: "Several of the papers furnished by the Bhow designate the person vested with the charge of the district of Jhansi by the title of collector; and the accounts which he has transmitted of receipts and disbursements correspond with that designation." Cons. 17th July 1812, para. 3.

Throughout the whole of this record the Soobedaree of Jhansi is viewed as a dependent chiefship, entirely under the authority of the Peishwa, with whom rested the option of "continuing the succession to the Soobedaree of Jhansi in the family of the Bhow." Cons. 17th July 1812, para. 6.

The British Government, acting consistently on this principle, refused to acknowledge the succession of Rao Ram Chund, in 1815, by investing him with a khellat, lest "it might imply the recognition of his title by the British Government, and might have the effect of giving umbrage to the Peeshwa, by appearing to bar his pretensions to the superiority of the Soobah of Jhansi." Cons. 24th March 1815, para. 2.

In 1817, "the whole of the rights of his Highness the Peeshwa over the principality of Jhansi" were transferred by treaty to the British Government. That Government, however, did not recognise the Soobedar Ram Chund as being in his own right the hereditary chief of Jhansi; but in consideration of the attachment of the late Sheo Rao Bhow to the British Government, and in deference to his wish, it "consented, on certain conditions, to constitute Rao Ram Chund the hereditary chief of the lands actually held by the late Sheo Rao Bhow at the commencement of the British Government in Bundlecund, and now possessed by the Government of Jhansi." Accordingly the second article of the treaty of 1817 "constitutes Rao Ram Chund, his heirs and successors, hereditary rulers of the territory enjoyed by the late Sheo Rao Bhow." . . . . . Treaty, 17th Nov. 1817.

The chief thus made hereditary retained, however, his inferior position, and was not named a Rajah until 1832.

In 1835, Rao Ram Chund died. Although he had adopted a boy as his successor the day before his death, the adoption was not recognised; and his uncle, Raghonath Rao, was declared to be Rajah. In 1838, Raghonath Rao having died, the succession was granted to his brother, Gungadhur Rao, the Rajah just deceased.

8. Gungadhur Rao has left no heir of his body. There is no male heir of Rao Ram Chund, on whom the hereditary chiefship was conferred. There is no male heir whatever of any Rajah or Soobedar of Jhansi, who has ruled since the first relations of the British Government with that State were formed. There is, therefore, no male heir whatever existing to the hereditary chiefship of Jhansi. *See* Genealogical Tree, in letter from Agent, 31st Dec. 1853.

9. The boy whom the late Rajah adopted on the day before his death, as will be seen from the genealogical table, is but a very distant relation of the late Raja. The adoption of a boy by any man when he is almost in the last agonies is liable to suspicion; it is, in the present case, more than usually so, for it was well known beforehand that the Rajah had never contemplated making an adoption. The Political Agent, when reporting the death of the Rajah and the adoption made by him, observed, "The sudden resolution of the chief of Jhansi to adopt a successor on his deathbed has, I believe, taken every one at his court by surprise. It was understood that he would probably make an attempt to induce us to allow him to leave his estate in the hands of his widow during her lifetime; but, from the circumstance of there being no heir male existing in the line of Sheo Rao, the Subadar of Jhansi with whom our first treaty was concluded, or no near relation of any description, the question of adoption was, I believe, considered one which was not ever likely to be brought forward." 25th Nov. 1853, para. 4.

10. The Ranee, in a khurreeta which she has addressed to the Governor-general in Council, solicits a recognition of the adoption, on the ground that adoption has been recognised in Tehree, in Duttia, and in Jaloun, States of Bundlecund.

Tehree and Duttia are independent States, the succession to which forms no precedent for the course of succession in dependent States, such as Jhansi.

In Jaloun, a dependent State, an adoption was allowed; but it is to be observed, that a concession by the British Government of the privilege to adopt

on any particular occasion, from motives of friendship or of policy, by no means involves the admission of a right to adopt, on the part of the rulers of that or of any other State. It certainly was not so regarded in the case of Jaloun itself; for Jaloun has, since the adoption in question, been treated as a lapse by the British Government.

11. Still less can it be conceded, as the Ranee contends, that the present adoption should be recognised, because, in the second article of the treaty of 1817, constituting Rao Ram Chund, his heirs and successors, hereditary chiefs of Jhansi, the British Government meant "thereby . . . . that any party who he adopted as his son . . . . would be acknowledged by the British Government as his successor."

Letter from Agent, 15th Dec. 1853.

There is no need of, and no room for argument on this head. The historical facts on record negative the Ranee's assertion conclusively; for Rao Ram Chund did adopt a boy, but the British Government did not acknowledge the boy as successor, and it nominated another person to be the Rajah.

12. It has thus been established in the preceding paragraphs, that the territory of Jhansi is a dependent State; that the Raja is one of those "chiefs," in Bundlecund, "who merely hold lands or enjoy public revenue under grants, such as are issued by a sovereign to a subject;" with respect to which, "the power which made the grant, or that which by conquest or otherwise has succeeded to its rights, is certainly entitled to limit succession according to the limitations of the grant, which in general confines it to heirs male of the body, and consequently precludes adoption;" that there is no heir of the body of the late Raja; that there is no heir whatever of any Rajah, or of any Soobedar of Jhansi, with whom the British Government has at any time had relations; that the late Raja was never expected by his own people to adopt; and lastly, that a previous adoption by the Rajah whom the British Government constituted hereditary chief of Jhansi, was not acknowledged by the British Government.

Sir C. Metcalfe, 28th Oct. 1837, para. 7.

Wherefore it follows, that the right of the British Government to refuse to acknowledge the present adoption by the late Rajah Gungadhur Rao is placed beyond question, equally by the existence of precedent, by the general principles regarding adoption laid down by the Honourable Court of Directors, and by the particular rules laid down for successions in Bundlecund by Sir C. Metcalfe, who has himself been quoted as an authority generally favourable to the recognition of adoptions made by Hindoo rulers in certain specified cases.

13. The sound policy of regarding Jhansi as a State lapsed by failure of heirs male, is not less clear than our right to do so.

The British Government will not derive any material advantage from the possession of this territory, for it is of no great extent, and the revenue is inconsiderable; but as it lies in the midst of other British districts, the possession of it as our own will tend to the improvement of the general internal administration of our possessions in Bundlecund. That its incorporation with the British territories will be greatly for the benefit of the people of Jhansi, a very brief reference to the results of experience will suffice to show.

14. Since Rao Ram Chund, who received the grant of hereditary succession in Jhansi, there have been two rulers recognised as successors. The first, Raghonauth Rao, was a leper, and during his short rule of three years, from 1835 to 1838, he proved himself altogether incapable of governing. The revenue of Jhansi, which was once 18 lacs, and which had fallen even in the time of Rao Ram Chund, did not exceed three lacs on the death of Rughoonath Rao.

The British Government permitted Gungadhur Rao to succeed him, but so incapable was he also of governing, that the management of affairs was assumed by us, and was not made over to the Raja for many years afterwards.

15. Our experience of the results of recognising succession by adoption is not more favourable in the case of Jaloun, the precedent to which the Ranee now solicits this Government to conform.

In 1832, when the adoption was permitted in that State, the revenues amounted to 15 lakhs of rupees. Eight years afterwards the revenue had fallen to less than one-half, and the Governor-general thus described the condition to which the State had been reduced, in the Minute quoted by the Secretary:—

"Its

"Its Rajah, at 11 years of age, was under the tutelage of his sister and her minister. In the course of nine or ten years the lands had been most profusely alienated; debts to the amount of more than 30 lacs had been contracted; extensive districts had been mortgaged as security for them; there was neither order nor security in the territory; every village was exposed to the attacks of plunderers; cultivation was deserted; and a country which had been fruitful and prosperous was from day to day becoming desolate." 24th Feb. 1840.

16. Such were the results of the policy of permitting adoptions and irregular successions in Jaloun and Jhansi.

Warned by these results, I hold that sound policy combines with duty in urging that the British Government in the present case of Jhansi should act upon its right, should refuse to recognise the adoption by Gungadhur Rao, and should take possession of Jhansi as an escheat.

The Ranee should be liberally provided for in the manner suggested by the Political Agent; and the administration of the district should ultimately be made over to the Lieutenant-governor with the other districts lately transferred to him.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

27 February 1854.

MINUTE by the Honourable *J. A. Dorin.*

Jhansi.

I AM of opinion, that the State of Jhansi is one of those dependent possessions which the British Government has the absolute right to resume in failure of heirs male of the chieftain, and that as the failure on the present instance is complete, and the paramount power is under no obligation to recognise any adoption, even if that adoption were unequivocal, and in favour of a collateral descendant of the original grantee, which is not now the case, this Government is at liberty to resume the lapsed territory of Jhansi, and is justified in doing so by considerations of sound policy.

(signed) *J. A. Dorin.*

28 February 1854.

MINUTE by the Honourable Colonel *J. Low*, C. B., concurred in by the Honourable *F. J. Halliday.*

Jhansi.
Minute by the Governor-general, dated 27th Feb. 1854.

WITH reference to the similarity which exists in respect to power, and (according to general estimation) in respect to political position also, between petty chiefs in Bundlecund, such as the rulers of Jhansi and Chuttercote, and petty princes in Rajpootana, such as those of Kerowlee and Serobee; and adverting also to some of the general considerations stated in my Minute on Nagpore affairs, dated the 10th ultimo, I should have preferred it if the Governor-general had pursued a similar course towards Jhansi to that which we lately adopted towards Chuttercote and Kerowlee, making some modifications in the terms of our engagement with Jhansi in order to prevent future misrule.

But the facts and the reasoning now recorded by the Most Noble the Governor-general in his Minute of the 27th ultimo have combined to bring entire conviction to my mind that the native rulers of Jhansi were never sovereigns; that they were only subjects of a sovereign, first of the Peishwah, and latterly of the East India Company. For those reasons, and for others, also, which are clearly stated by his Lordship, I consider that the Government of India has now a full right, if it chooses to exercise that right, to annex the lands of Jhansi to the British dominions, and, therefore, I have nothing more to say on the subject.

(signed) *J. Low.*

1 March 1854.

I entirely concur with the Most Noble the Governor-general.

2 March 1854. (signed) *Fred. Jas. Halliday.*

No. 19 of 1854.

From Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlekund, and Rewah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.

Sir,

I BEG to submit, for the information of the Most Noble the Governor-general in Council, the accompanying khareeta to his Lordship's address from Lutchmee Baee, the widow of the late Gungadhur Rao Raja of Jhansi.

2. Lutchmee Baee, it will be seen, advocates the right of her late husband to adopt an heir to the principality of Jhansi, on the grounds that by the treaty of 1817 the insertion of the term "joh nasheenan," or successors in general, as opposed to the term "warrisan," or heirs of the body or collateral heirs, warranted his doing so, and also that the fidelity evinced by the Jhansi chiefs towards our Government in past years ought to be taken into consideration by us in coming to a final decision on the fate of the principality.

3. The term above referred to by the Baee is to be found in the second article of the treaty of 1817, but in the preamble the words "nuslun baad nuslun" are used as laying down the terms on which the successor to the principality is to be acknowledged by our Government. The term "joh nasheenan," in a subsequent part of the treaty, undoubtedly of itself implies successors in general; but as the term "bilirs" is used previous to the introduction of the words "warrisan wo joh nasheenan," it is a question for Government to decide whether the latter term conveys any permission on the part of our Government to the Raja to nominate whom he pleased to succeed him on the Gadi, or that the term "bilirs" restricted the succession to persons who were legal heirs to the same.

4. The Baee in her khareeta does not I believe in the slightest degree overestimate the fidelity and loyalty all along evinced by the State of Jhansi towards our Government, under circumstances of considerable temptation before our power had arrived at that commanding position which it has since attained.

I have, &c.
(signed) *D. A. Malcolm*,
Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlecund, and Rewah.

Political Agency, Gwalior,
28 February 1854.

TRANSLATION of a Khureeta from Her Highness the *Lakshmi Bai*, the Widow of *Gungadhur Rao*, late Maharajah of Jhansi, to the Address of the Marquis of *Dalhousie*, the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, dated Jhansi, 16th February 1854.

After Compliments,

Distress at recent affliction when I addressed your Lordship upon the 3d December last prevented my entering as fully as I ought to have done into the circumstances of the adoption made by my late husband, an omission which I now beg leave to supply.

It was the good fortune of Sheo Rao Bhao, the father of my late husband, to be the first of the chiefs in this part of the country who tendered their allegiance to the British Government, which he improved by subsequent exertions in inducing them to follow his example; at which Lord Lake was so pleased that he directed him to submit a paper of requests as to the manner in which the interests of himself and family could be best served. In obedience to these orders a paper, wajib ul urz, containing seven different articles, was submitted, through Captain John Baillie, the political agent for Bundelakund, which were all sanctioned by order of the Most Noble the Governor-general of India. Sheo Rao Bhao having omitted to define certain requests in the wajib ul urz, which he was anxious to make, and having in the meantime had an opportunity of rendering further services, his Lordship entered into a new agreement, for the purpose of rectifying this omission, and thereby becoming an additional pledge of fidelity and attachment on his part to the Government. The new agreement consisted of nine articles, in which the benefits of two new articles were added to those already derivable from the seven articles of the wajib ul urz, and having been duly signed and sealed by the Governor-general, was delivered to him by Captain John Baillie, at Kotra.

In the 6th article of the wajib ul urz, Sheo Rao Bhao reports that the Rajas of Urcha, Duttia, Chanderi, and other neighbouring States, are ready to tender their allegiance to the British

British Government, provided the different places then in their possession was confirmed to them, and prepared to pay their accustomed tribute to the British Government. Upon which an order was passed, to the effect that any chief who imitated his example in showing obedience and attachment to the British cause should be confirmed in possession of all the advantages then belonging to them; moreover, that other marks of friendship might be expected from service in such a cause.

It was from the same desire to reward past services like these that the British Government entered into a treaty, in 1817, with Rao Ramchundra Rao, the grandson of Sheo Rao Bhao, the second article of which acknowledges Rao Ram Chundra Rao, his heirs and successors, as hereditary rulers in perpetuity of the Jhansi principality, and guaranteed its protection to them from foreign aggression.

During the Burmese war in 1824, Rao Ram Chundra Rao advanced upwards of 70,000 rupees to branjarahs employed in carrying grain to the troops in Burmah. Mr. Ainslie reported his having done so in favourable terms to the Governor-general, who ordered the money to be repaid; but Rao Ramchunda Rao having declined repayment on the grounds that he was an ally of the British Government, and that the interests of the two States were identical, the Governor-general was pleased to send him a dress of honour, with a complimentary khareeta, thanking him for his services upon the occasion. I regret to say that this khareeta has been mislaid, and would esteem it a favour if your Lordship would kindly order my being furnished with a copy of it.

Shortly afterwards, during the siege of Wharutapoor, the city Kalpi, in the British territory, being threatened with an attack from Nannay Pandit, at the time in rebellion against Jaloun, Mr. Ainslie, the agent, called upon Bhikraji Nana, Kamdar of Jhansi during the minority, to despatch troops with the utmost expedition to Kalpi, with the view to protect the Kooneh district from plunder; in consequence of which, Bhikraji Nana made immediate arrangements for sending off 2 guns, 400 sowars, and 1,000 foot soldiers, to Kalpi, and which arrived in time to save Kalpi from being plundered, and proved the means of restoring general confidence to the people in the Kooneh district. Copies of letters from Mr. Ainslie to Ramchundra Rao, the minor Raja, and Bhakaji, his kamdar, thanking them for their services upon this emergent occasion, are submitted with the view of showing that the Jhansi State was always foremost in the field when opportunity occurred for displaying its loyalty to the paramount power.

When Lord William Bentinck was at Jhansi in 1832, he visited Rao Ram Chunder Rao in the fort on the evening of the 19th December, and conferred upon him the title of Maharaj Dhiraj Fidmi Badshah Janujah Englistan, Maharajah Ram Chunder Rao Bahadur, ordering him to have it engraved upon his seal, investing him at the same time with the insignia of the Nakara and Chonar, with permission to adopt the British flag, telling him, in open durbar, that of all the chiefs of Bundelakund, his uncle, Sheo Rao Bhao, had done the best service, and that the honours now conferred were the reward of his meritorious services to the British Government. On arrival at Saugur, his Lordship was further pleased to send him a complimentary letter in English, having a gold-leaf border, dated 20th December 1832, copy of which is forwarded, repeating what he had stated in durbar, and adding, that the letter then issued would serve ever afterwards as the patent of his rank and authority.

Raghoonath Rao, who succeeded his nephew, Ram Chundra Rao, in 1835, died in 1838, when the right of my husband to the succession was acknowledged; but owing to the State being in debt at the time, it was placed under the superintendence of Captain D. Ross for a period of three years, at the expiration of which it was restored to him, with an agreement on his part by which he ceded Dulioh, Talgong, and other districts, valued at 2,55,891 Jhansi rupees, as payment towards a legion to be employed for the purpose of coercing any of his turbulent feudatories who might set his authority at defiance; and one on Colonel Sleeman's part, dated 1st January 1843, confirming to the Jhansi State all the advantages guaranteed to it by virtue of former treaties.

It cannot be denied that the terms warisan, " heirs," and janisinan, " successors," made use of in the second article of the treaty with Ram Chundra Rao, refer to different parties; the term warisan being confined in meaning to national or collateral heirs, while janishinan, on the contrary, refers to the party adopted as heir and successor to the estate, in the event of there being no national or collateral heir entitled to the succession. Treaties are studied with the utmost care before ratification; and it is not to be supposed that the term janishinan used in contradistinction to warisan was introduced in an important document of this kind, of the authority almost of a revelation from Heaven, without a precise understanding of its meaning, the advantages of which are further explained by the clause declaring the gift then made to have been one in perpetuity to the family. It was with this understanding of the terms of the treaty that my husband, the day before his death, summoned Major Ellis and Captain Martin, the officer commanding the station, to the palace, and with his dying breath, in full durbar, made over Anand Rao, his adopted son, to the care and protection of the British Government, delivering at the same time a kharita, or testament, further declaratory of his wishes on this solemn occasion for communication to your Lordship.

I take the liberty of enclosing a list of some of the precedents which have occurred in Bundelakund in which the right of the native chief or his widow to adopt a successor to the gadi, in default of national heirs, has been sanctioned; and as it is the firm reliance which they feel in the integrity and justice of the British Government which enables them to pass their days in peace and quietness, without other care than how to prove their loyalty,

venture to express a hope that the widow of the son of Sheo Rao Bhao will not be considered undeserving of that favour and compassion which others similarly situated have been declared entitled to.

(True translation.)

(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis,*
Political Assistant for Bundelkund.

Enclosure 1.

FOUR precedents quoted in favour of the adoption of Anand Rao being sanctioned.

1. Bijaya Bahadur, the present Raja of Duttia, was a foundling, of unknown caste, picked up on the road by Parikshat, the last Raja; this adoption was sanctioned.

2. The last Chief of Jaloun, like the Jhansi State, a Brahmin family, was adopted by his sister, the widow of Bala Rao, Chief of Jaloun, after his death; and this adoption from a different gote or clan was sanctioned.

3. The last Raja of Urcha, Sujan Singh, was an adopted son of Tej Singh, the former Raja; and this adoption was sanctioned.

4. In 1839, Khanday Rao, a Brahmin Jagirdar, of Algi, but not connected in alliance with the British Government, died without leaving issue; Mr. Fraser confiscated his estate, as having lapsed, but Colonel Sleeman, taking a more liberal view of the case, obtained the sanction of Government to his widow being allowed to adopt. She adopted the son of a very remote ancestor; when the revenue collections for the four years, during the period that it had been confiscated, were made over to her.

Enclosure 2.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *M. Ainslie,* Esq., Agent to the Governor-General for Bundelkhund, dated 16 December 1824, to *Ram Chunder Rao,* Minor, Raja of Jhansi.

My Friend,

I HAD the gratification of bringing your good conduct regarding the Brandjarahs to the notice of the Most Noble the Governor-general of India; and I have much pleasure, by his directions, in sending you a khilaut, with a letter from his Lordship, thanking you for your services upon this occasion.

Enclosure 3.

TRANSLATION of a Perwanah from *M. Ainslie,* Esq., Agent Governor-General, dated 11 January 1825, to *Bhikaji Nanee,* Kamdar of Jhansi.

YOUR letter, stating that the Jhansi State, in compliance with my requisition, had detached troops under the command of Abaji Bakshi to Kooneh, for the purpose of protecting it against attacks of Minnay, Pandit of Parasan, has come to hand, and has afforded me much satisfaction, as showing your zeal in the British cause. You will have heard of the arrival of the British troops, and those from Jhansi can be recalled.

Enclosure 4.

TRANSLATION of a Letter from *M. Ainslie,* Esq., Agent Governor-General for Bundelakund, to *Ram Chunder Rao,* Minor, Raja of Jhansi, dated 22 January 1825.

My Friend,

YOUR letter, reporting that you had ordered Bhikaji Nanah to send a force to Kooneh has arrived; but previous to its arrival I had informed Bhikaji Nana, as you will have heard, that it was no longer required. I feel much gratified by what Mir Ahmud Ali, your vakil, has made known to me.

(True translation.)

(signed) *R. R. W. Ellis,*
Political Assistant for Bundlecund.

(True copies.)

(signed) *J. Williams,* Head Clerk.

No. 1036 of 1854.—Foreign Department.

From *J. W. Dalrymple*, Esq., Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of India, to Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent for Bundlecund and Rewah.

Sir,

In reply to your letter dated 28th ultimo, No. 19, submitting a khureeta from the widow of the late Rajah of Jhansi, in which she advocates the right of her late husband to adopt an heir to the Principality of Jhansi, I am directed by the Governor-general in Council to refer you to the letter to your address, dated 7th instant, No. 881, on the subject.

I have, &c.
(signed) *J. W. Dalrymple*,
Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India.

Fort William, 17 March 1854.

No. 24 of 1854.

From Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlecund, and Rewah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.

Sir,

I have been favoured with your despatch of the 7th instant, No. 881, conveying to me the decision of the Most Noble the Governor-general in Council, in regard to the State of Jhansi, and directing me to adopt measures for taking possession of the same as British territory.

2. I beg you will do me the favour to submit, for the information of his Lordship, the papers noted in the margin *, which will apprise him of the steps I have taken to give effect to his wishes.

3. It will be seen that I have directed Major Ellis to assume charge of the country, and as the simplest mode of carrying on the duties of its Government during the short period which I presume it will remain under my supervision, to adhere to the rules and regulations introduced by Major Ross, the late Superintendent at Jhansi, with which the people are, I believe, perfectly familiar.

4. I have directed Major Ellis to pay up and discharge the small party of the irregular troops still in the service of the Jhansi State. These men, I think, if they peaceably take their discharge, should receive a donation to enable them to reach to their homes; and if it meets the approval of Government, I will direct Major Ellis to advance two months' pay to each soldier for that purpose.

5. The State of Jhansi has been under our supervision since the death of the late Raja, on the 21st of November 1853; but as there has been no reduction made in the establishment, and everything has been carried on in the native manner, I would beg to suggest the most liberal, and at the same time most simple mode of adjusting the accounts of the State, that all the receipts and disbursements should be made up to the close of the present official year, 1st May 1854 (six weeks hence), on account of the Jhansi Government, and that the British Government should commence from that period to collect the revenues of the country.

6. This will enable the Jhansi Government to pay up and discharge its troops and establishments without any inconvenience, and enable us to enter with the year 1854–55 on the Government of the country, without mixing ourselves

* 1. Letter to Major Ellis, dated 15th March 1854.
2. Proclamation issued to the inhabitants of Jhansi and its dependencies.

ourselves up with the collections for the short period which is still required to complete the present official year.

7. In my letter of the 25th November last I recommended, for the consideration of Government, that a liberal provision of 5,000 Company's rupees per mensem should be made to the Ranee during her lifetime, and I presume the sanction of Government to the above proposition is contained in the second paragraph of your letter; but as the amount is not quoted, I have refrained from mentioning the sum in the khareeta which I have addressed to the Ranee.

8. I therefore beg to submit, for the consideration and sanction of Government, the following proposition in regard to this lady, who bears a very high character, and is much respected by every one at Jhansi:

1st. That a pension of 5,000 Company's rupees should during her lifetime be paid to her monthly from the treasury at Jhansi, or at any place at which she may choose to reside.

2d. That the palace at Jhansi should be made over to her for her residence, and to be considered as her private property.

3d. That during her lifetime she and her personal female attendants should be exempted from arrests and from the processes of our courts.

4th. That in compliance with her husband's last request, all the State jewels and private funds, and any balance remaining in the public treasury after closing the accounts of the State, should also be considered as her private property; and, finally, that a list of the old adherents of the family should be prepared and submitted to the Government of India, with the view to their obtaining during their lifetime some stipends for their support.

9. I do not anticipate that any obstructions will be thrown in our way in giving effect to the wishes of Government in regard to the State of Jhansi; and now that all anxiety in regard to Tehri has been removed by the late orders of Government, I am of opinion that one entire regiment of native infantry will be sufficient for the present for the duties of Jhansi itself.

10. It will be seen that I have directed three companies to occupy the fort of that place, and two companies to be detached from Sipree to Korara. I have adopted the first of these measures, both as a matter of precaution, and also to afford the men of Scindiah's Contingent now at Jhansi shelter during the hot winds, to which they would otherwise be exposed in tents, when the wing of the 12th Regiment Bengal Native Infantry occupy the lines at that place.

11. Should any symptom of disaffection show itself, which I do not anticipate, Captain Hennessy can, in one forced march, reach the Jhansi territories from Sipree with 500 men, two guns, and a troop of cavalry; and Brigadier Hill can also, on any emergency, furnish a detachment of two regiments of native infantry, with cavalry and guns in proportion, at a few days' notice.

12. Before closing this report, I beg to call the attention of Government to the 15th paragraph of my letter of the 25th of November 1853, No. 24, in which I requested, in the event of this State lapsing to the British Government, the charge might be placed in the hands of Captain Erskine, the commander at Jubbulpore. At this distance it is difficult for me to supervise in a satisfactory manner the management of so extensive a charge; and Major Ellis has so many other duties to attend to, that if it is intended that any length of time should elapse before the district is made over to the Government of the North-Western Provinces, an assistant should be allowed him to aid in carrying on the duties of the office.

13. Much inconvenience would, however, I think, be avoided by making over the management of this district at once to the Lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, who, by placing them on the same footing as the other districts in the charge of the Commissioner for the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, would avoid all the bad effects which a transfer from one system to another must naturally tend to produce.

14. As a change has to be made from the present system to that in force in our districts in the neighbourhood, it appears to me that it would be better that it should be made at once than that it should pass through an intermediate stage,

stage, which will be the case if it is allowed to remain in my hands without any separate establishment to enable me to place it on the footing on which it is intended permanently to remain.

I have, &c.
(signed) *D. A. Malcolm,*
Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlekund and Rewal.

Political Agency, Gwalior,
16 March 1854.

No. 67 of 1854.

From Major *D. A. Malcolm,* Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlekund, and Rewah,
to Major *Ellis,* Political Assistant for Bundlekund and Rewah, Jhansi.

Sir,

I BEG to forward, for your information and guidance, the copy of a despatch which I have received from the Government of India, intimating to me that the Most Noble the Governor-general in Council declines to recognise the adoption by the late chief of Jhansi as conferring any right to succeed to the rule of that State, and that his Lordship in Council has resolved to take possession of the principality of Jhansi as British territory.

2. I beg to transmit a khareeta to the address of the widow of the late chief, intimating to her the decision of his Lordship in her case, and I beg you will do me the favour to cause it to be delivered into her hands as early as practicable.

3. You will be so good as to assure the Ranee that a liberal provision will be made for her support, and that she will be treated with respect and consideration.

4. The Government having directed me to adopt measures for taking possession of the State of Jhansi as a lapse to the British Government, I have to request that you will, on the receipt of this, assume charge of it in addition to your other duties.

5. A proclamation, under my hand and seal, intimating to the inhabitants of Jhansi and its dependencies the changes which are about to take place, is herewith enclosed; copies of it should be immediately prepared and transmitted to every part of the Jhansi territories.

6. One of the first steps which you should adopt is to pay up and discharge the regular troops in the service of the late Maharaja. I shall apply to the Government of India for permission to grant these men two months' extra pay to enable them to return to their homes; but in the meanwhile the amount should be ascertained and liquidated from assets to be provided by the late Government of Jhansi.

7. In regard to the establishments to be maintained for carrying on your new duties, and the number of Seebundees to be employed in the districts, you cannot do better than to be entirely guided by what was considered necessary by Major Ross while he held a similar charge.

8. It is understood that the regulations in force during Major Ross's incumbency are in a great measure still adhered to. In this case very little change will now be necessary; but should I, however, be mistaken, I beg you will, as a general rule, in all cases, whether civil or criminal, be guided as much as practicable by the rules and regulations adopted by that officer.

9. I would not wish to interfere with you in any way in the selection of the officers you may wish to employ; but where it is not likely to interfere with the interest of Government, I think it will be advisable that as many of the old servants of the late Government as you may consider deserving of trust should be employed on the new establishments, especially in the revenue department.

10. The family and adherents of the late Raja have so much at stake in the present occasion, that I do not anticipate that we shall experience any obstructions from them in carrying out the orders of Government we have now received;

but, as a precautionary measure, I think it will be advisable that the detachment now in the fort of Jhansi should be increased to three companies, and that two or more companies should be posted in the fort of Kurara.

11. The former garrison you can obtain from the 6th Regiment Scindia's Contingent, now at Jhansi; and the latter, by a communication addressed to Captain Hennessy, commanding at Sipree, who has been requested to attend to any requisition you may address to him, to the amount of 500 men, two guns, and a troop of cavalry.

12. I have applied to Government to be allowed to withdraw to Morar on the arrival of the wing of the 12th Native Infantry, a wing of the regiment of Scindiah's Contingent now at Jhansi, as I think, with the reinforcement you can command from Sipree, a complete regiment of native infantry, a corps of cavalry and guns will be found, now that the Tehri question is settled, ample for any duties which we may require of them. Should any symptom of disaffection show itself, an additional force can immediately be detached from this to any part of the country where its presence may be required.

13. There are several points connected with winding up the affairs of the late Government, and the provision to be made for the widow of the late Raja and her adherents, on which I am about to address Government, and will communicate the result to you as early as practicable.

14. In the meanwhile I feel assured, from my knowledge of the conciliatory spirit by which your proceedings have always been characterised, that you will have no difficulty in establishing the authority of Government, and carrying on your new duties without opposition throughout the territories now made over as a temporary measure to your immediate charge.

I have, &c.

Political Agency, Gwalior, 15 March 1854.

(signed) *D. A. Malcolm,*
Political Agent, Gwalior, &c.

(True copy.)

(signed) *D. A. Malcolm,*
Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlekund, and Rewah.

TRANSLATION of a General Proclamation issued by Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlekund, and Rewah, for distribution in the Jhansi Territories, dated 13 March 1854.

WHEREAS the Maha Raja Gungadhur, Rao of Jhansi, having departed this life on the 21st of November 1853, and having previously to his death adopted Damodhur Rao as his heir, and whereas a letter has been received by me this day from the Secretary to the Government of India, dated the 7th instant, informing me that the Most Noble the Governor-general in Council had, for several reasons, declined to confirm and sanction the said adoption, and had directed that the principality of Jhansi should be taken under the charge of the British Government, the present proclamation is issued to all, to notify that the said principality has been assumed by the British Government, and that I have for the present placed Major Ellis, the political agent in Bundlekund, in charge of the same. It is therefore incumbent on all the subjects of the said principality to consider themselves under the authority of the said Government, and, paying the revenue due by them to Major Ellis, remain happy and contented.

(True translation.)

(signed) *D. A. Malcolm,*
Political Agent, Gwalior, Bundlekund, and Rewah.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

1. THE view of the Political Agent seems to be quite correct as to the expediency of transferring the principality of Jhansi at once to the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor, with whom it is intended ultimately to rest. Jhansi.

The Lieutenant-Governor should be addressed accordingly, and his opinions should be solicited as to the arrangements which he would wish to make.

2. Major Malcolm should be informed that this had been done, and that he will be again addressed, when a reply shall have been received from the Lieutenant-governor.

3. All the proposals of Major Malcolm regarding the Ranee, &c. at Jhansi were very proper, and may be approved subject to one exception, which is an important one. He proposes that all the property of the late Rajah should be given to the Ranee; but I apprehend that it is beyond the power of the Government so to dispose of the property of the Rajah, which by law will belong to the son whom he adopted. The adoption was good for the conveyance of private rights, though not for the transfer of the principality.

4. The gratuity to the discharged soldiers should be, as usual, six months' pay.

25 March 1854. (signed) *Dalhousie.*

27 March. (signed) *J. Dorin.*

(I concur.)

27 March. (signed) *J. Low.*

20 March. (signed) *Frederick James Halliday.*

No. 1381 of 1854.—Foreign Department.

From *J. P. Grant*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to Major *D. A. Malcolm*, Political Agent for Bundlecund and Rewah.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, dated the 16th instant, No. 24, forwarding copies of papers reporting the measures adopted by you for taking possession of the Jhansi State as British territory, and submitting certain proposals in regard to that territory, and the Ranee and her dependants.

2. In reply, I am directed to acquaint you that the Governor-general in Council approves of the proposals which you have made, with the exception of your proposal that all the property of the late Rajah should be given to the Ranee. His Lordship in Council apprehends that it is beyond the power of the Government so to dispose of the property of the Rajah, which by law will belong to the son whom he adopted. The adoption, if regularly made, was good for the conveyance of private rights, though not for the transfer of the principality.

3. His Lordship in Council sanctions your paying up and discharging the small party of the regular troops still in the service of the Jhansi State, with a gratuity of six months' pay to each soldier, which is the usual gratuity in such cases, instead of two months' pay, as proposed by you.

4. His Lordship in Council concurs with you as to the expediency of transferring the principality of Jhansi at once to the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-governor of the North-Western Provinces, with whom it is intended ultimately to rest. His Honour has been addressed accordingly, and he has been asked

what arrangements for this purpose he would propose to make. When the Lieutenant-governor's reply is received, you will be addressed again on this subject.

I have, &c.

Fort William,
31 March 1854.

(signed) *J. P. Grant,*
Secretary to the Government of India.

No. 1383 of 1854.—Foreign Department.

From *J. P. Grant*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to *W. Muir*, Esq., Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces.

Sir,

THE Government of India having determined to place the Jhansi State, which has lapsed to the British Government, under the control of the Government of the North-Western Provinces, I am directed by the Governor-general in Council to request that his Honour the Lieutenant-governor will favour the Government of India with his opinions as to the arrangements which he would wish to make for carrying out the object.

2. A copy of a despatch from Major Malcolm, No. 24, dated the 16th instant, and of the reply to it under this date, are enclosed for his Honour's information.

I have, &c.

Fort William, 31 March 1854.

(signed) *J. P. Grant.*

(True copies.)

(signed) *T. L. Peacock,*
Examiner of India Correspondence.

EAST INDIA (ANNEXATION OF JHANSI).

COPIES of a TREATY between *Ramchund Rao*, Soubadar of Jhansi, and the British Government, concluded in the Year 1817; and of REPORTS and CORRESPONDENCE relative to the ANNEXATION of the TERRITORY of JHANSI to the British Territories.

(*Mr. Cayley.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
27 *July* 1855.

[*Price* 1 *s.*]

431.

Under 8 *oz.*

EAST INDIA (TREATY WITH KHELAT).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 27 February 1873;—*for*,

COPY "of the TREATY made between the INDIAN GOVERNMENT and the KHAN of KHELAT in 1854."

India Office, 3 March 1873.

J. R. MELVILLE, Assistant Secretary, Political Department.

EXTRACT from AITCHISON'S TREATIES, Vol. vii., pp. 77 to 79.

No. XVII.

TREATY between the British Government and *Nusseer Khan*, Chief of *Khelat*, concluded on the Part of the British Government by Major *John Jacob*, C.B., in Virtue of full Powers granted by the Most Noble the Marquis of *Dalhousie*, K.T., &c., Governor General of India, and by *Meer Nuzzeer Khan*, Chief of *Khelat*.

WHEREAS the course of events has made it expedient that a new Agreement should be concluded between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, the following Articles have been agreed on between the said Government and his Highness:

Article 1.—The treaty concluded by Major Outram between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, on the 6th October 1841, is hereby annulled.

Article 2.—There shall be perpetual friendship between the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, Chief of Khelat, his heirs and successors.

Article 3.—Meer Nusseer Khan binds himself, his heirs and successors, to oppose to the utmost all the enemies of the British Government, in all cases to act in subordinate co-operation with that Government, and to enter into no negotiation with other States without its consent, the usual friendly correspondence with neighbours being continued as before.

Article 4.—Should it be deemed necessary to station British troops in any part of the territory of Khelat, they shall occupy such positions as may be thought advisable by the British authorities.

Article 5.—Meer Nusseer Khan binds himself, his heirs and successors, to prevent all plundering or other outrages by his subjects within or near British territory, to protect the passage of merchants to and fro between the British dominions and Affghanistan, whether by way of Sindh, the seaport of Soumeeanee, or other seaports of Mekran, and to permit no exactions to be made beyond an equitable duty, to be fixed by the British Government and Meer Nusseer Khan, and the amount to be shown in the schedule annexed to this Treaty.

Article 6.—To aid Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors, in the fulfilment of these obligations, and on condition of a faithful performance of

them

them year by year, the British Government binds itself to pay to Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors, an annual subsidy of fifty thousand (50,000) Company's rupees.

Article 7.—If during any year the conditions above mentioned shall not be faithfully performed by the said Meer Nusseer Khan, his heirs and successors, then the annual subsidy of fifty thousand (50,000) Company's rupees will not be paid by the British Government.

Done at Mustoong this Fourteenth day of May, One thousand eight hundred and fifty-four.

(signed) *John Jacob*, Major,
Political Superintendent and Commandant
on the frontier of Upper Sindh.

Mustoong, 14 May 1854.

SCHEDULE showing amount of DUTY to be Levied on MERCHANDISE passing through the Dominions of the *Khan of Khelat*, referred to in Article 5 of this Treaty.

ON each camel load, without respect to value, from the northern frontier to the sea, either to Kurrachee or other port, Company's rupees, 6.

On each camel, as above, from the northern frontier to Shikapore, Company's rupees, 5.

The same duties to be levied on merchandise passing in the contrary direction from the sea, or from Sindh to the Khelat territory.

(signed) *John Jacob*, Major,
Political Superintendent and Commandant
on the frontier of Upper Sindh.

THE foregoing Articles of Treaty having been concluded between the British Government and the Khan of Khelat, and signed and sealed by Major John Jacob, C.B., on the one part, and Meer Nusseer Khan on the other, at Mustoong, on the 14th May, A.D. 1854, corresponding with 16th Shaban, A.H. 1270, a copy of the same will be delivered to His Highness, duly ratified by the Governor General in Council, within two months from this date.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*
J. Dorin.
J. Low.
J. P. Grant.
B. Peacock.

Ratified by the Most Noble the Governor General in Council, Fort William, this 2nd day of June 1854.

(signed) *G. F. Edmonstone,*
Secretary to the Government of India

EAST INDIA (TREATY WITH KHELAT).

COPY of the TREATY made between the INDIAN GOVERNMENT and the KHAN of KHELAT in 1854.

(*Mr. Eastwick.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
5 March 1873.

Under 1 *oz.*.

EAST INDIA (ANNEXATION OF KAROULY).

RETURN to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons,
dated 23 July 1855;—*for*,

COPIES "of DESPATCH of the GOVERNOR-GENERAL of *India* in Council, and MINUTES of the MEMBERS of Council, respecting the ANNEXATION of *Karouly*:

"And, of DESPATCH of the COURT of DIRECTORS in reply thereto."

East India House,
3 August 1855.

J. D. DICKINSON,
Deputy Secretary.

(*Sir Erskine Perry.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
4 *August* 1855.

LIST.

	PAGE
Letter from Government of India to Court of Directors; dated 7 September 1852, No. 56	p. 3
Letter from Court of Directors to Government of India; dated 26 January (No. 1) 1853	p. 3
Letter from Government of India to Court of Directors; dated 4 February (No. 12) 1854	p. 4
Letter from Court of Directors to Government of India; dated 5 July (No. 30) 1854 -	p. 5
Extract Letter from Government of India to Court of Directors; dated 8 Feb. (No. 14) 1855 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -	p. 6
Minute by the Governor-General; dated 30 August 1852 - - - - - -	p. 7
Minute by Sir F. Currie, Bart.; dated 31 August 1852 - - - - - - -	p. 10
Minute by Honourable J. Lowis; dated 2 September 1852 - - - - - -	p. 12
Minute by the Governor-General; dated 3 September 1852 - - - - - -	p. 13
Minute by the Governor-General, concurred in by Honourable Sir F. Currie, Bart., and Honourable Mr. Lowis; dated 2 October 1852 - - - - - - -	p. 14
Minute by the Governor-General, concurred in by the Council; dated 21 March 1853 -	p. 14
Minute by the Governor-General, concurred in by the Board; dated 26 March 1853 -	p. 15
Minute by the Governor-General in Council; dated 31 March 1853 - - - -	p. 16
Minute by Sir F. Currie; dated 2 April 1853 - - - - - - - -	p. 16
Minute by the Honourable J. Lowis; dated 2 April 1853 - - - - - -	p. 16
Minute by the Governor-General; dated 12 December 1853 - - - - - -	p. 16
Minute by the President in Council; dated 9 January 1854 - - - - - -	p. 17
Minute by the Honourable J. Low; dated 11 January 1854 - - - - - -	p. 17

East India House,
3 August 1855.

T. L. Peacock,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

COPIES of DESPATCHES of the Governor-General of *India* in Council, and MINUTES of the Members of Council, respecting the Annexation of *Kerowlee*:—And, of DESPATCHES of the Court of Directors in reply thereto.

No. 56 of 1852.

Fort William, Foreign Department, 7 September 1852.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

WE have the honour to transmit a copy of a correspondence with the Governor-general's agent in Rajpootana, respecting the succession of the chiefship of Kerowlee, together with copies of the minutes recorded thereon, as noted in the margin.

From Agent Rajpootana, dated 29 June. To Agent Rajpootana, dated 20 July. From Agent Rajpootana, dated 17 July. From Agent Rajpootana, dated 21 July. From Agent Rajpootana, dated 22 July. From Agent Rajpootana, dated 24 July. Minute by the Governor-general, dated 30 August. Minute by the Hon. Sir F. Currie, dated 31 August. Minute by the Hon. J. Lowis, dated 2 Sept. Minute by the Governor-general, dated 3 September.

2. Maharajah Nursinghpal, the young chief of Kerowlee, died on the 10th of July, adopting, on the day before his death, a boy who is a distant kinsman. Colonel Low has strongly recommended that the adoption should be recognised, and he has urged that the recognition should be declared at once; but, with advertence to the orders of your Honourable Court respecting adoptions by native princes, as communicated to us in your despatch dated 24th January 1849, and to the principle laid down therein, it has become a question whether we were at liberty to confirm this adoption without your previous sanction.

3. Your Honourable Court will observe, that the Governor-general and Mr. Lowis considered the arguments adduced by them, in their minutes, to preponderate in favour of declaring Kerowlee a lapsed State, while Sir Frederick Currie is against such a measure. We beg to refer your Honourable Court to the several minutes in which both the right and the policy of the proposed arrangements are fully discussed, and we shall await your instructions, which we hope to receive at an early date. Meanwhile, the Governor-general's agent in Rajpootana has been informed that we have referred the decision of the question to your Honourable Court, and Colonel Low has been instructed to enjoin on all the leading persons of this State, the observance of the most perfect tranquillity until the decision of your Honourable Court be received.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*
F. Currie.
J. Lowis.

Fort William,
7 September 1852.

Political Department, 26 January (No. 1.) 1853.

Our Governor-General of India in Council.

Succession to the State of Kerowlee.

Para. 1. WE now reply to your letter in the Foreign Department, dated 7th September (No. 56) 1852, in which you report the death of Nursing Pal, the young Raja of Kerowlee, after adopting as his son and successor a boy who is a distant kinsman, and request our instructions whether the adoption should be recognised.

2. Colonel Low gave his opinion in favour of recognising the adoption, and Sir Frederick Currie supported the proposal. The Governor-general, with

whom Mr. Lowis expressed his concurrence, inclined rather to declaring the state a lapse to the British Government.

3. The Governor-general has given a fair and impartial statement of the arguments on both sides of this important question. After having given the fullest consideration to the circumstances of this case, we have come to the decision that the succession of Bhurt Pal to the raj of Kerowlee, as the adopted son of Nursing Pal, should be sanctioned.

4. In coming to this conclusion, we do not intend to depart from the principle, as laid down in our despatch of the 24th of January 1849, relative to the case of Sattara, which is referred to by the Governor-general, that there is no validity in an adoption for conveying succession to a throne, and to the rights of sovereignty in a dependent principality in India, unless the adoption shall have received the sanction of the supreme power. But it appears to us that there is a marked distinction, in fact, between the cases of Sattara and Kerowlee, which is not sufficiently adverted to in the minute of the Governor-general. The Sattara State was one of recent origin, derived altogether from the creation and gift of the British Government, whilst Kerowlee is one of the oldest of the Rajpoot States, which has been under the rule of its native princes from a period long anterior to the British power in India. It stands to us only in the relation of a protected ally, and probably there is no part of India into which it is less desirable, except on the strongest grounds, to substitute our Government for that of the native rulers.

5. In our opinion such grounds do not exist in the present case, and we have therefore determined to sanction the succession of Bhurt Pal. The country will continue, as at present, to be administered by a British officer, and we trust that before the expiration of the minority, the State will be freed from debt, and restored to prosperity.

We are, &c.

London, 26 January 1853. (signed) *J. W. Hogg.*
R. Ellice.
&c. &c.

No. 12.

Fort William, Foreign Department, 4 February 1854.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Honourable Sirs,

WITH reference to previous correspondence,* we have the honour to forward copies of correspondence as detailed in the accompanying abstract,† and of minutes recorded thereon, relative to Kerowlee affairs.

* Our Letter, No. 56, dated 7 Sept. 1852. Our Letter, No. 69, dated 6 Nov. 1852. Our Letter, No. 8, dated 21 Jan. 1853. Hon. Company's Despatch, No. 1, dated 26 Jan. 1853. Our General Letter, No. 25, dated 2 April 1853, paras. 9 and 10. Hon. Company's Despatch, No. 32, dated 17 August 1853, para. 6.

† Abstract, No. 3 to 24.

2. In your Honourable Court's despatch of 26 January 1853, you sanction a recognition of the adoption of Bhurt Pal, by the late Maharajah of Kerowlee as his successor. In the interim, however, doubts had arisen whether the adoption was a valid one, and it had become apparent that the reigning family, the chiefs and the people of Kerowlee, objected to the professed adoption of Bhurt Pal, and desired to have as Maharajah, Muddun Pal, as being a successor of maturer years, and a nearer relative than Bhurt Pal.

Dated 17 Nov. 1853.

3. Upon this, further inquiry was directed, and the report from the agent to the Governor-general (transmitted herewith) contains the result.

4. Applying in the 32d para. of his report the principles he had expounded regarding adoption in Rajpootana, Sir H. Lawrence gave it as his decided opinion that Muddun Pal, as nearest of kin, as accepted by the Ranees, by the nine most influential Thakoors, by three-fourths of the lesser feudal chiefs, and, "as far as can be judged, by the almost general feeling of the country," should be recognized

recognised by the Britssh Government as the Maharajah of Kerowlee, in the absence of any valid adoption by the late Maharajah, Nursing Pal.

5. Although your Honourable Court have sanctioned the recognition, as Maharajah of Bhurt Pal by name, we apprehended that we should be acting in conformity with your wishes, though we should now recognise Muddun Pal. The question that was at first referred to your Honourable Court, was not a personal one between the two kinsmen, but one regarding the recognition of any adoption. Your Honourable Court having determined that adoption shall be permitted, we considered that we should be fulfilling the intentions of your Honourable Court, if we now permitted the adoption and succession of Muddun Pal, who had been found to be the proper successor, since the name of Bhurt Pal was first brought forward.

6. The unsettled state of the succession being objectionable, we have instructed the agent to the Governor-general at once to recognise Muddun Pal as successor to the Kerowlee chiefship, and to take the necessary steps for hs installation.

7. We have directed that the administration of the Government should be, at the same time, relinquished by the Political Agent; but that he should continue at Kerowlee for the present. We are however doubtful as to the expediency of maintaining a permanent Political Agent there; our decision on this point will be communicated to your Honourable Court hereafter.

8. It having appeared to us necessary to take an engagement for the punctual payment of the debt of 94,312 rupees by instalments, before the administration of the State was made over to Muddun Pal, the agent has been directed openly to inform him, that any breach of promise for the regular payment of the required annual instalment would render him liable to have one or more of his districts taken possession of for a time by the British Government, and managed exclusively by a British officer, till the whole of the debt should be liquidated.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*
J. Dorin.
J. Low.
Fred. Jas. Halliday.

Fort William,
4 February 1854.

Political Department, 5 July (No. 30) 1854.

Our Governor-General of India in Council.

1. THE communications noted in the margin relate to Kerowlee affairs.

Foreign Letter, dated 4 Feb. (No. 10) 1854, paras. 139 to 142.
Foreign Letter, dated 4 Feb. (No. 12) 1854, entire.

2. Before replying to these communications, we have again perused your despatch of the 7th of September 1852, and the papers which accompanied it. It seems to us, that at the time, both your local officers and yourselves entertained and expressed the opinion that the circumstances attendant upon the adoption of Bhurt Pal by Nursing Pal, as fully reported by Lieutenant Monck Mason, were of a character to make that ceremony valid and effectual for all purposes, provided that the British Government consented to the political recognition of it.

3. This was the view which we took in 1853, and, acting upon that view, we, by our letter of the 26th of January, not only directed that the State of Kerowlee should continue under a native ruler, but sanctioned specifically the succession of Bhurt Pal.

4. Lieutenant Mason is still favourable to the pretensions of that boy; but all the other opinions contained in the papers accompanying your letter of the 4th February 1854, are in favour of the claims of Muddun Pal, a chief of mature years.

5. Sir Henry Lawrence, the present agent of your Government in Rajpootana, offered his "recommendation, that, as nearest of kin to Nursing Pal, and as

accepted by the Ranees of Kerowlee, and by all the nine most influential Thakoors, who, under a strictly native *régime*, would probably be the electors, also by more than three-fourths of the 38 feudal chiefs, who in Lieutenant Mason's opinion, are alone entitled to vote in important State matters, and as far as can be judged, by the almost general feeling of the country, he (Muddun Pal), be nominated by the Governor-general in Council to the raj of Kerowlee, and that Maharanee Warsoo Kejee, the senior widow of Maharajah Pertab Pal, be permitted, according to the existing customs of the country, to adopt him as her son, in succession to Nursing Pal."

6. Colonel Low now admits that "satisfactory proofs have been obtained that certain forms, and also the sanction of certain individuals which are, strictly speaking, required for a legitimate adoption, were omitted by the late Raja and his advisers, which omissions caused the adoption of Bhurt Pal to be invalid, according to the rules by which such matters are generally judged in Rajpoot families."

7. And the Governor-general says, that Muddun Pal "has been found to be the proper successor, since the name of Bhurt Pal was first brought forward."

8. In consequence of this change of opinion, you, on the 16th of January 1854, directed Sir Henry Lawrence to "at once recognize Muddun Pal as successor to the Kerowlee chiefship, and take the necessary steps for his installation."

9. On this decision we must remark, that you should have waited for our previous sanction. So far as we had given an opinion, our opinion had been given in favour of Bhurt Pal; and there was no necessity for immediate action, as the people of Kerowlee would not have suffered by the continuance of British management for a few months longer.

10. We cannot help observing also, that if you had in 1852 intended only to ask whether Kerowlee was to be considered as a lapse to the paramount power or not, you would have done well to have put that question simply before us, without any mention of Bhurt Pal, and not have led us to sanction a course, on your representations, which eventually you have seen good reason to refrain from adopting.

11. We hope that your previous opinion has not been made known at Kerowlee, otherwise we should regret exceedingly such an appearance of the want of sufficient consideration on the part of the Government.

12. Muddun Pal being of mature years, you are doubtful of the necessity of retaining a political agent at his Court. We observe, however, that, in the opinion of Colonel Low, the agency should be maintained for at least two years longer. You will, of course, inform us of the result of your deliberation on the subject.

13. The agent has very properly been directed to state to the new Raja that the annual instalment of the debt due to your Government must be paid regularly, and that, in the event of failure, one or more of his districts will be attached until the debt is paid.

14. The measures taken against the rebellious garrisons of Potghur and Nerowlee were proper; and we are glad to observe that the object was in both cases attained without bloodshed.

We are, &c.

London, 5 July 1854. (signed) *J. Oliphant.*
E. Macnaghten.
&c. &c.

EXTRACT Foreign Letter from India; dated 8 February (No. 14) 1855.

17. * * * Your Honourable Court, in your Despatch on Tehree, incidentally observe that the home authorities should have been allowed an opportunity of pronouncing an opinion on the Kerowlee case, before the succession of

of Muddun Pal was allowed. But a separate despatch, dated 5th July last, on the subject of Kerowlee, has been received, and in the 9th and 10th para. of it you take exception to the course followed by the Government, observing, "so far as we had given an opinion, our opinion had been given in favour of Bhurt Pal, and there was no necessity for immediate action, as the people of Kerowlee would not have suffered by the continuance of British management for a few months longer."

18. With regard to these remarks of your Honourable Court, we beg to state, that, though the rebellion at Narowlee in favour of Muddun Pal had been repressed by the promptitude and vigour of Sir H. Lawrence's proceedings, and though since that demonstration no disturbances had occurred in Kerowlee, and the active movement in favour of Muddun Pal had apparently subsided, the question of the succession to the vacant throne had been pending since July 1852, or for a period of 18 months, and the further postponement of our decision, until your pleasure might be expressed, would perhaps have been hazardous. There seemed the less necessity for such postponement, as the point previously submitted to your Honourable Court was not a personal one between the two kinsmen, Bhurt Pal and Muddun Pal, but a general one, viz., whether there should be any adoption at all, and also because Sir H. Lawrence's elaborate report left no room to doubt that the adoption of Bhurt Pal was wholly informal, and that Muddun Pal was the rightful successor to the throne of Kerowlee.

19. In the 11th paragraph of your despatch No. 30, of 1854, dated 5th July, you express a hope that "the previous opinion of this Government has not been made known at Kerowlee; otherwise we should regret exceedingly such an appearance of the want of sufficient consideration on the part of the Government."

20. In answer to this, we can assure your Honourable Court that neither the orders which were first issued, under date the 20th July 1852, desiring the Governor-general's agent to "discountenance" an adoption, nor the opinion subsequently expressed by us, favouring the validity of the adoption of Bhurt Pal, was divulged at Kerowlee. In communicating the former to the Political Agent at Kerowlee, Colonel Low addressed him in the secret department; and as regards the latter, the proclamation which Colonel Low issued is most cautiously worded, and gives no inkling whatever of the opinion which we had expressed: it merely informs the people that the case has been referred to the Honourable Court, that, pending orders, people had better be quiet, and that those who disregard this injunction will be severely punished.

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

1. THE Raja of Kerowlee, a boy 15 years old, has died, adopting on the day before his death another boy, a very distant kinsman. **Kerowlee.**

The Governor-general's agent, Colonel Low, strongly recommends that the adoption should be recognised, and urges that the recognition should be declared at once.

But under the orders of the Court of Directors, respecting adoption by native princes, communicated to the Government of India in their despatch dated 24 January 1849, and having regard to the principles laid down therein, I question whether we are at liberty to confirm this adoption without the previous sanction of the Court.

2. Colonel Low states that he is able, from personal knowledge, to give assurance that Sir C. Metcalfe, by whom the existing treaty with Kerowlee was made, intended to place that State on the same footing as every other Hindoo principality; and he adds, "We know, beyond all doubt, when a head of a Hindoo family departs this life without children, that an adopted child is always considered to occupy exactly the same position and to possess precisely the same right, as a legitimate and acknowledged son would have done."

3. The Court of Directors have acknowledged the principle laid down in these words, so far as all private property, or private rights, are concerned. But they have denied the validity of an adoption for conveying succession to a throne, and to the rights of sovereignty, unless the adoption shall have received the sanction of the supreme power.

4. This principle was asserted in the case of the State of Sattara, in 1849. The circumstances of Kerowlee appear to me to resemble those of Sattara in all essential particulars.

5. Kerowlee is a small Rajpoot State, near Kotah.

A treaty was made with it by the British Government, in 1817. The supremacy of the British Government was practically declared therein by its remission of the tribute payable to the Peishwa, whose rights had passed to us; and it was, moreover, specifically acknowledged by Kerowlee, in the 3d Article of the treaty.

The revenues of this State amount to about four lacs a year. It is burdened with a debt of more than six lacs, of which one lac and a quarter are due to the British Government.

The confusion and misgovernment which prevailed, rendered it necessary for us to assume the management of the country some time ago, and it is now under the charge of Mr. Monck Mason.

The boy adopted is of a very distant branch of the family, and the adoption is admitted to have been voluntary and regular.

These are the facts of the case.

6. The supremacy of the British Government over Kerowlee being established by treaty, its sanction is confessedly necessary to the validity of the adoption for conveying the succession to the throne of Kerowlee.

The question is, whether that consent can justly or properly be withheld. According to the decision delivered in the case of Sattara, I consider that it is clearly competent to the Government of India to withhold its sanction if it shall think proper.

The treaty with Kerowlee is made with the "Raja and his descendants." Admitting that the word "descendants" was meant to bear, and does bear, the same signification as "heirs and successors" (which Colonel Low asserts, but which may be disputed), still the right of the British Government to withhold its sanction to the adoption in this case is clear.

For in the case of Sattara, it was decided by the Court of Directors that a guarantee of the succession to "heirs and successors" extended only to natural heirs, and not to an adopted child.

Since, then, the proposed successor of the late Raja is neither his natural heir, nor a descendant of the Raja, with whom the treaty was made in 1817, I am of opinion that on every ground the Government of India is justly and properly entitled to refuse to recognise him, if it is thought expedient for the general interests of the empire to do so.

7. In the minute upon the case of Sattara, in 1848, I recorded my own opinion that the British Government should not neglect such rightful opportunities as might occur, of extending its rule over native States which fell to its disposal, either by total lapse, or by the succession depending on the recognition of an adoption. I did not advise that adoption should universally be refused the sanction of the Government, but I was of opinion that it should not be admitted in States which recognised formally the supremacy of the British Government in India, unless strong political reasons recommend the exception in any particular case or cases.

8. We have to consider whether there are any political reasons which should induce the Government of India to forego the right it possesses of refusing confirmation to the adoption of an heir to his throne by the deceased Raja of Kerowlee.

The arguments in favour of disallowing the adoption or of reorganising it, may be shortly set forth.

9. The State of Kerowlee has not entitled itself to favourable consideration by the British Government, for it has been troublesome, and inclined to be turbulent.

Its

Its internal government has not been of such a character as to lead to the presumption that a continuance of the native government there will be for the advantage of its people. For, as I have already stated, the administration was so bad, that we were compelled to take it into our own hands for the sake of the State itself, and of the general tranquillity.

It is not an inducement to the Government to continue the succession in the present family, that the nearest kinsman to the late Raja is more than suspected of having caused his Highness's death by poison.

And although that kinsman is not the proposed successor, there seems as little reason to continue the succession in the person of a young boy, so remote of kin, that it is difficult to state his relationship, so remote, that his ancestor's name has never until now appeared in the pedigree of the family submitted to the Government.

For many years to come we shall have to bear the labour of governing this State, employing, always at inconvenience, a British officer for the purpose; and at the end of those years, we shall, if the adoption be sanctioned, hand over the country, with its revenue of four lacs, only to see it, in all probability, fall again into the same system of improvidence and misrule which has long prevailed under its native princes.

These considerations would seem to urge the Government to declare Kerowlee a lapsed State, and at once to reduce it to submission and order, which in such case would be permanent.

10. On the other hand, the State is isolated, and would not consolidate our territories, as in the case of Sattara. Though not a very old State, still it is a Rajpoot principality; and, unlike the existing Mahratta and Mahometan dynasties, has the claims of antiquity in its favour.

The refusal of sanction to adoption in the case of Kerowlee might create alarm and dissatisfaction in the elder and more powerful states in Rajpootana, as being apparently significant of the intentions of the British Government towards themselves.

Such an alarm would be unfounded. For I presume that the Government of India would not at any time be disposed to interfere with the customary mode of succession among these old Rajpoot States, whose antiquity, whose position and feelings, would all make it our policy to leave them in the possession of such independence as they now enjoy. But although the alarm would be unfounded, it may possibly be considered undesirable to run any risk of exciting it by refusing to allow the adoption in Kerowlee.

Lastly, it may be urged that the Government of India cannot refuse sanction to this adoption, because it has twice recognised adoptions by the Rajas of Kerowlee since 1817.

The adoptions were certainly recognised, but upon the last occasion only with reluctance, and not till after hesitation and long delay.

11. The arguments appear to me to preponderate in favour of causing Kerowlee to lapse. But as the Honourable Court may desire to continue the succession on the ground of its being a Rajpoot State, I do not propose to refuse at once the sanction of the Government to the adoption, but to refer it to the Court of Directors, soliciting an immediate reply.

12. An immediate declaration of the final intentions of Government, for which Colonel Low presses, would no doubt be very desirable if there were not good reasons for withholding it; and I see no more risk to the peace of Kerowlee in withholding it upon this occasion, than there was upon the similar occasion a few years ago, especially as the Kotah contingent is already there, and assistance can be obtained from Nusseerabad, if necessary.

13. The reference to the Court should be made by the ensuing mail.

14. It will be sufficient to inform the Governor-general's agent that the views expressed by him regarding the clear right of adoption by the Raja of a successor to his principality, are not in accordance with the principle laid down by the Honourable Court of Directors in 1849. The Governor-general in Council, therefore, does not feel himself justified in confirming the adoption without a reference to the Court of Directors as before. He will inform the family and the leading persons at Kerowlee that a reference has been so made,

as upon the death of the Raja in 1848. And he will enjoin upon them the observance of perfect tranquillity till the decision of the Court shall be received.

The Governor-general's agent has already taken precautions for preserving the peace of the country by the military arrangements that have been made. If the duty is found to press heavily upon the Kotah contingent, the agent may obtain aid from Nusseerabad, or perhaps borrow a regiment from Sindia's contingent.

15. The Government of India may express, with propriety, its full concurrence in the praises bestowed by Colonel Low upon Mr. Monck Mason, for the judgment, decision, and ability he has shown in these affairs.

The letter to Colonel Low may be sent under flying seal to Mr. Mason, in order to save time, as Colonel Low has suggested.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

30 August 1852.

MINUTE by the Honourable Sir *F. Currie*, Bart.

Kerowlee.

THE Most Noble the Governor-general has decided that the question of succession to the chiefship of this principality shall not be determined in this country, but by the Court of Directors. Still it seems necessary that, as a member of this Government, I should record my view as to the propriety of confirming the adoption which has been made by the late Maharaja, and as to the disposal of the State, in the event of that adoption being set aside.

2. After full consideration of the facts set forth in these papers, of the arguments contained in the printed Sattara correspondence, and of the Governor-general's minute of yesterday's date on the Kerowlee succession, I am obliged to differ from his Lordship as to the course which justice and policy, in my opinion, demand that we should adopt on this occasion.

3. The question is a very important one; not so much with respect to the interests of this small principality, or ours in connection with it, but as opening the question of the nature of our paramount rights, in regard to the ancient sovereignties of Rajpootana, which is involved in its decision; and in reference to the feelings with which the decision will be viewed by the Rajpoot States throughout Central India.

4. I think that the arguments which were used in considering the Sattara question, are in many points not applicable to that now before us. There is little analogy between the position of the Mahratta States generally to us as the paramount power, and the Rajpoot principalities, and far less in regard to that of the late Sattara raj.

5. The Mahratta dynasty was one of recent usurpation. The Sattara principality was, in its resuscitated state, the offspring of our own gratuitous benevolence. The British Government bestowed a portion of the territory which it had acquired by right of conquest, on the titular Raja, whom we found in a prison, and, subsequently, on account of his misconduct, set him aside in favour of his brother; and on the death of that brother, there being no natural heir to the immediate object of our bounty, and the Government not being disposed to recognise an adopted one, we resumed the territory which we had bestowed, and incorporated it in our own possessions.*

* Despatch of Court of Directors, dated 24 January 1849, para. 9.

6. The ancient Rajoot princes stand in a very different position in regard to our paramountcy, whether this be considered as derived from the Emperors of Delhi, or as appertaining to us as the *de facto* rulers of the Indian continent.

7. Kerowlee is a small and inconsiderable outlying State, but it is one of the old Rajpoot principalities, in treaty relations with us, similar to those of the larger ones, and the treatment it may receive at the present juncture will involve the principle on which all other Rajpoot States may be treated hereafter.

8. I will

8. I will first consider the adoption, which has been reported to us by Colonel Low.

It is admitted by all that this adoption was made in due form. Some days before the death of the Maharaja, it was communicated in the usual manner to the representative of the British Government; the customary khureeta to the Governor-general was formally written, and sealed by the Maharaja, and nothing can be objected to the boy, who is a distant relative of the late Maharaja, and a lineal descendant from the founder of the Kerowlee raj. Nothing seems to me to be wanting to the legal completeness of the ad option, except, it may be argued, the formal recognition of the paramount power.

9. I think the Governor-general, in stating the general principle of the necessity for recognition by the supreme power, in the third paragraph of the minute of yesterday's date, has gone far beyond the statement of the Court of Directors, contained in paragraph 8 of the despatch of 24th January 1849, to which his Lordship refers. The Court's despatch declares, "That by the general law and custom of India, a dependant principality, like that of Sattara, cannot pass, &c., &c.," but no more.

10. I will admit, however, that the general law and custom of India do, usually, require the recognition of the paramount power to the adoption of an heir of a dependant or protected principality; but, so do the law and custom require the same recognition to the succession of a natural heir; and I am not prepared to admit that the supreme power is more competent to withhold its recognition of the one than of the other. The setting aside of either must be an extraordinary act, adopted only on special considerations.

11. I concur, therefore, with the Governor-general's agent, that the adoption in this case, by Maharaja Nursing Pal, of the boy Bhurt Pal, should, as an act of justice, be confirmed and recognised.

12. But supposing it to be determined that the Government of India is not bound to recognise this adoption, and that circumstances are considered to exist rendering it expedient to disallow it; it seems to me impossible that we can, on that plea, with any semblance of good faith and fidelity to treaty, declare the territory to be ours, and, as in the case of Sattara, annex it to the British dominions.

13. The Kerowlee treaty is not one of a personal character between the British Government and Maharaja Hurbuksh Pal, and the heirs of his body. It is a treaty, in my view at least, between the British Government and the Kerowlee State. The name of Hurbuksh Pal does not once occur in any article of the treaty. The engagement is between the British Government on the one hand, and the Kerowlee Government on the other, the contracting party in each case being the representative for the time being of the respective government.

14. It is true the English version of the treaty has in Article 1, the words, "the Raja of Kerowlee and his descendants, &c.," but the Persian version of the same article, which bears the seal and signatures of the contracting parties, and a note by Lieutenant Adam of the ratification of the Governor-general, was "between the two Governments, from generation to generation for ever."

15. It is clear that it was not the intention of the treaty to confine and limit the succession, by the literal meaning of the English word "descendant." Neither Colonel Low's personal testimony, nor the express terms of the Persian version, are required to prove this; for Raja Hurbuksh Pal had no descendant in the literal sense of the term, when the treaty was made, and never had one; but the adoption of Pertab Pal, as his successor, was recognised. In like manner, Pertab Pal had no descendant, but the adoption of Nursing Pal was unquestioned, and the lad whom Nursing Pal has now adopted, stands in precisely the same relation, collaterally to him, in which he stood to Pertab Pal.

16. It is evident to me therefore that as long as there is in existence a legal heir to the guddee, as lineally descended from Dhurum Pal, the first known chief of Kerowlee, we cannot claim the territories of Kerowlee, as a lapse to the British Government.

17. I am disposed to think that this latter point has not been adverted to by

the Governor-general. His Lordship makes no mention of it in his minute; and I know that his Lordship's strict sense of justice, and scrupulous feelings in regard to fidelity to treaties, would prevent his advocating for a moment the appropriation of territories to which he conceived that another party had a just or could adduce even a doubtful claim.

18. With my views of the justice of this question, I need hardly say that I think no argument of policy could warrant our annexing these territories; but I think the recognition of the adoption will be not only just, but politic. The next heir, failing the adoption, seems to be Sooruk Pal, the father of Muddun Pal, who is strongly suspected of having compassed the death of the late Maharaja. We know that Muddun Pal is ready to claim the guddee, and we must either allow his succession, or take steps to prove his delinquency, and unfitness on that score to succeed; but having done that, we must acknowledge the next heir; there are plenty, it seems, in existence.

19. If we recognise the adoption, we may take entire charge of the property in behalf of the minor. This will enable us to put the administration on a better footing than it has been of late years, and to make arrangements for the payment of the debt due to us, and also perhaps for the liquidation of the claims of the other creditors. The superintendence should not be made a charge to us; but the whole cost should be defrayed from the revenues of the State.

20. I think the chiefs of Rajpootana will await with some anxiety the settlement of this question. I trust therefore that the Court of Directors will not delay their decision; and I think that nothing should be said to Mr. Monck Mason, or to the Governor-general's agent, to lead to the supposition that the recognition of the adoption will not be eventually communicated.

31 August 1852. (signed) *F. Currie.*

MINUTE by the Honourable *J. Lowis.*

Kerowlee succession.

THERE are two points in this case of the Kerowlee succession, one involving the right, the other the expediency of setting aside the adoption made by the late Raja.

After giving the whole subject my best consideration, I am of opinion that the decision of the Honourable Court on the Sattara succession must govern this case; and I agree therefore with the Most Noble the Governor-general, in thinking that we have a right to set aside the adoption.

It does not appear to me that the antecedent history or condition of these principalities really affects the question now before us; because the treaties with the two States are what we have alone to deal with; and the first article of the Sattara Treaty, in which the British Government agrees to cede "in perpetual sovereignty to the Raja of Sattara, his heirs and successors, the districts specified, &c.," does confer, and must be held to confer, upon the Raja of Sattara quite as full a title of sovereignty as was possessed by the former Rajas of Kerowlee, under the Peishwa; and we must look at the other articles of the two treaties to see in what way or degree the plenary sovereign rights conferred, or antecedently existing, were in each case limited. Some stress, I perceive, is laid on the wording of the first article of the Kerowlee Treaty; and my honourable colleague, Sir F. Currie, adverts to a discrepancy between the English and Persian versions; but the point, I respectfully submit, is of no consequence, because all that the first article does is to declare that the treaty itself is to be perpetual; and the real gist of the matter lies in the force and meaning of the terms employed in the second and third articles.

In the former of these the raj is placed ملک under the protection of the British Government (hufazut) حفاظت care; custody, is the term used; and in the latter the Raja acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government; the Persian term used is "ataint," اطاعت (obedience, subjection); and the question is, whether these terms, coupled with the remission of the tribute, as made in the fourth article, are sufficient to prove that the two States stand to each

each other relatively in the positions of paramount and dependent States? In my opinion they do this fully. They acknowledge plainly the paramount authority of the British Government, within the meaning of the term, as used in the proceedings regarding Sattara; and I hold therefore that the authoritative decision of the highest authority in the one case, must govern the decision of this other, now under discussion.

The question of expediency is not quite so clear to me. As a general rule, I think that it is a wise policy in all points of view, both as regards the Government and the people, to consolidate our empire, and to absorb these isolated and ill-governed principalities, when it can be done without injustice; but I am not sufficiently well versed in the politics of Rajpootana to be able to say with confidence whether, on the present occasion, we might not with propriety abstain from exercising a just right, and carrying out a sound principle. I must say, however, that, as far as the correspondence now before us goes, there is nothing which satisfies me that any local expediency calls for such an abandonment of what I believe to be the right course. On this point also I therefore concur with the Most Noble the Governor-general; but, pending the reference to the Honourable Court, I should be glad that Colonel Low had an opportunity of stating more at length his reasons for thinking that the absorption of Kerowlee would be impolitic and inexpedient.

2 September 1852. (signed) *J. Lowis.*

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

Kerowlee.

1. I SHOULD have proposed according to our usual custom, where there is any difference of opinion, to reserve this question for consideration in Council. But as we all agree that it is desirable to obtain the decision of the Court of Directors upon the Kerowlee adoption as soon as possible, and as the mail goes on the 8th, I beg to add a few words upon record.

2. There is a double question, as Mr. Lowis observes, in this case of Kerowlee, a question of right and a question of policy.

3. After considering the arguments of Sir F. Currie, I still think that the right is clear of withholding confirmation, founded upon the decision of the Honourable Court in 1849.

That decision, as I construe it, did not rule merely as to cases exactly corresponding with that of Sattara. It ruled generally that all "dependent" States required the sanction of the supreme power to any adoption proposed by them.

The State of Kerowlee is, by its own admission, not only dependent on, but subject to the British Government.

Therefore, an adoption by Kerowlee must ever be made subject to the right of the British Government to confirm or to annul it, as it might judge right.

4. In regard to the question of policy, I still think, as before, that on the whole the arguments for assumption of the country preponderate. I do not conceive that, whether we take the wording of the English or of the Persian version of the treaty, the intention of it was to recognise all heirs of the original founder of the raj, or any other than the heirs of the Raja with whom it was made. Nor do I think that it would be an impolitic act, or one attended with risk, if the Government of India were to take possession of Kerowlee at once.

At the same time, I freely admit that the continuance of the raj would be a measure calculated to reassure and to conciliate the good-will of the States of Rajpootana.

5. Briefly stated, then, my opinion is, that after the declaration of the Court of Directors in the case of Sattara, the Government of India would not be justified now in confirming the adoption at Kerowlee, without previous reference to the Court.

I think the right of the Government of India to refuse confirmation of the adoption is quite clear. And I think that, as regards policy, there is no injustice

and no risk in refusing confirmation; while the granting of it, and the continuance of the raj of Kerowlee under its native rulers, would undoubtedly be the more liberal policy, and the one most acceptable to native States.

3 September 1852. (signed) *Dalhousie.*

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General, concurred in by the Honourable Sir *F. Currie*, Bart., and the Honourable Mr. *Lowis.*

Kerowlee.

1. THE agent in Rajpootana reports that there has appeared a strong party in Kerowlee adverse to the adoption made by Nursing Pal.

2. The orders to be given are very clear.

The question of adoption has been referred to the Honourable Court. Till their orders are received, no obedience to the adopted boy or to any other candidate is to be enforced. But the State of Kerowlee is in the interval under the authority of the British Government, as it was in the lifetime of the Raja. Entire obedience must be rendered to that authority by everybody in Kerowlee. If obedience on any point be refused to the British agent, acting on behalf of his Government, it must be enforced by arms; and the Governor-general's agent will be prepared to do so.

3. In the meantime, disturbance of any kind cannot be otherwise than injurious to the interests of the State of Kerowlee, and of everybody concerned with it.

4. These orders should be transmitted to the Resident.

It may be added, that the opinion he expresses, that if the adoption had been at once confirmed by the Government of India, no opposition would have been made to the boy adopted, does not appear to the Governor-general in Council to be borne out by the correspondence before him.

2 October 1852. (signed) *Dalhousie.*

I concur. The question of the future disposal of the State of Kerowlee having been referred to the Court of Directors, the British powers must conduct the Government, and put down all opposition, or refractory conduct, by the strong hand, if necessary, till the decision of the Court is received.

2 October 1852. (signed) *F. Currie.*

I concur.

(signed) *J. Lowis.*

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India, concurred in by the Members of Council.

Kerowlee.

1. THE prompt measures taken by Sir H. Lawrence for putting down open resistance may be fully approved, and he may be so informed.

2. By this mail a despatch has been received from the Court of Directors, recognising the adoption of Bhurt Pal, and his succession to the raj of Kerowlee. Since the Court were addressed on this subject, some feeling has been shown in that State on behalf of Muddun Pal. Sir H. Lawrence in his present despatch states that several of the native princes round have expressed opinions strongly in his favour. It is not stated what are the grounds of these opinions; whether it is mere preference for Muddun Pal, or whether they consider him the rightful heir.

Doubts were at one time expressed as to the validity of the adoption, even according to their own laws. I would beg the secretary to have a précis of the facts relating to this point prepared.

3. I think

3. I think I remember that a doubtful case of inheritance in one of the Rajpoot States was some time ago (1851 ?) submitted to a sort of punchayet of thakoors. I beg to have the particulars of that case also.

21 March 1853. (signed) *Dalhousie.*

I concur.

23 March. (signed) *J. Lowis.*

I concur. The secretary might also make a note of the course which was followed for ascertaining the opinions of the more influential Rajpoot durbars, in the case of Ahmednuggur; the chiefship of which was claimed by Eedur and Jodhpore.

I think Sir H. Lawrence should be asked what, as far as he could judge, was the cause of the Rajas he mentions, showing so strong a feeling in respect of Rao Muddun Pal; whether they consider him the rightful successor to Hurbux Pal, in preference to the adopted boy; or if, construing the delay which has taken place in the recognition of the adoption, and our present position in Kerowlee, into an intention on our part to disallow the said adoption, they are apprehensive that we mean to take possession of the principality as our own; and are therefore thus earnest in advocating the claims of Muddun Pal; a chief who derives his claims, not as a lineal descendant from the chief with whom we made our treaty with Kerowlee, but as the next heir in the line of the original founders of the principality, the possessors thereof, as the Court observe, long before our appearance in the East.

22 March. (signed) *F. Currie.*

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council (concurred in by the Board).

Kerowlee.

1. FROM the note of the secretary I perceive that the case in Shekawattee does not bear on the present one.

2. I think that Sir H. Lawrence should be asked to state what were the grounds on which the chiefs whom he names urged the claims of Muddun Pal to the raj of Kerowlee; whether on the ground of informal adoption, or of family custom, or on any other ground which would render Bhut Pal not the rightful heir to the raj.

3. Respecting general formality of the adoption, according to Hindoo law, a case might be put to learned pundits.

As to the custom of the family, inquiry could best be made on the spot.

Captain M. Mason, I think, has shown the previous objections of Muddun Pal to the adoption to be futile.

If the case should still be doubtful, reference might be made to high Rajpoot chiefs, as was done in the case of Edur.

4. I should be glad if the secretary would search the minute of Mr. Willoughby (which was a text book upon adoption) for anything which may bear directly on this case.

5. The fort of Narowlee has surrendered at once. I do not anticipate any risk of disturbance in Kerowlee from delay in deciding the case. If there were, I should still pursue these investigations; for it would be far better to risk tumult, than to give a wrongful decision on the succession to a throne.

26 March 1853. (signed) *Dalhousie.*

I concur.

28 March. (signed) *F. Currie.*

I concur.

(signed) *J. Lowis.*

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council.

Kerowlee. THE tendency of the several extracts made from Mr. Willoughby's minute is adverse to the validity of the late adoption in Kerowlee. I think the point should be referred to the Governor-general's agent, his attention being drawn to the several doubts connected with the case.

31 March 1853. (signed) *Dalhousie.*

MINUTE by the Honourable Sir *F. Currie,* Bart.

THE rules for Hindoo adoption are very comprehensive and conflicting; and, in practice, the exceptions are very numerous (witness the last adoption in the Holkar family in 1844); I concur that the point should be referred to the Governor-general's agent; but for report, I think, not for decision.

2 April 1853. (signed) *F. Currie.*

MINUTE by the Honourable *J. Lowis.*

THE validity of the adoption appears very doubtful if the strict rule of Hindoo law be adhered to, but precedents adverse to law were, I have no doubt to be found. In a case like this of Kerowlee, the permanent authority may very well be guided in sanctioning, or withholding its sanction of the adoption, by what appears to be most conducive to the welfare of the principality, and I would ask the agent's opinion on the whole question, I mean on the expediency, as well as on the validity, of the adoption.

2 April 1853. (signed) *J. Lowis.*

MINUTE by the Most Noble the Governor-General of India.

Kerowlee. 1. SIR H. LAWRENCE has reported very fully on the question referred to him some time ago, relative to the rule and practice observed in the adoption of heirs to their sovereignties by the princes of Rajpootana.

Sir H. Lawrence has investigated this question with great care and labour, and has furnished the Government with an able, lucid and authoritative exposition of the law and custom relating to adoption, as they have been observed time out of mind by the sovereign princes of Rajpootana.

Sir H. Lawrence does not wish that his remarks and recommendations should be understood as applying to adoption in any other part of India but Rajpootana.

2. It will be recollected that the late Maharaja of Kerowlee declared, a few hours before his death, that he had adopted a boy, a distant relative, named Bhurt Pal. On a reference made, the Honourable Court sanctioned a recognition of the adoption of Bhurt Pal. In the interim, however, doubts had arisen whether the adoption was a valid one, and it had become apparent that the reigning family, the chiefs and the people of Kerowlee, objected to the professed adoption of Bhurt Pal, and desired to have as Maharaja, Muddun Pal, as being a successor of maturer years, and a nearer relative than Bhurt Pal.

Upon this further inquiry was directed, and the report before me is the result.

3. Sir H. Lawrence, applying, in the 32d paragraph of his report, the principles he has expounded regarding adoption in Rajpootana, gives it as his decided

decided opinion that Muddun Pal, as nearest of kin, as accepted by the Ranees, by the nine most influential Thakoors, by three-fourths of the lesser feudal chiefs, and, "as far as can be judged, by the almost general feeling of the country," should be recognised by the British Government as the Maharaja of Kerowlee, in the absence of any valid adoption by the late Maharaja Nursing Pal.

4. Although the Honourable Court, in their despatch, sanctioned the recognition as Maharaja of Bhurt Pal, by name, I apprehend that the Government of India will be acting in conformity with the wishes of the Honourable Court, though it should now proceed to recognise Muddun Pal. The question referred to the Honourable Court was not a personal one between the two kinsmen, but one regarding the recognition of any adoption. The Honourable Court having determined that adoption shall be permitted, the Governor-general in Council will be fulfilling the intentions of the Honourable Court if he now permits the adoption and succession of Muddun Pal, who has been found to be the proper successor since the name of Bhurt Pal was first brought forward.

5. The continuance of the present unsettled state of the succession is objectionable, and as Sir H. Lawrence has now supplied the Government with the means of forming a decision, I would at once instruct Sir H. Lawrence to recognise and to instal Muddun Pal at Kerowlee.

6. It still remains to determine what arrangements shall be made for the government of the raj.

The administration was placed in the hands of the British Government in the time of the late Nursing Pal, who was a minor. Muddun Pal being of years fit to govern, and apparently likely to secure the submission of the people, I certainly think the Government should be made over to him. A Political Agent is recommended to be retained at Kerowlee.

I think that proper guarantee for the repayment of the debt of 94,000 rupees, due by Kerowlee, ought to be obtained before the administration is made over to Muddun Pal; but I hesitate as to the expediency of maintaining a Political Agent there now, if (as I apprehend will be the case) the office will fall as an additional expense on the British Government when the administration is no longer in his hand.

(signed) *Dalhousie.*

On board H. C. S. "Zenobia,"
13 December 1852.

MINUTE by the Honourable the President in Council.

Kerowlee. Minute by the Most Noble the Governor-general, dated 12 Dec. 1853.

I AM quite prepared to carry out the views expressed by the Most Noble the Governor-general as to the Kerowlee adoption, in the minute under consideration.

9 January 1854. (signed) *J. Dorin.*

MINUTE by the Honourable Colonel *J. Low*, C.B., concurred in by the Honourable *F. J. Halliday*.

The succession to the Kerowlee sovereignty and the Minute by the Governor-General dated 12 Dec. 1853.

1. WHEN I remember the state of things which existed at Kerowlee and its vicinity at the time the late Raja died, and for many weeks after that event, I have great reason to believe that if the adoption of Bhurt Pal had at once been sanctioned, the measure would have been a popular one, both in Kerowlee and in the neighbouring States; that general tranquillity would have prevailed; and that the affairs of the principality, and especially so as regards the Khalsa lands, would have continued to prosper under the able management of Lieutenant Monck Mason.

2. But the case is widely different now, from what it was in 1852. Proofs have been obtained by the inquiries of Sir Henry Lawrence, and, I think, satis-

factory proofs, that (even allowing for the difficulty to the family of the late Raja, caused by our orders then issued, that the chiefs should not come to the capital), certain forms, and also the sanction of certain individuals, which are, strictly speaking, required for a legitimate adoption, were omitted by the late Raja and his advisers; which omissions caused the adoption of Bhurt Pal to be invalid, according to the rules by which such matters are generally judged in Rajpoot families.

3. And what, in my opinion, is of greater importance, as connected with the course which ought to be pursued by the paramount State at present, is this fact: viz., that Muddun Pal, who, although a distant relative, is still somewhat nearer of kin to the late Raja than the other competitor, has now obtained the votes in his favour of such a very large proportion of the chiefs and other men of high rank in the whole principality, that there would certainly be great discontent among that influential class, if Bhurt Pal were now to be elevated to the position of Raja. Not only would all those chiefs, and some of the principal Ranees also, feel hurt at their declared opinions being so disregarded after we had apparently consulted them in the matter, but in this case those feelings of dissatisfaction would be much aggravated in the minds of the chiefs, from their knowledge, that in the event of such a young boy as Bhurt Pal being selected, their country would, for many years to come, be under the direct and sole management of an officer of a foreign Government; and the last-mentioned prejudice, which I attribute to the chiefs of Kerowlee, does not differ from the feelings which would exist under similar circumstances among the nobility and other men of local influence in any country of the known world.

4. Moreover, Muddun Pal being a remarkably good-looking man, with pleasing manners, I have no doubt that there is now a sort of personal partiality for him on the part of the chiefs, as the Raja of their own selection, which would add to their feeling of disgust if that selection should be disregarded by the British Government.

5. When a Rajpoot sovereign dies, without leaving a son, and without there being any dispute in the family and among the principal chiefs respecting the proper person to succeed (whether from relationship or adoption), I consider the choice of a successor to be so entirely an interior affair of the native State, that we ought not to take any active part in the matter. According to the spirit of our treaties, and according to the intentions of both the contracting parties when those treaties were formed, it certainly is not our business to name successors to Rajpoot principalities, except in cases where there are two or more competitors, which is precisely the case now at Kerowlee, and thus it becomes both our right and our duty to pass a decision in favour of one or other of those competitors.

6. I entirely concur with Sir Henry Lawrence's opinion, as expressed in the following extract from the 27th paragraph of his despatch now before me, dated the 17th of November last, viz. "The confirmation of the suzerain is necessary in all cases; he is the arbitrator in all contested adoptions; he can set aside one or other for informality, irregularity, or for misconduct; but it does not appear by the rules or practices of any of the sovereignties, or by our own practice with the Istumrardars of Ajmere, that the paramount State can refuse confirmation to one or other claimant, and confiscate the estate, however small."

7. Under all the circumstances above described or adverted to, I consider that Muddun Pal, as proposed by the Governor- eneral, should, without further delay, be installed as Raja of Kerowlee, from being (as described by Sir Henry Lawrence) the adopted son of "the senior widow of Maharaja Purtab Pal;" I would be satisfied, however, with whatever security Muddun Pal may offer for the payment of the debt, as far as his security need be taken into consideration; but I would openly inform him, through the Governor-general's agent, that any breach of his promise for the regular payment of the required annual instalment, would render him liable to have one or more of his districts taken possession of for a time by the British Government, and managed exclusively by a British officer, till the whole of the debt shall be liquidated.

8. But

8. But I would not at present remove the British agent from the Kerowlee durbar; my knowledge of the Kerowlee people, and the reasons stated by Sir Henry Lawrence in the 27th paragragh of his despatch of the 17th of November, combine to convince me of the necessity of retaining the Political Agent for at least two years after the elevation of Muddun Pal: and I would advocate that measure even if the whole cost of the agency should be charged to the British Government, because many of our own general purposes will be promoted by such a measure, while positive and extensive good will be effected to a large portion of the inhabitants of the Kerowlee territories. I observe that the Most Noble the Governor-general, at present, has some doubts as to the expediency of retaining the Political Agent, if he is to be paid from the British treasury; but I trust that those doubts will soon be removed from his Lordship's mind, and at all events I feel fully convinced that his Lordship will readily confirm the act if the Honourable the President of the Council will at once order the whole plan to be carried into effect, including the retention of the British agency at Kerowlee, the latter part of the plan being considered as a temporary measure, and the exact duration of the agency being thus left for the future consideration and decision of Government.

Calcutta,
11 January 1854.

(signed) *J. Low.*
Fred. Jas. Halliday.

(True copies.)

T. L. Peacock,
Examiner of India Correspondence.

EAST INDIA
(ANNEXATION OF KAROULY).

COPIES of Despatches of the Governor-General of *India* in Council, and Minutes of the Members of Council, respecting the Annexation of *Kerowlee*:—And, of Despatches of the Court of Directors in reply thereto.

(*Sir Erskine Perry.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
4 *August* 1855.

455.

Under 3 *oz.*

EAST INDIA (THE NIZAM, &c.).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 7 March 1859;—*for*,

"COPY of MINUTE of Major *Moore*, then a Member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on the alleged DEBTS of His Highness the NIZAM to the British Government, dated the 7th day of November 1853, and of any other Minutes or Dissents of Members of the Court on the same subject:"

"Of MEMORANDUM of Colonel *A. Cotton*, on the Bombay Minutes of the Members of Council on a RAILWAY from *Beithul* Harbour to *Hydrabad*, prepared in obedience to Orders of the Madras Government, on the 13th day of September 1858:"

"Of LETTER from Colonel *A. Cotton*, Commandant of Engineers, to *H. Forbes*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government, dated the 5th day of March 1858:"

"Of REPORTS on the Harbour of *Beithul*, in *Sedashighur Bay*, by Colonel *A. T. Cotton*, Madras Engineers, and Lieutenant *A. D. Taylor*, I.N.:"

"And of REPORTS on the direct and indirect Effects of the GODAVERY and KISTNAH ANNICUTS in *Rajahmundry*, *Masulipatam*, *Guntoor*, &c., and the COLLEROON ANNICUTS in *Tanjore* and *South Arcot*."

India Office,
14 April 1859.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in Political and Secret Departments.

(*Mr. John Benjamin Smith.*)

CX
M
8

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
13 *April* 1859.

CONTENTS.

No. 1.—Minute of Major Moore, then a Member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on the alleged Debts of his Highness the Nizam to the British Government, dated the 7th day of November 1853; and of the Minutes or Dissents of Members of the Court on the same subject - -

No. 2.—Memorandum of Colonel A. Cotton, on the Bombay Minutes of the Members of Council, on a Railway from Beitkul Harbour to Hydrabad, prepared in obedience to Orders of the Madras Government, on the 13th day of September 1858 - - - - - - - - - - - -

No. 3.—Reports on the Harbour of Beitkul, in Sedashigar Bay, by Colonel A. T. Cotton, Madras Engineers, and Lieutenant A. D. Taylor, I. N. - - 82

No. 4.—Reports on the direct and indirect Effects of the Godavery and Kristna Annicuts in Rajahmundry, Masulipatam, Cumnoor, &c., and the Coleroon Annicuts in Tanjore and South Arcot - - - - - - - - - 93

— No. 1. —

COPY of Minute of Major *Moore*, then a Member of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, on the alleged Debts of his Highness the Nizam to the British Government, dated the 7th day of November 1853, and other Minutes or Dissents of Members of the Court on the same subject.

Dissent by Major *Moore*.

THE rejection by the Board of Control of certain parts of the Political Draft, No. 803 (new treaty with the Nizam), and which passed the Court as altered on the 26th ultimo, enables me to offer the following objections:

1st. I object to the treaty, because I am convinced it will ultimately prove eminently disadvantageous, and perhaps even ruinous to the pecuniary, the political, and the sovereign interests of the Nizam. It is possible we might be able to justify our proceedings with reference to legal right, and the maxims of writers on international law, but we shall never be able to do so on the higher and superior grounds of a liberal and generous treatment of the Nizam, and a maintenance of that principle by which we always professed to be influenced, viz., a desire to uphold, not to subvert the Nizam's independence. We shall, in my judgment, have by deed that word of promise to the sense which we have spoken to the ear.

2. Because, as already observed, we might have had a legal right to insist upon the Nizam's cession to us of a part of his country in payment of the debt he had incurred, and which experience had shown he was either unable or unwilling to liquidate, yet the enforcement of this right involves a great increase of the Nizam's embarrassment, particularly as regards his irregular troops, already in a constant state of mutiny from the arrears due to them, and will thus lead to the decline, and finally to the annihilation, of his authority as an independent prince, which we have always professed it to be our intention and *bonâ fide* desire to maintain. It would have been more just and more generous to have avoided such a result, and to have negotiated with him (in lieu of this partial, and, as it will no doubt prove, permanent cession of a part of his Highness's territories) for our entire and exclusive control of the administration of the country for a limited period, when we might have restored it to him free of its embarrassments, and in that condition of order which would have ensured the welfare of the country, and upheld the Nizam himself in the position he ought to be in amongst the princes of India. With this would, of course, have been combined several other important measures, such as the reduction of an enormous amount of useless expense by the discharge of thousands of irregular troops, whose existence (and in many cases nominal existence only on paper) serves but to swell the emoluments of the officers of Government. By the establishment of courts of justice, of which there are scarcely any in the Nizam's country that deserve the name; by the organisation of the ancient and admirable system of Munneewarree police now quite in abeyance; by the immediate removal from the country, after payment of their just claims, of the Arabs and foreign mercenaries, who are now the very curse of the country; by the establishment of one universal system of coinage throughout the whole of the Nizam's country, assimilated as much as possible to the standard value of the Company's coinage, but without infringement of the Nizam's undoubted sovereign right of coining money; by a revision of existing treaties, and such modification of them as the changed condition of India, and our political relations with native princes might seem to demand. These are some of the advantages that would have ensued, and would have been better for all parties than that which has been adopted, ultimately more beneficial to the Nizam, and certainly more in accordance with our often-expressed opinion, that it was desirable to maintain the Nizam's independence and position as a sovereign. I do not advocate a policy of conquest for this enlarged policy upon the ground that it would be more acceptable to

the Nizam. I believe he would have evinced much more repugnance to a proposition to relieve him from the duties of administration over his whole country than to place certain districts under the management of British officers; but I am not disposed to allow great weight to his Highness's personal feelings in such a question, or to permit them to stand in the way of measures for his manifest advantage, as I regard those I have suggested.

3. I dissent from the provisions of the second article of the new treaty, because, although the Nizam has given apparently a ready consent to the modification of the future distribution and strength of the subsidiary force, I object to the terms in which that proposal was made. To show the grounds of this part of my dissent, I must go somewhat into the details of our political dealings with the Nizam, which, I apprehend, are not fully understood or duly appreciated in general. Our treaty with the Nizam in 1800, which forms the basis of our present political relations with the State of Hyderabad, expressly stipulated that we should maintain for his protection, &c. within his territories a force consisting of eight regiments of infantry (sepoys) of 1,000 firelocks each, two regiments of cavalry, or 1,000 horse, with the requisite complement of guns, European artillerymen, &c., which would amount altogether to about 9,500 men of all arms; and that for the payment of this force he should cede to us the Dooab (now styled the ceded districts), then yielding a nominal revenue of about 93 lacs. How have the two parties performed the respective engagements? The Nizam duly ceded to us the districts. We have reduced the numerical strength of our regiments of the subsidiary force from 1,000 firelocks to 750 of infantry, and from 500 sabres to 420 in each regiment of cavalry, and the number of troops kept up by us within the Hyderabad territory for the last 30 years has been more than one-fourth less than the number for which we had contracted, and received payment in advance, thus gaining very largely upon both transactions; for it, as I believe, the revenues of the ceded districts have increased, while the payments we make to the force (from the reduction in numbers) have decreased, the balance of profit must be greatly in our favour.

When this treaty of 1800 was made we were a mercantile as well as a political body, but now that we have dropped the former character and call ourselves the paramount power of India let us look somewhat more closely to the transaction, and take a more extended and liberal view of it. Upon what plea did we fall short in the due performance of our contract? By what right have we received payment for troops we did not furnish? If these facts are true, are we or are we not bound to account to the Nizam for what we have received from him for an equivalent we have not fulfilled?

The treaty of 1800 was duly confirmed by us on the accession of the present Nizam to the musnud, and in that engagement, dated the 20th September 1837, is the remarkable expression, "The stipulation of all existing treaties shall be duly observed till the end of time."

By the treaty the Nizam bound himself to assist us in time of war with a certain contingent force. I will not stop to discuss whether we were justified in modifying this article of the treaty to suit our own views by changing the character of the contingent, substituting highly disciplined regiments under British officers of our own for a larger irregular body officered by the Nizam's nobles, and affording patronage and provision to many natives of the Nizam's country of the higher classes, but I cannot help alluding to the fact (admitted by all) that the provisions of the treaty were for the contingent to be furnished in time of war only, and we had no right to admit of its being maintained upon its present footing in time of peace. Looking to the state of the Nizam's finances, even the expression of a positive disinclination on the part of his Highness for any reduction in this force, is not in my judgment sufficient. We have rendered it permanent, contrary to the principle of the treaty, and have altered it so as to be useful for our own purposes. Its commands and staff appointments have afforded rewards for meritorious officers who had distinguished themselves in our own armies, and it has been altogether a fertile source of patronage. The Nizam had no voice in the organisation and equipment of this force; it was entirely managed by us, and although paid by his Highness, we have always assumed a right to withhold its services from him; when we choose to disapprove of the object. Hence he has been obliged to maintain large numbers of other troops on his own account for ordinary service in his territories, and the advantages he has derived from his contingent have been nearly similar to the advantages derived from the subsidiary force supplied by us.

The revenues of the Nizam were calculated at about 1 crore and 60 lacs. The pay of the contingent was nearly 10 lacs; with such an incubus on its finances, is it to be wondered that after a time funds for its maintenance were not forthcoming? Very ill know to what shifts the Nizam's ministers have had to resort to meet our inevitable demand for the monthly pay of the contingent! What evils it has been the cause of! Loans from money dealers at exorbitant interest; farming of districts at a ruinous loss, forestalling of revenues, and a host of attendant miseries. Overwhelmed with financial difficulties, the Nizam was at length unable to pay the contingent, and we kindly lent him the money from our own treasury, first at 12 per cent., and latterly at 6 per cent. interest, and thus our staunch ally has incurred a debt to us of about 50 lacs, the consequences of which are the present.

"REVISED TREATY."

Now considering the great advantages we have ourselves derived from our dealings with the Nizam, and that we have had no small share in bringing him into his financial difficulties, I maintain that he was entitled to more liberal treatment at our hands than he has experienced. Does it accord with the high character we assume to ourselves as rulers of the Indian empire, to take the opportunity of the embarrassed position of the Nizam to frame a treaty so prejudicial to his interests? Was there no other way to extricate him from his difficulties than by placing him under so dangerous an obligation? The obvious cause of the financial difficulty was the contingent, the obvious remedy was its partial reduction. Did we urge its reduction? By no means. Previous to discussing the new treaty, the Nizam had the option given him, and it is said that he was strenuously opposed to the slightest reduction of it. The very reasonable question by his Highness to the Resident, Colonel Low, as to why the contingent was not reduced after the war, was considered by that able diplomatist as "a remarkable and unexpected speech." Let us not shelter ourselves under such a pretext. The Governor General considers that there are more regular troops in the Nizam's country than are necessary in these times of peace, therefore the contingent is maintained which enables us to withdraw two brigades of the subsidiary force which will be applicable to other purposes of our own in Pegu or elsewhere. This is called a *slight* modification of its distribution—a transfer of a part of the subsidiary force to the duties of general service in our own province.

Why is not the Nizam to have the advantage of considerable reduction in his own standing army in time of peace? I would ask, is it right, just, or proper, that we should concur in his desire to maintain troops to perform duties which we have contracted to perform ourselves, and been paid for? We may, if we choose, insist upon the repayment of every rupee advanced to the Nizam, but I cannot admit we are justified in disregarding our own engagements by lessening the force we had stipulated to keep up.

Is it becoming, on our part, to endeavour, by specious arguments, to show that the Nizam is a gainer by a measure of which the whole benefit is ours? or that eight regiments of 1,000 firelocks, as specified in the original treaty, meant, in spirit, eight regiments of 750? No; let us call things by their right names. It is not on grounds of benefit to the Nizam that the treaty can be upheld, for it really appears as if we had taken the occasion of turning his difficulties to our own advantage.

The result may be shown in a few words:—

By the original treaty, we were bound to keep up about 9,500 men within the Nizam's territories, for which he paid in advance.

By the present, we are bound to keep up about 5,000 men.

By the original treaty, the Nizam had to provide a contingent in time of war.

By the present, he provides a territorial fund to keep up a contingent in time of peace or war, and cedes districts in perpetuity for the payment thereof.

There is still another point of view exhibiting the impolicy of the treaty. We assume for the payment of the contingent the districts of Berar, &c. &c. We did not allow the Nizam to assign such as would be most convenient to himself, but we selected these districts as adjoining our own provinces; and, as being especially improveable, are we justified in seizing, with a strong hand, that to which others have no equal, or, perhaps, a better claim? There are hundreds of others

who

who have claims on the Nizam's Government fully as legal as our own. Would equity have us to alienate these provinces from the general purposes of the State and apply their revenues exclusively to the payment of the contingent and the gradual liquidation of our own debt, with interest? I do not see how we can disregard claims similar to our own; and we shall find ourselves involved in further pecuniary questions with the Nizam, which must lead to further interference in his affairs, and further cession of territory.

I shall conclude the observations I have ventured to make, by appending to this dissent a short extract from the papers of the late Henry St. George Tucker, than whom a more able and energetic man never occupied a seat in this Court; as I consider the views therein expressed as peculiarly applicable in this case.

Extract from Memorial "of Indian Government," page 251.

We are told, indeed, that our Government has become the "paramount power" in India; and as such may deal with its vassals and dependents according to the dictates of an enlightened policy. True, we wield the power of the sword, and our political supremacy is everywhere acknowledged; but we do not possess, and never can possess, the power to violate treaties, the power to do wrong and to commit injustice, the power to dominate over those who cannot resist us, while we hesitate to enforce it in our relations with those States who enjoy, with a large territory, a greater degree of independence.

"To apply to the weak a rule which it would be unsafe to extend to the strong would ill become the British character; and I must contend that in giving effect to the obligations of a treaty, we consult alike the dictates of justice, and of sound policy."

(signed) *J. A. Moore.*

East India House,
7 November 1853.

(773.)

Dissent by Sir *H. Willock.*

Affairs of the Nizam.

I dissent from the Political Draft, No. 868, on the affairs of the Nizam, which has this day obtained the sanction of the Court, for the following reasons:

The Government of India from time to time made advances for the support of the contingent force which eventually amounted to 72 lacs of rupees. All endeavours to obtain repayment of this sum failed, and the Governor General determined to sequestrate certain provinces of the Principality for the absorption of this debt and to provide for the future payment of the force.

The Nizam, by an unlooked-for effort, has provided for the liquidation of this debt, and the sequestration of the provinces is suspended.

The maintenance of the contingent has occasioned a pressure on the Nizam's finances, and has matured the embarrassment under which he at present labours; it is therefore to be considered, if his Highness is bound by treaty to the support of the contingent, as at present constituted, absorbing as it does nearly a third part of his Highness' net revenue.

I shall best prosecute this inquiry by a reference to public documents. The first notice on the part of the Court of Directors respecting "The Nizam's Contingent Force," is contained in a Despatch to the Governor General of India of the 21st January 1824, and in that communication it is notified that the Secret Committee, on the 3d April 1815, expressed disapprobation of its formation.

In the 81st paragraph of that Despatch, the question of the right we possess under the treaty to establish the contingent is thus treated:

"With reference also to the 12th article of the treaty of 1800 with the Nizam, it appears to us very doubtful whether the proceeding be consistent with good faith, particularly if, as stated by the Marquis of Hastings, the mode of officering and paying the reformed corps render them in effect a part of our army, on whose fidelity we may rely, even on a rupture with their nominal chief."

In a subsequent part of the same Despatch, the evil consequences of placing too heavy impositions on Native States are strongly depicted:

It

"Upon mature consideration, whether in case where they (Native States) are found to be by treaty to maintain a certain force, it might not be politic, if not absolutely to dissolve them from such engagements, at least to modify or relax those obligations, so as to bring the cost of them within the means of a native state. When a larger force is kept up than the State can afford to pay, revenue [illegible] is extorted at the point of the bayonet, inapacity soon defeats its own ends, the public resources, instead of improving, decline, the pay of the troops falls into arrear, discontent leads to mutiny, &c. &c. &c."

These predictions have unhappily been realised at Hydrabad.

In the early stage of the reformation of the irregulars, the Minister steadfastly persisted that the officers appointed to discipline them should not be servants of the East India Company. He could not but foresee that under such a constitution, they would pass from his control. It soon became the rule of the service, "that the Nizam's army, so long as it shall be officered by British subjects, is not to obey the requisition of the Minister until he (the Resident) has first satisfied himself that their services are to be required in a just cause."

The Minister, being thus deprived of the services of these irregulars, who were the personal guards of the Nizam, and constituted the force relied upon by the collectors of revenue and officers of police, to maintain peace and order in the country, and regulate its internal management, was necessitated to organise another and very objectionable force, composed of Patans, Rohillas, and Arabs, to enable him to carry on the administration, and support the authority of his Highness the Nizam's Government.

The gradual transition of the Nizam's irregulars to a disciplined corps is thus described in two paragraphs of Sir Charles Metcalfe's minute of 1832:

"The contingent furnished by the Nizam being found inefficient, we gradually assumed the management of it until we finally established a force in lieu of it, completely under our own control.

"This we were enabled to do by the subserviency of the Minister who was the creature of our ascendancy, and who saw in the existence of this force the means of maintaining his power against rival nobles, as well as refractory subjects."

It appears also by Sir C. Metcalfe's Minute of 1832, that he considered the charge of the contingent as too onerous on the Nizam's Government:

"When I was minister at Hydrabad, I made several attempts to reduce the expense of the force (the contingent). A regiment of cavalry was discharged; the rest of the cavalry was reduced in number; some staff appointments were abolished; but all to no purpose, as to any relief it afforded to the State finances. The minister (Chundoo Lal) squandered the amount thus saved, and so he will do with respect to any reduction of expense that can be effected."

In pursuance of this inquiry, I will advert to the opinions of successive residents at Hydrabad. Those of Colonel Stewart I find quoted in the Court's Despatch to the Government of India of the 8th September 1835:

"Those who have witnessed the course of our policy at this Court during the last 30 years, who have seen how we have put up the creatures of our own as ministers, and supported them against their Sovereign; how we have obtained the control of all the effective troops of the State: and how we assumed the civil control of the country, can hardly feel a doubt, least of all the Nizam himself, that we have considered ourselves the actual rulers of the country. Many evils which exist in this State are unquestionably the almost unavoidable result of our connexion with it. It seems hardly fair, therefore, to hold either the Nizam or his minister responsible for these evils. Situated as they were, I do not think they had the power to correct them; in fact, we may perhaps more properly be regarded as responsible for them, having the power in our own hands, and having shown that we are in no way scrupulous about making use of that power when we thought fit to do so."

General Fraser, in his Despatch to the Government of India, of 26th July 1842, says:—

"If the Nizam is permitted to retain the impression of his being absolutely and actually independent, it is not improbable that, besides other evils which may arise, we shall experience one of great magnitude in a proposition on the part of his Highness for the disbandment of the contingent, to which he is known to be averse, and of which neither the continued maintenance nor the original organisation are provided by any existing treaty."

It may be collected from General Fraser's observations, that the utility of the contingent

contingent force is not commensurate with the evils attending its continued maintenance on its present footing. Without doubt it is an useful and efficient instrument of war; but, surrounded as the Nizam's country is by our territory, protected as he is by the subsidiary force of 8,000 men, mostly stationed at Secunderabad, and under the circumstances of there being no necessity for defence against foreign aggression, it may safely be asserted that the strength of the contingent may be greatly diminished without prejudice to the internal security of the country.

General Fraser observes—"An amount of nearly 40 lacs of rupees per annum, being nearly a third of the revenue of the whole country, is expended for the maintenance of an army from which more aid and advantage might be looked for than has hitherto been effected."

The following memorandum of an interview of Captain Malcolm with the Minister forms an accompaniment to General Fraser's Despatch of 20th July 1842:—

"The Minister then told me to communicate to the Resident that during the period of upwards of 30 years he had been minister, he had never been in such embarrassed circumstances at at present; that his predecessors had no difficulties, in comparison with his, to contend with. The revenues in those days were more flourishing than at present; the allowance to the Nizam's family was smaller; while they were not called upon to meet the heavy demand of 3½ lacs of rupees per mensem, on account of the contingent force under British officers."

I now come to the opinions of Colonel Low, conveyed in his report to Government, of the 20th July 1848:—

"It is still more grievous to reflect that a considerable portion of these pressing pecuniary difficulties of the Nizam's Government has been indirectly brought upon it by our own annual demand upon its revenues for 40 lacs of rupees per annum for the pay of the contingent force.

"It is really painful to me to mention all these facts and circumstances connected with the Nizam's contingent, but I have observed since I arrived here the pecuniary embarrassments of the Government to be so extensive that I have considered it an imperative duty to state my opinion candidly for submission to the Governor General in Council, and upon the same principle I now close the report by expressing my opinion that immediate steps ought to be taken for reducing the expenses of the contingent to a sum not exceeding 20 lacs of Hydrabad rupees per annum at the utmost, because whatever may have been the case formerly, it appears to me quite manifest that the Hydrabad Government cannot now afford to make the large ready money payments that are required by us for the maintenance of that force. I am convinced that if that constant drain were kept up for three years longer, it would cause a very serious increase to the confusion and distress of this capital, and that it would probably bring the whole machinery of the administration to a stand-still, whosoever might be the minister at the head of it, and how much soever he might be supported by our influence."

The decision of the Court of Directors respecting the contingent was clearly expressed in a Despatch to the Government of India, adopted on the 26th October 1849. It is true that this Despatch was cancelled by Her Majesty's Commissioners for the Affairs of India, but as it is a recorded document of the opinion of the Court, I am at liberty to quote it:

Para. 13. "It is here necessary to observe that the view taken by your Government of our right by treaty to demand of his Highness that he should maintain a body of 8,000 disciplined troops is contrary to the opinion which has hitherto been professed and acted upon, both by the Government of India and by ourselves. The 15,000 troops stipulated for in the 12th Article of the Treaty of 1800 were to act in conjunction with the subsidiary force, and only in case of war; and it has been invariably admitted that the arrangement by which a force under British officers is kept up at all times for internal service in the Nizam's own dominions does not rest on any treaty, although the contingent was formed, and the corps organised with the consent of the Nizam's Government, and is kept up by his continued tacit concurrence."

The foregoing statements establish the fact that the Court, on their first and last review of the contingent, have declared that the Nizam was not bound by treaty to maintain it as at present constituted. Secondly, that the Court foresaw in 1849 that the resources of the Hydrabad State were not adequate to its maintenance, and that the evils then predicted by them have come to pass.

Successive

Successive Residents of Hyderabad, officers of high character and standing (viz. Sir Charles Metcalfe, Colonel Stewart, General Fraser, and Colonel Low) have generally declared that we are not justified by treaty in making such large calls on the Nizam's treasury, and that the burthen of the contingent has materially operated in producing the financial embarrassments which now paralyse the powers of the State. It may be as well here to state that the expense of the contingent, at the period of its establishment, absorbed one-fifth of the income, and that under the present diminished resources it forms a charge of nearly one-third of the net revenue.

I have shown that the Court of Directors do not concur in Lord Dalhousie's interpretation of the treaty. His Lordship on the 7th October 1848, expressed the opinion that the British Government commits no injustice, and practises no extortion, in requiring that the contingent force "maintained by virtue of treaty" be kept up by the Nizam, and that his Lordship does not think that we are called on in justice to reduce a man of that force, and he is very certain that in policy we ought not to adopt any such measure; but as his Lordship concurred in opinion with Colonel Low that the contingent has become a much heavier burthen than it ought to be, he expressed an intention to diminish the unnecessary expenses of the staff as vacancies might occur, but even these reductions were to be made dependent on the co-operation of the Nizam with the views of his Lordship.

The Despatch of the Court of the 18th December 1849, sent by order of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India, sanctioned a more extended relief to the Nizam than that contemplated by the Governor General. "We are of opinion that these measures ought not to be made dependent on the conduct of the Nizam. If the contingent imposes upon the finances of the Nizam a greater burthen than is required by the maintenance of efficiency, the Nizam ought at once to be released from such unnecessary pressure." Since the issue of the above instructions, the embarrassments of the Nizam have increased, his country has been distracted by internal commotion, the services of the contingent have been refused on occasions they might legitimately have been afforded, the revenue has been further on decline, the pressure of the contingent has more sensibly been felt, and no step has been taken to carry out the instructions of the Court. Vacancies have occurred in the staff of the contingent, and they have been filled up by the Governor General.

I conceive that the above circumstances ought to have been adverted to in the draft.

The recent partial payment of the heavy debt to the British Government, and the provision made for its total liquidation, are events quite unlooked for; they relieve, for a moment, the sequestration of provinces, and produce a deceptive appearance of improvement, while they really involve him in deeper embarrassment. No explanation has been offered as to the terms on which so large a sum has been raised, and inquiry on this point is not deemed expedient; but as his Highness' credit was exhausted, and as the Soukars had declined to make further advances, it is evident that the effort must have entailed a great sacrifice, must have left the Nizam's finances in a greater state of exhaustion, and that his Highness will have to maintain the undiminished expenses of his government on a diminished revenue. The alteration in his position is this: he paid the British Government 6 per cent. on his debt of 72 lacs of rupees, and he will have to pay his new creditors from 15 to 20 per cent. on the like sum.

The draft does not touch upon these inferences, but expresses the hope that the arrangement made for the prospective discharge of the pay of the contingent may be effectual. The fallacy of this expectation is so obvious, that it compromises the sincerity of the Court.

When we see the country of our ally sinking deeper and deeper into disorder and financial difficulty, it behoves us, as his protectors, to take efficient measures for his preservation; and it is by extending substantial acts of relief in the present crisis, and by an extension of paternal interference in assisting his minister to effect necessary reforms, that we may best prove the sincerity of our expressed and continually repeated desire to maintain the integrity of the Nizam's [illegible]. We have to deal with a prince incapable of breaking through the trammels which surround him.

Every item of public retrenchment and reform which he is expected to [illegible] through affects him personally, or diminishes the incomes of his [illegible] favoured followers. By an existing regulation of the State, the portion

PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE NIZAM.

devoted to the maintenance of the Nizam and family as the lines of expenditure for the present ought to be restricted. He has been accustomed to receive nuzzer big gah to every Nuzzeranah, raised on the promotion of officers to public places, and also a per-centage on all public disbursements; and these sources of expenditure ought to be closed. Talookdars will be called upon to reside at their talookes, Jemadars and Ressaldars will have reduced commands, and every person of rank who has access to the Nizam will be a loser by the projected reforms. Under such influences the minister is not likely to meet the support of the master; all the weight of private opposition will counteract his endeavours to benefit the state. Every latitude ought, therefore, to be given to the Resident to assist the Minister in his most arduous undertaking, and it is only by an exercise of interference almost daily exercised by the Resident, that any efficient reformation can be worked out.

Such a course is not contemplated by the Court.

I object to this draft which has now passed, because it curtails the relief accorded in the Court's Despatch of December 1849, sent by order of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India; and because the Court do not sanction due assistance to the Nizam in the reduction of the expenses of the contingent. Vague and undefined as the expressions of the draft are on this head, having before us the opinion of the Governor General honestly and manfully expressed, that we are not in justice bound to reduce a man of that force, and that in policy we ought not to accept such a measure, I think the present instruction of the Court conveys to Lord Dalhousie license to carry out relief only to the extent of reducing the staff as suggested by his Lordship, and that no effective stay to the Nizam's disasters will be afforded by such unimportant concessions.

I regard the rapid deterioration of the Nizam's affairs as now inevitable. He must soon fail in prospective payment of the contingent force. The partial sequestration of provinces having received the sanction of the Court, will be enforced without further reference to the Home Authorities, and his inability to effect reform will entail increased disorder, which will soon lead to a state of insolvency, and to a termination of his rule. It was to prevent such an issue that I ventured to recommend an amendment to the draft now carried, which has not received the Court's approbation.

Since I have had the honour of a seat in the East India Direction, it has been my study to respect the condition of Native States, and to make allowances for their not fulfilling expectations, when judged by the rules of an enlightened state of society; but I have not touched in this paper on the good effect which a generous consideration of the failings of native administration produces on the minds of neighbouring nations, and which gives a satisfaction to our rule in the estimation of Europe. In pursuance of the course I have observed on this occasion, in placing prominent the opinions of others rather than my own, I will here quote the notice of Lord Hardinge in alluding to the misrule of the King of Oude, and to the policy of endeavouring to maintain rather than to absorb such principalities:

"I should strongly deprecate any policy which would deprive the reigning family of its just power under the treaty of 1801. It is most desirable to maintain the reputation of the East India Company for good faith in their transactions with Native States. The fame of our rule is a tower of strength, not only as regards our connexion with the Native States of India, but also with European powers, and I am confident your Honourable Court will repudiate any compulsory arrangements by which the British Government could be accused of a desire of profit at the expense of a faithful and powerless ally."

If such principles of equity and liberality influence our proceedings towards the Nizam, and other native allies, I feel satisfied that our dominion in Asia, already characterised by gentleness and humanity towards the masses of the population immediately subject to our rule, will be both flourishing and permanent.

We must not lose sight of the fact, that in demanding from the Nizam more than his finances are able to render, he is compelled to practise undue extortion on his subjects, and a question arises, which it may be convenient to answer, as to who are the parties responsible for such oppression.

I lament the occasion of my present dissent.

(signed) *Henry Willock*

East India House,
December 1851.

No. 77.

Protest by Colonel *Sykes*.

Affairs of the Nizam.

1. A CAREFUL consideration and review of Hydrabad affairs places me under the necessity of recording an earnest and deliberate protest against the Court's Draft, No 803 of 1851, which approves of the proposed seizure or appropriation of territory from the Nizam in liquidation of a debt accruing from the occasional advances of money since 1842 by the Indian Government in payment of a body of regular troops exclusively under British officers and British authority, but denominated the Nizam's Regular Infantry; and for other reasons.

Because the manner in which the debt has been incurred admits of a question being raised whether a legal, equitable, or moral responsibility can be fixed upon the Nizam for the repayment of the total advances made by the British Government.

Nizam's regular troops not being the Nizam's contribution to the Contingent of the treaty of 1800.

3. Because the responsibility fixed upon the Nizam for repayment of advances of money to complete payments to this body of troops is founded upon the erroneous supposition that the Nizam substituted the body of troops in permanency in place of the Contingent he bound himself by the treaty of the 12th October 1800, to furnish to the British Government in time of war only the following being the text of the treaty:—

Terms of treaty.

"Article XII. The contracting parties will employ all practicable means of conciliation to prevent the calamity of war; and for that purpose will at all times be ready to enter into amicable explanations with other States, and to cultivate and improve the general relations of peace and amity with all the powers of India according to the true spirit and tenor of this defensive treaty. But if a war should unfortunately break out between the contracting parties and any other power whatever, then his Highness Asoph Jah engages that with the reserve of two battalions of sepoys, which are to remain near his Highness' person, the residue of the British subsidiary force (consisting of six battalions of sepoys and two regiments of cavalry, with artillery), joined by 6,000 infantry and 9,000 horse of his Highness' own troops, and making together an army of 16,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, with their requisite train of artillery and warlike stores of every kind, shall be immediately put in motion for the purpose of opposing the enemy; and his Highness further engages to employ every further effort in his power for the purpose of bringing into the field as speedily as possible the whole force which he may be able to supply from his dominions, with a view to the effectual prosecution and speedy termination of the said war, the Honourable Company in the same manner engaging on their part in this case to employ in active operations against the enemy the largest force which they may be able to furnish, over and above the said subsidiary force."

It was, therefore, only on a war breaking out with another power that the treaty bound the Nizam to join the British with a Contingent of 6,000 (irregular) infantry and 9,000 horse; and that the permanent maintenance of the Contingent for the exclusive preservation of order, or the suppression of insurrection within the Nizam's dominions, was never contemplated by the treaty is testified by the 17th Article, the text of which is as follows:—

"XVII. By the present treaty of general defensive alliance, the ties of union, by the blessing of God, are drawn so close that the friends of one party will be henceforward considered as the friends of the other, and the enemies of the one party as the enemies of the other; it is therefore hereby agreed that if in future the Shorapoor or Gudwal zemindars, or any other subjects or dependents of his Highness' Government, should withhold the payment of the Sircar's just claims upon them, or excite rebellion or disturbance, the subsidiary force, or such proportion thereof as may be requisite after the reality of the fact shall be duly ascertained, shall be ready, in concert with his Highness' own troops, to reduce all such offenders to obedience. And the particular interests of the two States, being now in every respect identified, it is further mutually agreed that if disturbances shall at any time break out in the districts ceded to the Honourable Company by this treaty, his Highness the Nabob Asoph Jah shall permit such a portion of the subsidiary force as may be requisite to be employed in quelling the same within the said districts. If disturbances shall at any time break out in any part of his Highness' dominions contiguous to the Company's frontier to which it might be inconvenient to detach any portion of the subsidiary troops, the British Government in like manner, if required by his Highness the Nabob Asoph Jah, shall

shall direct such proportion of the troops of the Company as may be most conveniently stationed for the purpose to assist in quelling the said disturbances within his Highness' dominions."

British subsidiary force [illegible]

4. Hence it appears that the British subsidiary force of 8,000 infantry, 1,000 horse and proportion of artillery, for which territory had been ceded by the Nizam to the Company of the annual value of 18,13,188 Company's pagodas, or 63,46,158 rupees, were to be ready at all times to aid the Nizam's troops in suppressing disorder and punishing rebellion; and that the Contingent of irregulars of the treaty was in no way identified with any body of regular infantry then in the Nizam's service, as testified by the fact that on war breaking out between the British and Scindiah, and the Rajah of Berar in 1803, the Nizam, in conformity with his treaty, supplied a body of 6,000 infantry and 9,000 horse, whose efficiency was favourably spoken of, and which served under the orders of General Wellesley in the war, and acquitted itself well and did good service, although at that very time a remnant of Raymond's regular French Infantry, which was the nucleus of the present overgrown infantry Contingent, was doing duty in the province of Berar under European officers not in the Company's service. In 1804, when the war broke out with Holkar, the Nizam's Contingent was less efficient than it had been in the campaign of the previous year; and, in consequence, the Resident proposed that the Nizam should entertain a body of horse under British officers. The British Government negatived this proposal but at the suggestion of General Wellesley, proposed to the Nizam that he should keep up 10,000 Silledar Horse; but after lengthened discussions the Nizam refused, and matters remained in their previous state.

Regular infantry in Berar, valuing when the Contingent of the Nizam was in co-operation.

The Nizam's regular infantry in Berar.

Lieut. C. Russell's opinion of regular infantry.

5. In May 1807, when Mahiput Ram, who, as Governor of Berar, was superseded by Govind Buksh, these troops* were devoted to the interests of Mahiput Ram, and with French predilections; and Lieutenant C. Russell says, letter 5/8 1807, para. 16, "I have already had the honour to state to you my opinion that the defects of the infantry establishment are so deeply seated, that no measure scarcely short of dismissing and reforming on a new system the whole of the corps will be adequate to remove them. This measure might be gradually effected at Baussam by Rajah Govind Buksh, assisted by the advice of the officer commanding the (British) detachment; as fast as one corps had been formed it might be detached on duty, and another called in to be submitted to the same change. The strength and number of these corps would of course be determined by Govind Buksh." They appear then to have consisted of six regiments, with a European commanding officer and adjutant. Lieutenant Russell did not propose to reform the horse, which, he says, is like all other irregular horse in India. The Governor General, in Mr. Secretary N. R. Edmonstone's letter 21/5, 1807, approved of Mr. Russell's views, and admitted that the horse could not be reformed. At this time there were six English Europeans, Elliott, Drew, Lloyd, Freeman, Norris and Blake, and a Portuguese Ferroobio in the regiments, besides other foreigners. The pay of the Commandant was 400 to 500 rupees a month, and Adjutant 200 to 250.

Horse could not be reformed.

Europeans in the Nizam's service.

6. Consequent upon the approval of the Supreme Government, Captain Sydenham, the Resident at Hydrabad, wrote to Lieutenant-colonel L. Doveton, 25/6, 1807, commanding the British detachment in Berar, as follows, para. 5: "With respect to the reform of the corps of infantry in Berar, Mir Allum has instructed Govind Buksh to form six corps of 1,000 men each, and the Rajah has been furnished with a list of the rates of pay to be allowed to each rank of the service. The subadars are to receive each 30 rupees; jemedars, 15; boat havildars, 12; havildars, 10; naiques, 8; and sepoys 6 rupees."

Reform of infantry ordered.

"Para. 7. Secondly, the appointment to the command of the several corps of attentive and respectable Europeans, whose attachment to the united interests of the British Government and the Nizam may be depended upon. It would be desirable if all the Europeans attached to the corps were of that character. I have every reason to be satisfied with the character and conduct of Messrs. Elliott, Drew, Lloyd and Freeman, who are at present in Berar. I have also heard that a Portuguese of the name of Ferriobio, and who is at present stationed near Heweekeir, with Iewar Khan, is an active and intelligent man. I should not wish to interfere with the employment of any European of inoffensive character who may be in the service of the Nizam, but I shall feel no hesitation in effecting the discharge of any European who, by his principles, character or conduct, may render it dangerous or inconvenient to retain in the service.

The Resident appoints the European officers to the reformed infantry.

Resident notices his power of dismissal.

"Para. 9. I beg that you will furnish me with the names of those persons whom you may consider best entitled to hold the commands of the corps, and of those who may appear to you best qualified to be appointed to the adjutants of them."

It is hence manifest that from the moment of the reform of the Nizam's regular infantry, the absolute control and consequent responsibility, even to pay and promotions and dismissals, was assumed by the Resident at Hydrabad, a control and responsibility which has never been relaxed from that day to the present.

Absolute control and [illegible] in the Resident.

7. In July 1807, Colonel J. Doveton reported that the French interest was not yet extinct amongst the regulars. Consequent upon their reform, Colonel Doveton proposed to have two officers to command brigades of three regiments each; the additional allowance to be 200 rupees a month, in addition to regimental command.

French interest not extinct.

Two brigadiers appointed.

8. On the 22d June 1810, the Resident, Captain Sydenham, reported to Lord Minto the state of these troops in Berar, consequent upon their reform; and in the 2d paragraph they are, for the first time, called "The Nizam's Contingent Infantry in Berar" (for which term there does not appear a shadow of authority); and in the following paragraph he spoke of "the measures which are still required to accomplish the original intentions of the British Government." Hence they are still dealt with as completely under British control for the realization of a British object. He reported "that all remains of French influence were extirpated, and recommended that the troops should be supplied with arms, accoutrements and ammunition from British arsenals, at the expense of the Nizam's Government, and that a commandant and superintendent of the whole force should be appointed, to be responsible for their discipline, efficiency and uniformity;" and further stated, "that, under the gradual operation of this system, the Nizam's Contingent Infantry would be rendered effective and serviceable troops; they could at all times be advantageously employed in maintaining the tranquillity and supporting the authority of the Nizam's Government, and they would become useful auxiliaries to the British subsidiary force on any occasion of actual service in the field."

Reports to British objects.

He then reminded Government, that he "had before stated that Govind Buksh could not restore Berar to a flourishing state if the British subsidiary force were not actively employed in expelling and destroying the bands of freebooters who infest the country;" but that, as the Nizam's infantry became efficient, the subsidiary force would be saved the labour.

Here, again, one of the objects of the reform of the Nizam's infantry was to save the British subsidiary force from military operations, which it was bound to afford by the 17th article of the treaty. Although Captain Sydenham, the Resident, for the first time designates the Nizam's infantry as the Nizam's Contingent, he does not claim a shadow of authority for the designation; the Resident neither adverted to the authority of the Nizam for it, nor does it appear that the Nizam either directly or indirectly sanctioned it, or even knew of it; in short, that it was a term gratuitously assumed by the Resident, and could not honestly be identified with a Contingent which the Nizam was only bound to supply in the time of actual war; but the term has, unhappily for the Nizam, adhered to this body of troops ever since, and has occasioned mistaken associations in the minds of successive authorities in India, that the Contingent was a commutation of the Contingent stipulated for in the treaty of 1800, and that we were therefore justified in exacting its maintenance.

No authority for the designation of Contingent.

Effects of mistaken designation.

In the penultimate paragraph of the Resident's letter he says, "I cannot here omit to observe, that it would give great facility to the immediate equipment of the corps, and would secure the future efficiency of them, if the ministers of the Nizam's Government would consent to apply the amount of the peshcush for the Northern Sircars to the payment of the infantry establishment in Berar."*

Resident desires to apply the peshcush in the payment of the troops.

Further proof of the troops being entirely under the control of the Resident is shown in the report of Lieutenant George Sydenham, June 15th, 1810; in paragraph 19, he recommends that, to obviate the regiments on distant commands being broken up into several detachments, "the infantry in general be not employed upon duties of revenue, unless they be absolutely required by the

Report of Lieutenant George Sydenham.

Nizam's troops not to be employed on revenue duties.

* The British Government had to pay the Nizam annually, in cash, a peshcush, or tenure fee for the Northern Circars.

the future of the customary revenue officers and abandoned all their collections. He then recommends the supply of 5,000 stand of arms, six ex-perimental guns, six howitzers (6½-inch) and carriages, &c., and further recommends inspection and relief reports and returns, precisely as if they were British troops.

10. In 1813 most of these recommendations, except the surrender of the peshcush, had been carried out, and on the 1st January 1813, the force consisted of 37 European officers, 69 non-commissioned officers, 267 Native officers, and 5,652 rank and file. At this time the troops were made the first charge upon the revenue of Berar.

On the 31st March 1813, the Resident, Mr. Henry Russell, reports to Government that the system was extended to a corps at Hydrabad. A battalion under a Mr. Garden having mutinied, was transferred, by orders of the minister Chundoo Lall, to a Mr. Beckett, with orders to complete the strength to 800, and to raise a second regiment; the whole to be denominated the Russell Brigade; and their pay was to be disbursed from the Residency treasury on the 1st of every month, the amount being deducted from the peshcush payable by the British Government to the Nizam. This seems to be the first instance of the payment of any portion of the Nizam's infantry from a British treasury. Artillery was attached to this brigade, and the minister Chundoo Lall asked permission to purchase their equipments from the Company's stores. The European commanding officers (seven) were not in the British service. In 1813 for the first time, officers of the Royal and Company's Services were appointed to the so-called Contingent in Berar and the Russell Brigade; and in 1822, 1824 and 1828, the Court of Directors forbade the employment of any but Company's officers in the service of any of the Native States.

11. The Nizam's Horse had remained in the same state as in 1807; but the depredations of the Pindarries, particularly in 1816, led to 4,000 Horse being placed under Captain Davis, assisted by five British officers, together with 2,000 Jagheerdar Horse. The object of this force was the repulse of the Pindarries, and the protection of Berar; but no mention is made of this body being the equivalent of the 9,000 horse of the treaty, and the advantage to the British interests is testified by the letter from the Supreme Government to the Resident, dated 22/2, 1817, in which it is termed "highly desirable" and "important," and in the letters addressed to the Governments of Fort St. George and Bombay of the 22d February 1817. In para. 1, is the following:—"The Resident at Hydrabad having reported the accomplishment, under the instructions of this Government, of a highly desirable arrangement by which a body of 3,000 cavalry in the service of his Highness the Nizam, is to be organized and disciplined under the superintendence and control of European officers, and Captain Davis, the commandant, having been permitted to nominate the officers, &c. &c. &c.;" and in para. 2, that there might be no mistake about the interest of the parties, the following occurs:—"Adverting to the essential benefit which the interests of the British Government will derive from the formation of a regular corps of cavalry in the Nizam's pay under British superintendence, his Lordship in Council has been pleased to determine that the officers now proposed to be employed in that service shall continue to draw their regimental pay and allowances from the Honourable Company, in addition to the pay which they are to receive from the Nizam. (signed) [illegible] Acting Chief Secretary to Government."

12. During the war of 1817/18, both the reformed horse and the Nizam's regular infantry served with much distinction, and greatly to our advantage, with the different divisions of the army of the Deccan; and the Russell Brigade was in the battle of Maniilpoor; and no corps was in finer order or better performed its duty, and both horse and foot were repeatedly mentioned in General Orders.

13. Sabaht Khan of Ellichpoor, a Jagheerdar in Berar, was bound to assist the Nizam with 2,000 troops. In 1820 he was induced to put 1,000 foot and 780 horse under British officers on the footing of the Nizam's troops. Here again our influence was extended and our interests strengthened.

14. In 1818 the troops were formed into two divisions, and the horse and foot were placed, under one superintending military authority, to the [illegible] Ellichpoor Brigade. With the share of even a smaller number of troops these two divisions have been augmented to five divisions, with proportional staff, at an annual cost for the staff alone of £3,88,000 (rupees), to the serious impoverishment of the Nizam's income.

14. Again the Peschar (acting minister) in an conversation on the 23d April 1842 and successive days with Captain Malcolm on the part of the Resident, complained bitterly of his financial difficulties; pointed out the increased expense of the force from 24 lacs per annum in Sir Charles Metcalfe's time to 42 lacs per annum at that moment, and said, before Sir Charles Metcalfe interfered with the revenue administration of the country, it yielded 2 crores and 6 lacs per annum, and with regard to an outlay for guns and mortars, he exclaimed, "What is the use of all this expenditure in time of peace?"

Interview of Captain Malcolm with the Resident. Complaints of Minister.

15. In 1826 regular military returns of the force were made to the British Government, and they have been continued ever since, as if the troops were constituents of the Indian armies.

Regular military returns made.

16. The transition of the Nizam's irregulars to the disciplined state is described in two paragraphs of Sir Charles Metcalfe's Minute of 6th March 1832.

"The Contingent furnished by the Nizam being found inefficient, we gradually assumed the management of it until we finally established a force in lieu of it completely under our own control.

Sir C. Metcalfe's Minute, 6 March 1832.

"This we were enabled to do by the subserviency of the Minister who was the creature of our ascendancy, and who saw in the existence of this force the means of maintaining his power against rival nobles as well as refractory subjects." Sir Charles Metcalfe adds, "Since the formation of this force, exclusively under our orders, neither the late nor the present Nizam has taken cognizance of it; they have left it, like other matters of their government, to the management of their minister, being either unwilling or unable to interfere with his uncontrolled administration of their affairs. It is, in reality, a joint concern between Rajah Chunder Loll and us, in which the Nizam himself takes little interest as in other affairs of his dominions."

The Minister, creature of our own.

17. The following observations of Colonel Stewart are quoted in the Court's Despatch to India of the 8th September 1835:

"Those who have witnessed the course of our policy at this Court during the last 30 years, who have seen how we have put up the creatures of our own as ministers and supported them against their sovereign, how we have obtained the control of all the effective troops of the State, and how we assumed the civil control of the country, can hardly feel a doubt, least of all can the Nizam himself, that we have considered ourselves as the actual rulers of the country. Many of the evils which exist in this State are unquestionably the almost unavoidable result of our connexion with it. It seems hardly fair, therefore, to hold either the Nizam or his minister responsible for these evils; situated as they are, I do not think they had the power to correct them, in fact, we may, perhaps, more properly be regarded as responsible for them. Having the power in our own hands to remedy them, and having shown that we are in no ways scrupulous about making use of that power when we thought fit to do so, &c. &c. &c."

Colonel Stewart's opinions.

The British Government responsible for the evils of the Nizam's Government.

18. Sir Charles Metcalfe states, "When I was minister at Hydrabad I made several attempts to reduce the expense of this force (the Contingent). A regiment of regular cavalry was discharged; the rest of the cavalry was reduced in number, some staff appointments were abolished, but all to no purpose as to any relief that it afforded to the State finances. The minister (Chundoo Lall) squandered the amount thus saved, and so he will do with respect to any reduction of expense that can be effected."

Sir Charles Metcalfe's opinion. Minute of Council, 6 March 1832.

19. General Fraser, treating on this always embarrassing subject, in his Despatch to the Government of 26th July 1842, says:

"If the Nizam is permitted to retain the impression of his being absolutely and actually independent, it is not impossible that, besides other evils which may arise, we shall experience one of great magnitude in a proposition on the part of his Highness for the disbandment of the Contingent," to which he is known to be averse, "and of which neither the continued maintenance nor the original organisation are provided for by any existing treaty."

General Fraser's opinion.

Nizam averse to the Contingent.

Here the Resident testifies to the aversion of the Nizam to a body of troops which we nevertheless persisted in upholding and paying for at his expense.

20. General Fraser further observes: "An amount of nearly 40 lacs of rupees per annum, being nearly a third of the revenue of the whole country, is expended

General Fraser's further opinion.

expended for the maintenance of an army from which more aid and advantage might be looked for than has hitherto been effected."

21. From the above combination of circumstances it very soon became the rule of the service, "that the Nizam's army, so long as it is officered by British subjects, is not to obey the requisitions of the Minister until he (the Resident) has first satisfied himself that their services are to be required in a just cause." The Minister was therefore under the necessity of employing another army, composed of Patans, Rohillas and Arabs, at an annual expense of 95 lacs of rupees, for the service of the State.

22. The origin and progress of the Nizam's troops under British officers has thus been shown in detail; and there can be no question whatever, even though the Nizam were constantly cognizant of what had been done by the British Government, that he was entirely passive and helpless throughout. The organisation, management, and entire control and disposition of this body of troops has been assumed by us, chiefly for the promotion of our own interests. I therefore protest against the sanction, by the Court, to the proposed measure of the Supreme Government to appropriate part of the Nizam's territory for the repayment of advances of money which we wilfully incurred upon our own responsibility, knowing as we did, that the resources of the Hydrabad State were inadequate to the annual cost of the body of troops under British officers upon the footing on which we had placed them.

23. Because the XVth Article of the Treaty of 1800, expressly secures the Nizam against our interference with his subjects or servants, the text being—

"As by the present treaty the union and friendship of the two States are so firmly cemented as that they may be considered as *one* and the *same*, his Highness the Nizam engages neither to commence nor to pursue in future any negotiations with any other power whatever, without giving previous notice and entering into mutual consultation with the Honourable East India Company's Government, and the Honourable Company's Government, on their part, hereby declare that they have no manner of concern with any of his Highness's children, relations, subjects or servants, with respect to whom his Highness is absolute."

Nevertheless our constant control of the Nizam's regular troops has been a continual contravention of the spirit of this article of the treaty.

24. Because our control and responsibility were not confined to the military organisation of the force, but extended to all pay arrangements and contingent expenses, as is manifested in the progressive annual expense in which we involved the Nizam from 1807, when the reform of the remnant of Raymond's Corps first took place in Berar, under Colonel Doveton, to the present day. Colonel Doveton, who commanded two regiments of the Company's infantry, accompanied Govind Buksh when he was sent to supersede Mahiput Ram in the government of Berar. Colonel Doveton was stationed with him to maintain his authority, and he was commissioned by the Resident at Hydrabad, Captain Sydenham, to effect a reform in the Berar Regular Infantry, which consisted of six battalions.

In Colonel Doveton's letter of the 28th January 1807, he reported that he had acted upon his instructions, and that the past and proposed future cost would be as follows, founded upon the monthly pay abstract of one of the unreformed battalions, viz., that commanded by the most respectable European in the Nizam's service, Mr. Elliott.

OLD FOOTING.	PER MENSEM.	REFORMED.	
	Rs.		*Rs.*
6 European Officers and 1,000 Men - - - - -	9,599	2 European Officers and 1,000 Men - - - - -	10,750
Cost of 6 Battalions monthly -	59,594	Cost monthly of 6 Battalions prospectively - -	64,680
Cost of 6 Battalions annually -	6,97,128	Cost of 6 Battalions annually -	7,76,160

so that the prospective annual cost of the reformed infantry was less than eight lacs per annum. Owing to the horse being added to the Contingent in 1817, and successive additions of brigadiers and other staff officers, the annual cost has ranged from 24 lacs since 1816–17 to 42,66,185 rupees, including 2,70,794 for civil disbursements in 1828, to 39,16,074 rupees on the 1st January 1848, according to the following statement, the infantry costing roughly 12 lacs, the horse 17 lacs, the artillery, pioneers, &c., 5¾ lacs, and the staff, the very large and disproportioned amount of 2,88,960 rupees, and the military and medical stores 1¼ lac; total 39 lacs, instead of eight lacs in 1807.

RETURN of STRENGTH and COST of the NIZAM's TROOPS under British Officers, by the Resident General *Fraser*, 1st January 1848.

	Officers.		Strength.	Total of all Ranks.	Monthly Cost.	Annual Cost.
	Europeans.	Natives.				
					Hy. Rs. a. p.	*Rs.*
1st Regiment Cavalry - -	2	13	521			
2d ditto - - - -	3	24	521			
3d ditto - - - -	3	25	520			
4th ditto - - - -	4	22	520			
5th ditto - - - -	3	24	520			
				2,997		
Cavalry Total Cost - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- - -	17,14,[illegible]
Artillery 6th Company, Pioneers, & - - - -	3	12	713	1,099	- - -	5,55,330
1st Infantry - - - -	3	17	704			
2d ditto - - - -	5	16	704			
3d ditto - - - -	4	16	704			
4th ditto - - - -	5	16	704			
5th ditto - - - -	6	17	704			
6th ditto - - - -	3	17	704			
7th ditto - - - -	4	17	704			
8th ditto - - - -	5	17	704			
Hill Rangers - - - -	1	3	107			
				6,710		
Infantry Total Cost - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- - -	12,93,433
STAFF:						
1st Brigadier General Tweedlow -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,543 11 8	
2d W. E. Beatson, K.L.L. - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,198 4 9	
3d C. F. Hampton - - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	2,240 0 11	
4th C. M'Kenzie - - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	807 8 7	
5th J. Johnston - - - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,992 14 8	
And 7 other Officers of Staff, and 80 European Officers, including 9 pensioned and medical officers	- -	- -	- -	21		2,88,960
Pensioners - - -	9	- -	- -	1,693	- - -	1,53,457
Military and Medical Stores, &c.						
				12,430		
				TOTAL Annual -	*Rs.*	39,16,174

	Hy. Rs. a. p.	
6 Brigadiers - - -	9,722 1 7	Monthly cost.
80 European Officers - -	51,007 11 11	ditto.
Grand Total -	60,729 13 6	or 7,28,355. 2. per annum of European Officers.

This Return shows that the annual cost of European Officers in 1842 was equal to the total cost of the whole Infantry in 1807.

25. The original arrangement for the payment of the reformed force has long since terminated. In 1817 the payment of the troops in Berar was under an agreement with the Nizam, undertaken by the house of Palmer & Co., of Hydrabad; this arrangement the Court interfered with, and ordered to be discontinued.

Court interferes with mode of payment of the troops.

On the 24th May 1820, the Court directed the Supreme Government to instruct the Resident at Hydrabad to refuse his sanction to any further pecuniary arrangement between the house of Palmer & Co. and the Nizam, the object of which arrangement had been chiefly for the payment of that part of the Contingent stationed at Hydrabad; and again, on the 21st November 1821, the Court ordered Messrs. Palmer's money transactions, called the Arungabad arrangement for the payment of the troops, to be closed.* The Supreme Government, in letters the 16th and 20th October, and 20th December 1822, informed the Court that its orders had been obeyed. Chundoo Lall, the minister, had been in the habit of borrowing money lavishly from Messrs. Palmer's house, at the rate of 25 per cent., to the extent, with interest, of 65 lacs, which, on the 20th July 1822, had increased to 83,04,569 rupees, and the debts of the Government to other creditors were 46,34,509 rupees. The Supreme Government, in the 54th paragraph of their Despatch of the 20th December 1822, informed the Court that the extreme embarrassment in which the minister at Hydrabad found himself consequent upon these debts,† had induced him to apply to the British Government for aid, and the result was, that the Government consented to grant a loan of a crore of Calcutta sicca rupees at six per cent., upon the security of the pesheush of seven lacs of Madras rupees, and upon certain districts. There was not, however, a total absence of suspicion of collusion between Chundoo Lall and Palmer's house. This loan and redemption of the pesheush put an end to any further payment to the Hydrabad division of this force from it, and the resumption of the Ellichpoor jageer, made the whole force dependent upon the minister for the time being, to provide funds from the revenue of the State; in fact, substituting an uncertainty for a certainty for the payment of part of the troops. The extreme financial difficulties of the minister induced him from time to time to urge a reduction in the expense of the force, and some curtailments in consequence took place in the military disbursements between 1828 and 1838.

Debts to other creditors.

Vide Despatch, Supreme Government, 20th [illegible] 1822.

Extreme financial difficulties of the minister.

Annual cost in 1828	- - - -	*Rs.* 42,66,185
„ 1837	- - - - -	37,69,398
But in 1848 it increased to	- -	39,16,174

Of late years, however, the troops had been allowed to fall four or five months into arrears; and on the 2d May 1842, the Resident, General Fraser, wrote to the Supreme Government that the irregularities were such as to threaten serious consequences, and as it was impossible to allow their pay to be contingent upon the minister being able to raise money, he asked permission, in cases of sudden stoppages or other difficulties, to make advances of money. He then detailed repeated communications with the minister, through Captain Malcolm, in which the appeal of the minister on the subject of his financial difficulties, his total inability to raise money and at the expense of the force (the perusal of which excites painful feelings), and the Resident finally asks to make advances from the British treasury of two months' pay, there being, however, at the time a balance in the treasury to the credit of the Nizam of 1,09,000 rupees. The Supreme Government gave its consent to advances only in the cases

Pay of troops falls into arrears.

2d April 1842. 2d April 1842. 2d April 1842. Complaints of minister.

Supreme Government gives consent to advances of money.

---

* *Note.* But our interference went the length even of the Resident, Mr. Metcalfe, making a tour of the provinces, with a view to a recommendation to the minister for a settlement for a term of years of the land revenue; and on the 7th November 1824, he reported to the Supreme Government "the settlement and limitation of the revenue."

† *Note.* At this period the estimated revenues, including the pesheush, were - *Rs.* 1,59,33,533
Expenditure, inclusive of interest on debt - - - - - 1,74,18,4[illegible]

Surplus applicable to debt - - - - *Rs.* 14,2[illegible]

cases mentioned by the Resident, which have, nevertheless, continued until the Nizam has been brought in as a debtor to the amount of 70,77,416 Hydrabad rupees.

26. Because, admitting that the debt were founded upon a legal, equitable or moral basis, it militates against the high character of the British Government for justice and generosity that a prince who, on more occasions than one, when the chief native powers in India were in confederation to crush the British power, proved himself a faithful and efficient ally, should not experience the utmost degree of forbearance on the part of the British Government.

27. Because the exaction of payment of the debt involves the British Government in the obloquy of condemning to ruin, not only the Nizam himself, but all the other creditors of the Nizam, some of whom advanced money for the payment of the Contingent, precisely as the British Government has done, particularly in the instances of the Parsee bankers, Viccajee Mirjee and Pestonjee Mirjee, to the amount of 36,73,440 rupees, who have as legal and equitable and moral a claim against the Nizam's Government as ourselves, and are just as much entitled to be repaid.

All other creditors condemned to ruin.

Debts to Parsee bankers.

28. Because the severe measures proposed to the Government of India are a mockery of the tone, professions, objects, and spirit of the treaty of 1800, which, in Article XV., holds the following language: "As by the present treaty the union and friendship of the two States are so firmly cemented as that they may be considered as one and the same." And Article XVII. holds the following language: "By the present treaty of general defensive alliance, the ties of union, by the blessing of God, are drawn so close that the friends of one party will be henceforward considered the friends of the other, and the enemies of the one party as the enemies of the other." Nevertheless, our acts militate in every sense against such professions.

29. Because the use and employment of the Nizam's own troops under British officers have been refused to him by the Resident at Hydrabad, on various occasions, when the Nizam's interests demanded their employment. In 1850 the Resident reported serious disputes between the Nizam and Ghulam Hussain Khan, of Ellichpoor; and on the 1st February 1850, the Resident reported that he had refused the aid (on the demand of the Peschar Rajah, Rao Buksh) of the Contingent to enable the Nizam to crush the anarchy which prevailed. He also refused the aid of the Contingent when called upon to assist in removing all chiefs of the military classes from the jaghirs they held, and when the Nizam's Government also applied for the aid of the contingent to remove Sultan Newas ool Moolk from his jaghir, the Resident refused, unless he could have a personal interview with the Sultan, which the Nizam refused to grant. The aid of the Contingent was also refused to effect a settlement between a zemindar and zemindaree, at Bahdrachellum.

Own troops refused to the Nizam.

30. Because the Despatch does not give specific instructions to the Supreme Government for the immediate adoption of measures of retrenchment in the cost of the Contingent, or for such amicable arrangement with the Nizam as may save him from impending ruin.

For the above reasons, I protest against the Court's Draft, No. 863.

East India House, 19 November 1851. (signed) *W. H. Sykes.*

(No. 770.)

DISSENT by Major *Oliphant* and Others.

Affairs of the Nizam.

I CANNOT concur in the Despatch which passed the Court on the 19th instant, in regard to the debt due by the Nizam, for the following reasons: Because, in approving the measures of the Governor General for enforcing payment of that debt, by which the finances of the Nizam's Government must be still more seriously embarrassed than before, it appears to me that this Court, instead of reiterating in general terms the necessity of retrenchment, which experience has proved to be of no effect, ought to have taken into its consideration the whole question of the administration of the Government, with the view of suggesting to the Governor General some definite measures of reform which the Resident, under his orders, should have been instructed to press upon the Nizam's adoption by every means in his power short of absolute compulsion.

I venture to think that such a course of proceeding would be a legitimate exercise of our power; and I am persuaded that the concurrence of the Nizam could be obtained to any measure which his Highness believed the British Government was really anxious to carry into effect; nor in doing this need the Nizam's authority be set aside. In the same way that the Contingent has become a most efficient body of men by the introduction of British officers to reform and discipline them, so with equally beneficial results might similar agency be employed in concert with the Nizam's minister for the reform of the civil administration of the country; good government would take the place of disorder and misrule; the necessity of keeping up so large an army would no longer exist. The services of the Hydrabad subsidiary force would, according to treaty, be available should any emergency arise; and turbulent bodies of retainers would be gradually discharged in proportion as life and property became secure.

East India House,
26 November 1851.

(signed) *J. Oliphant.*

I concur,
(signed) *John Cotton.*
Wm. Dent.
John C. Whitemore.
H. T. Prinsep.
Robert Campbell.

(No. 775.)

DISSENT of Lieutenant General *Caulfield*, C. B., from the India Political Draft, No. 863, relative to the Affairs of the Nizam.

BECAUSE, his Highness having complied with the demands of the Governor General, the time appears to have arrived for our going fully into the affairs of Hydrabad, as that principality has seemingly reached a crisis that must terminate disastrously or otherwise, as we may withhold or afford it our assistance.

Because after a patient and dispassionate review of all our proceedings in connexion with Hydrabad from the period of his Highness's subsidiary alliance with the British Government, I am constrained to declare my painful conviction that it is deducible from the records of this House, that the anarchy which prevails in the State of Hydrabad, in which we have a regular army of 20,000 men, together with the impoverished condition of the Exchequer, may fairly be attributed to the injudicious exercise of British influence in the affairs of that principality, as, notwithstanding all that may be said of constitutional rights and international law, as prohibitory of interference, it cannot be denied that neither of these barriers have proved a protection to Hydrabad when the views of our Indian Government invited interference, as is exemplified in the nomination of Rajah Chundoo Lall (in direct opposition to the Nizam's reliance) clothed with plenary power, to be paid to the minister, and exempt alike from

Subsidiary force, 10,000; contingent, 10,000.

his control, and that of his sovereign * as verified by the avowed intention of our Resident to interpose the authority of the British Government, to shield Tehah Chundoo Lall from the unquestionable authority of the prince, in direct violation of a treaty binding us not to interfere with the Nizam's relatives or subjects.

Because we impose an unnecessary expense of 42 lacs of rupees annually upon the Nizam in maintaining a Contingent, organised, disciplined, and officered by us, to perform those duties which by treaty devolve upon the subsidiary force, and withheld its services from the Nizam on grounds that cannot be defended by the principles of international law or constitutional rights, and thereby render it necessary for his Highness to maintain, at a heavy charge (95 lacs of rupees) to the State a large and inefficient force, with a view to avoid vexatious interference, and afford employment to those of his adherents who have no other means of living.

Because interference of a certain character, and to a certain extent, is absolutely requisite to enable his Highness to place his affairs in a train that will hold out reasonable expectations, that under a tolerably efficient minister he may be enabled, without our assistance, so to conduct his affairs as will ensure an improved condition of his State.

Because I do not consider that we are justified in requiring prompt payment by the Nizam under a heavy penalty of a debt, mainly created by measures concerted with a minister over whom in fairness he cannot be deemed to have exercised any control.

Because we have the means to aid his Highness in the reduction of his expenses to an extent that would enable him gradually to liquidate our demands, and without such a reduction it appears impossible for his Highness to maintain the integrity of his dominions, and satisfy the just claims of other creditors.

Because, in my humble judgment, it is the duty of this Court to communicate, without reserve, its opinions and views on all matters of importance to our Governor General, without a knowledge of which he may frequently find himself involved in difficulties of a perplexing nature.

Because this Court cannot, by any possible procedure, divest itself of that responsibility with which by law it is invested, nor evade participation in the consequences arising out of the acts of a Government over which it is empowered to exercise a constitutional control.

East India House,
20 November 1851.

(signed) *J. Caulfield.*

(True copies.)

(signed) J. W. Kaye,
Secretary in Political and Secret Departments.

---

* See Protest of 16 East India Directors, No. 74, page 136 Blue Book, Affairs of William Palmer & Co., and the Resident at Hydrabad's letter in 1835, which says, "Those who have witnessed the course of our policy for these last 30 years, who have seen how we have put up the creatures of our own as ministers, and supported them against the sovereign, have obtained the control of the effective troops, and how we have assumed the civil control of the country, can hardly feel a doubt, least of all can the Nizam, that we have considered ourselves the actual rulers of the country."

— No. 2. —

From Colonel *A. Cotton*, Commandant of Engineers, to *T. Pycroft*, Esq.,
Chief Secretary to Government.

Sir,

I have the honour to transmit a Memorandum, on the proposed railway in the Southern Mahratta Country, in obedience to the orders of Government dated 19th September 1858, No. 1678.

I have in many late papers respectfully requested the earnest attention of Government to this fundamental question, the question of how money should be expended for the material improvement of India.

This proposal of the Bombay Government seems to bring us fully to an issue on it.

Will three millions expended on a railway from Hydrabad to Beitkul, relieve that tract of country from its principal material evils on the one hand? or on the other, will it (as I think I prove) be the most effectual step that could be taken to prevent that tract from ever obtaining the essential benefits of cheap production and cheap transit?

Most certain it is, that if the latter is the effect of spending money upon a railway there, every additional million that is spent in this way is an additional obstacle thrown in the way of the relief of India generally from its main material evils! The railway interest is already very considerable, and its very existence depends upon its succeeding in depriving India of cheap transit, and it is absurd to expect that its influence will not be exerted to resist that which is certainly directly antagonistic to it. And so also with respect to the other great fundamental point of finance.

Will this three millions if spent on a railway afford a great and important relief to the at present insolvent state of the Government? or will it add a further permanent burden of 150,000 *l.* a year? (on a doubt whether the railway will pay its expenses.)

This Government has in its most important Despatch of the 13th July last clearly declared the conclusion, which its ample experience had taught it to be, that expenditure on hydraulic works was extraordinarily remunerative, and would afford a complete relief to the finances.

Such a declaration from the only authorities in India who could give it from their own knowledge and experience, seems to me to be of the very first importance, but not second to it (I think) will now be as decided a protest against the proposed extension of the railway system to the Southern Mahratta Country, if, as I cannot but hope, the facts and arguments of this Memorandum are sufficient to satisfy them that my conclusions are in the main sound, as to the effects of such a work in that locality.

I look upon this opportunity as one of the most valuable that could be offered to India's authorities. A decided stand now made will certainly secure at length a real examination of this vital point, and I am quite sure nothing more is required than a real examination to satisfy everybody who is willing to be satisfied about it.

The late Secretary to the Government of India in the P. P. W. was certainly right when he protested against "adverse discussion" on the railway question: nothing but its suppression could secure the further expenditure of millions on works which would shut out India from cheap production and cheap transit, and thus effectually prevent it from meeting other lands on equal ground in the markets of the world.

MEMORANDUM of Colonel A. Cotton, on the Bombay Minutes of the Members of Council on a Railway from Beitkul Harbour to Hydrabad, prepared in obedience to Orders of the Madras Government, 13th September 1858.

The order transmitted to me with these minutes so clearly requires my explicit opinion on the subject, that I trust I shall be excused in stating opinions so entirely opposed to those expressed in all the Bombay minutes. I regret that I should differ so entirely from those so much superior to me both in office and knowledge of other matters; but as my whole attention has been given to engineering matters, and especially to this subject of communications, and I have had such peculiar opportunities of investigating the subject both from the information of others, and from that I have obtained from works with which I have been more or less connected, I am in hopes that I may be allowed to give an opinion without presumption on such a matter, even though contrary to the views held by those who have not such professional knowledge and experience.

I may premise that all these minutes are written on the grounds, as if already established, 1st., that railways in India will be profitable speculations; 2d., that they will be more profitable upon the whole, that is, directly and indirectly, than any other way of spending the same money; 3d., that they will answer the purposes of the country as communications, that is, that they can carry the great traffic of the country, that they can do what is required for that purpose, both in respect of goods and passengers, and in respect of cost and quantity.

The minutes take it for granted that railways are such communications as will meet those three evident demands. What I beg to submit is, that they thus, in fact, beg the whole question.

This is certainly in accordance with what has been done by others respecting railways. They were entered upon without the slightest investigation on either of the two latter points. On the first, indeed, there was a sort of inquiry, but no "adverse discussion" was allowed, and in consequence the calculations were very tested, and in my opinion, which is supported by present results, they would not have stood any test. I have not seen even a calculation of the cost of working a railway in India, and I have every reason to believe that there was no careful investigation of this fundamental point. I have not the original papers about the Bengal railway with me; but to show how loosely the whole subject was handled, I may mention that in the calculation of the present cost of transit by the river, two of the items allowed were interest and insurance on an average value of goods at 10 *l.* a ton for the whole traffic, the great mass of the traffic being grain, &c., value from 3 *l.* to 5 *l.* a ton, so that probably the average does not exceed 6 *l.*, thus making a miscalculation in these items of seven to one.

As to the great question whether railways were the communications that were suited to the particular circumstances of India generally, or of certain parts of it, it was never, I believe, raised at all.

It seems to be a peculiarly suitable time to examine these points, so intimately connected with the material welfare of India, now that actual results of the working of some railways in each Presidency afford in some measure sound grounds for our conclusions.

The question immediately before me seems to be, is it expedient to construct a railway (of course for high speed like those already constructed) from the proposed harbour of Beitkul to Hydrabad?

I conclude that this question may be fairly divided into the three above proposed, viz.:

1st. Will a railway answer as a speculation?

2d. Is it a more beneficial way of spending money on that tract of country than any other?

3d. Will it answer its purpose, that is, will it carry such quantities and at such cost as the country requires?

The comparison of such a communication with other kinds, viz., with common roads, light railways and waterways, will necessarily be examined in the course of these inquiries.

With respect to the 1st question, in one of the minutes it is given as an opinion, "that it would be a very profitable undertaking as regards the company who carry it out," and in another, that "of the financial [illegible] value of it * * * * there can be no doubt."

Matters have now so far advanced that we may best form a judgment on this point by the actual results on the lines now in operation.

In Bengal the line from Calcutta to Burdwan, 120 miles, has been open three years. I give in the Appendix returns of receipts and expenditure up to the end of last year.—They were

		Rs.
For 1857, Receipts	-	14,50,000
Expenses	-	5,90,000
	120	8,60,000
Profits per mile	-	7,000

I don't know exactly the cost of this line up to the present time, but I believe it is about 1,20,000 rupees a mile, including rolling stock, &c., on which the apparent profit has therefore been six per cent.

But I must observe that the publication of the accounts in this way, though true in the letter, is calculated to convey an entirely false impression of the financial results; the two great items of the current expenditure on railways do not appear in them, viz., depreciation and repairs. For the first nothing at all is allowed, and for the latter a mere trifle, because there is not an old locomotive or carriage or rail on the line; everything is new. It is therefore quite certain that this six per cent. does not represent the true profits on this line. What the actual cost of repairs and renewal will be in India we have no positive data; we can only form an estimate of it from such data as we have.

By a very complete account of the expenses, &c. of all the railways in the State of Massachusetts, in the United States, the best railway accounts I have been able to obtain, the average cost of repairs and renewal of the road only on 1,367 miles, is 2¾ per cent., and the total locomotive expense is 1½ per cent., so that adding for rolling stock, the total cost of repairs and renewal came to very much under three per cent. [illegible].

The report from which this is taken adds, "this experience of nine years' working cannot be very flattering to railway proprietors. The expense of keeping up the track, that is, of maintenance of way, has greatly disappointed expectation in America as it has here" (in England). I should think, considering the great heat and heavy rains of Bengal, the cost under these heads will be greater than in Massachusetts. Allowing the same, it reduces the profits to three per cent.

Now in considering this result, we must remember that this, the first 120 miles out of Calcutta, is without any comparison, the line of greatest returns of any line that could be formed in India. Nothing like the great mass of passengers that go for a moderate distance to and from the most wealthy city of India, can be found at any distance from the great cities.

This is therefore an extreme case.

On the Bombay line I have not the traffic for any length of time, but the traffic receipts for the last half of June 1858, were 330 rupees per mile (one hundred and thirty miles), or at the rate of 3,600 rupees per annum; 9¼ per cent. if the road has cost 30,000 rupees, but I have no statement of the actual cost. I cannot, however, I believe, be very far wrong in that sum. The per-centage of expenses upon gross receipts was, in 1857, about 47 per-cent.: allowing the same for 1858, it will leave for profits just five per cent. This line is like that of Bengal, it is the first 130 miles out of a great city, and the accounts include no sufficient sum for repairs and renewal, in consequence of everything being new. But this calculation also omits the cost of the Bhore Ghaut, I mean about 80 lacs which would add about 20,000 rupees a mile to the cost of the whole 130 miles.

of

of which the road will then consist; and the above profits on 150,000 rupees a mile would be only three per cent., and deducting from this three per cent. for repairs and renewal, there would remain no profit on this, one of the great lines the first 140 miles out of one of the capitals of India. If the cost of the Ghaut is distributed over a greater length of line, then we must allow diminished receipts: for the average receipts of 400 miles, for instance, from Bombay, cannot equal the average of the first 130. On the Madras line of 96 miles out of Madras, the present receipts are on an average about 90 rupees a week, or 4,700 rupees a year, seven per cent. on 70,000 rupees a mile, and allowing the same proportion of expenses as last year, the net profits would be 3¼ per cent., and deducting here also three per cent. for renewal and repairs, ¼ per cent.

It is, in my opinion, impossible to mistake in the conclusion to be drawn from these actual results on three different lines, immediately adjoining three of the capital cities of India.

It is commonly said that the traffic will increase as the lines extend. It will undoubtedly increase on the part now worked, but the average of the whole will diminish. It cannot be imagined that the traffic on the second and third 100 miles from a capital will not be greatly less than on that of the first, and therefore if the whole of such traffic were added to the first, it would not very greatly increase the average, but in point of fact by far the greater part of the traffic of each portion will be local traffic, and will not affect that of the other portions. Of course, up to a certain distance, the average traffic will increase, because no extremely short line will not draw the whole traffic even of the tract through which it passes, but it is impossible that the average of 500 miles from a capital can equal that of the first 100 miles.

I therefore submit that these results are alone quite decisive as to the question of great railways being profitable speculations in India while in its present state of wealth, and consequently that we have far stronger proof that on the particular line here proposed, not leading to a capital, even anything like interest for the capital can be obtained.

Further, we have the results in England. The net profits, according to the returns, are now just 4 per cent. on the capital, and the average cost about 36,000 *l.* per mile. Certainly the average cost of railways in India will be only about a quarter of those in England; but if we compare the enormous disproportion of wealth in the two countries, it is also certain that nothing like one quarter of the number of travellers could afford to use railways here at English charges. We cannot be wrong, therefore, in concluding that throughout India railways will not make such profitable investments as in England.

Again, in Massachusetts, where the average cost was only 9,000 *l.* a mile, the profits were 6¼ per cent., and the wealth of the community there is of course many times that of India. Also the value of money there is much less than in India, and the 9,000 *l.* a mile represents a less capital than 90,000 rupees invested in India.

I must also observe, that there is great doubt thrown upon English accounts, as there must be till there are independent Government inspectors appointed to examine them. Almost all the lines are making very small dividends, some, as the Great Western at this time, none at all; and of course, in such a state of things, there is a strong bias on all concerned to put as much as possible of the expenditure to the item of new capital, and also to have large sums under the head of unadjusted accounts, both which must necessarily cause considerable doubt as to the reality of the sums set apart for dividend.

Thus, the following railways have added these sums to their capital account in the last half year:

	£.
London and North Western - - - - -	454,000
South Western - - - - - - - -	225,000
Great Western - - - - - - - -	62,000
Brighton - - - - - - - -	35,000

And the following are outstanding accounts:—

	£.
London and North Western - - - -	109,000
Manchester and Lincolnshire - - - -	258,000
Lancashire and Yorkshire - - - - -	330,000
Great Northern - - - - - -	143,000

While such enormous items as these appear in accounts which are not inspected and publicly reported on by Government officers, there must be great uncertainty that the present dividends will be supported.

By a letter in the Railway Journal, 15th May 1858, it appears that 20,000,000 *l.* have been added to the capital of the Great Northern in 10 years, that while the gross receipts had increased by 730,000 *l.* the dividends had fallen from 10 to 4½ per cent., the goods traffic having increased from 300,000 tons to 5,000,000. Of course no other possible conclusion can be drawn from this than that even after charging 20,000,000 *l.* to capital in 10 years, the increase of goods traffic has still caused an enormous loss. Without rigorous and strict inspection of accounts by officers publicly responsible and totally unconnected with any individual railway, we cannot be certain that current expenses are not charged to capital. From all the information I have been able to obtain, I have myself no doubt that the real profit on English railways is considerably under 4 per cent.

I must also particularly notice the fact above stated, which is common to many English railways viz., continual increase of receipts with a constant diminution of dividends. There is, of course, also a strong bias in all concerned, in order to keep up the appearance of prosperity, to show an increase of receipts, and hence to carry at losing rates, and that this is done is certainly proved by the above fact. Consider also the following admission in an editorial in Herapath's Railway Journal, the great advocate for railways: "In many railways we have noticed that during the last half dozen years (and in some cases longer) they have spent each half year" (as capital) "sums about as large as the profits paid away in dividends."

The consulting engineer of the Madras Railway showed in his last half-year's report that there had been a clear loss both on 1st class passengers and on all goods, though the latter are carried at an average rate of 10 *d.* (6¼ *d.*) per ton per mile, and though nothing is allowed for depreciation, and of course only a small proportion for repairs, as all is now new. The results of the Madras Railway up to the end of 1857, were as follows:—Length 81 miles, cost without rolling stock for a single way, 53,000 rupees. Receipts 104,000 rupees for the half year; expenses 56,000 rupees, or 54 per cent., which on a supposed total cost of 70,000 rupees a mile, would be a nominal profit of ¾ per cent., or for the year 1½ per cent., and allowing 3 per cent. for renewal and repairs, a loss of 1½ per cent.

It seems to me impossible that there can be any question, after this investigation, as to the line from Beitkul to Hydrabad being profitable. If none of the lines immediately adjoining the three capitals pay even merely the guaranteed interest, we have the most certain grounds for concluding that this line, in an out-of-the-way part of the country, will not do much more than pay its expenses, if it does that. I do not see how we can be mistaken on this point. These data are surely quite sufficient to establish it.

Before proceeding to the other two points, I may here properly refer to a minor one started in these minutes, viz., as to how a line can be laid out so as not to compete with the Bombay line. It seems to me most certain that whatever line is laid to Beitkul must be a directly competing line with that to Bombay. Beitkul will become a large port and city, and will, even with a railway, draw off a very large proportion of the traffic both in goods and passengers from the Bombay line. I cannot see how there can be any question about this. Any line running from a certain tract of country to a port must compete with all other lines in that part, whether it runs nearly parallel to them or perpendicular. The only question with the proprietor and the merchant

as now he can get his goods cheapest to the port; and the passenger traffic must follow the line of the goods traffic in India, and it does not matter to them whether the line runs to a port due north, or due east or west. Thus, the North and South Canals at Madras compete directly with the railway, although they run perpendicular to it, because the people of Madras do not care whether their consumable articles come from districts west of Madras, or north and south.

The proposed line, therefore, while it will not yield profit itself, will undoubtedly greatly diminish the traffic on the Bombay line.

My second question is, Is this railway a more beneficial way of spending money on that tract of country than any other?

Surely this is only a question of common sense. The grand object is to promote the material improvement of the country: it is for this that capital is spent on public works. Surely, if we are going to spend a million on a certain tract, we should all conclude that we had made a great mistake, if we afterwards discovered that, as we had spent it, it had only yielded one per cent. of total benefits, while a more judicious mode of spending it would have yielded 100 per cent.

I append to this memo. a report on the traffic on the Bengal Railway, with some remarks I made upon it, at the desire of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, together with a comparison of the actual cost and results of that railway, and an estimate of those of a canal on the same line. I give this as a striking illustration of the effects of taking a work in hand without properly examining this point. From this it will be seen that there is good ground for believing that even on the present traffic there would be a saving of 15 lacs a year, taking together the profits to the shareholders and the diminished cost of transit to the public, and, probably, including the new traffic that would be produced by the lower rate of transit, not less than 25 lacs a year, had a canal been constructed on this line instead of a railway, and that had the same money that has been spent on this 120 miles of railway been spent on waterways, it would have been ample to provide all Bengal with a complete system of such waterways of several thousand miles, conveying both passengers and goods at 1-5th or 1-10th of the railway rates.

I cannot but think this is a sufficient example to warn us against entering upon such an expenditure as is now proposed without first examining the matter in this point of view. What possible object can there be in spending money upon the country in a way that will yield one per cent. if we could spend it in another that would yield 100? and of course we are liable to do this if we do not first make inquiry.

Even if it were settled that the most profitable expenditure would be on communications, it would remain to consider on what kind of communications in that particular tract of country; for instance,—

Whether on Common roads,
Light railways,
Heavy railways,
Canals, or
Rivers.

It will be sufficient for our present purpose that for the cost of a mile of heavy railway, we might have—

16 miles of road,
10 or 15 of light railway,
15 or 25 of canal, or
25 of improved river navigation.

Now, surely, this is a real question. Tried by the test of direct and indirect profits, which I am convinced is the only true test of such expenditure, nobody could doubt that any one of these works should be many times more profitable than the same money expended on a heavy railway, in the actual circumstances

of that tract of country. And I must again observe that no road or railway can carry the quantity required on a main road in India.

But there is also the question of irrigation, particularly as that can be combined with navigation in the same works. Suppose that 400 miles of railway were to be laid at 80,000 rupees a mile, costing 3½ millions sterling, and that for the same money, at 10 rupees an acre, 3½ millions of acres could be irrigated. The cost per acre in Rajahmundry is only about four rupees; and with respect to the value of the increase of produce, Captain Meadows Taylor shows that in those countries the ryots water their lands at an average cost of 27 rupees an acre per annum, showing that the value of produce must exceed that. In Rajahmundry we reckon an increase of 16 rupees on one crop. At this latter rate, the increased value of produce on 3½ millions acres would be 500 lacs a year. But this would at the same time provide, probably, at least 2,000 miles of canal navigation, besides connecting, perhaps, as much more of navigable rivers. Can there be any comparison between the benefits to be derived from the money so expended and those of the same sum expended on a railway, and what can possibly be said why a railway should be constructed in preference?

As I have quoted the case of the Bengal Railway, so also I may mention that of the Bhore Ghaut. It is said to cost 80 lacs; the direct distance is about six miles, but it is lengthened to 13, to obtain the required gradients. Now compare the results obtained in this way with the same sum to be expended on irrigation from the Kistnah and Godavery. The results there will be 2,000,000 of acres irrigated, and more than 2,000 miles of navigable canal and rivers. The increase of produce alone will be on an average of 20 rupees an acre, including some two-crop land, 600 lacs a year, besides 2,000 miles of communication conveying goods at one pie a ton a mile.

I cannot but believe that when these things are pointed out, it will be acknowledged that in future they warn us to consider this question: Whether under the present circumstances of India it is wise to spend money in one way rather than another? This one ghaut has saddled India permanently with a charge of four lacs a year, while the same money might have certainly yielded a relief of 40 per cent., or 32 lacs a year, to the finances, and have left an enormous amount besides in the hands of the landowners. Were India like England, overloaded with wealth, and covered with almost every kind of public works, it might be a question whether we might not amuse ourselves with spending three quarters of a million upon six miles of ghaut; but while the country is so poor, almost entirely without public works of any kind, and insolvent in its finances, I must insist upon it that the question whether we are going to spend our money to something like the best advantage, is an essential one in every proposed work. Whether the work we are setting about will, like the Bhore Ghaut, be a great addition to the burthens of India, or whether, like the same sum spent in the hydraulic works for irrigation and navigation in Rajahmundry, Masulipatam and Guntoor, it will be both an immense relief to the part of the country improved by it, and at the same time not only provide its own interest, but also afford a very large relief to the finances of India, already at least 10 lacs a year, and there is every reason to believe when the works are completed, much more than half a million sterling a year.

I come now to the 3d question I have proposed, viz.: Will this railway answer its purpose; that is, will it carry such quantities and at such cost as the country requires?

Is a railway the kind of work that will effectually carry the great traffic of a country?

This I urge is the question—not, Will it carry a small portion of the passengers and goods that ought to be moved at a high speed and a high price, and that only at the cost of taxing the country in other ways to pay for this advantage? From the data and calculations above offered, I conclude certainly, that, supposing on the 350 miles now at work at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras, 2½ millions sterling have been spent, and that the *bonâ fide* profit does not on an average exceed two per cent., there is already a clear addition to the burthens of India of 7½ lacs a year, which must be paid by additional taxes of some kind. And every additional million, as it is expended in such works at a greater distance from the capitals, must entail a greater loss. On the 40,000,000 already

already guaranteed, we cannot suppose less than an average loss of three per cent., or nearly a million sterling, thus doubling the previous average deficit in the finances of India.

I return, therefore, to the question I propose myself.

Let us on this point go upon the same safe ground as in examining the former questions, viz. the results on the Indian lines already open.

First, the Calcutta line. The total number of passengers per annum is something above a million, but they travel, on an average, only about 30 miles or a quarter the length of the road (*vide* Appendix A.), so that the average number travelling the whole length is 250,000, or 800 a day, on the first 120 miles out of the chief city of India, on the main line leading to the interior. From the vast numbers who travel in the populous parts of India, even without any facilities, we cannot be wrong in supposing that, on such a line as this, if they were carried cheap enough to meet the actual necessities of the people, this is not a tenth part of the number that could and would travel along it. On one of the four main approaches to Madras, 3,000 a day travel on one of the main roads. In Tanjore, away from any great city, 1,200 men a day; over a bridge three miles from Trichinopoly, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, 20,000 people a day pass. We may confidently conclude, that if on those lines there were cheap facilities for travelling, these numbers would be greatly increased. I cannot think, judging from these and many other such facts, that less than 10,000 would travel on the first 120 miles of the Great North Western Line out of Calcutta, if they could be conveyed at prices suited to the state of the country.

On the Madras line the number is 250 per day on the average of the whole line, and the consulting engineer says in his report, dated 15th December 1856: "If Mr. Fletcher will take a trip any new moon on his own rail, he will find ocular demonstration to the contrary. He will find many travellers of both sexes, but very few of them on the rail, though the charge is reduced to 4 pie a mile." Again: how does he account for all those crowds of people walking or driving in bullock carriages along the road to Trivelloor on occasions of festivals. The railway authorities are prepared to give, and do give, any amount of special accommodation on those days, yet the people walk. They give them the means of going and returning the same day, yet they walk 26 miles and back, and probably lose three whole days in doing it."

Again, "The rate (4 pie) is altogether too high; it is too high, whether we consider the condition of the people, the value of money, or the cost of the line." Again, "The mass of the people do not travel on the line, yet they do travel, on foot and in bullock carriages." Again, "The actual results are notorious. As a rule, none but the wealthier classes of the native community have travelled by this rail. On all occasions of feasts at Trivelloor, which lies close to the rail, and at 26 miles from Madras, a common and very inferior road, running nearly parallel with it, has presented to the railway officials the unsatisfactory spectacle of thousands of people, some in bullock carriages, others on foot, passing to and fro between that town and Madras." All these quotations are not from opponents of the railways, but from one of their strongest advocates. Colonel Pears wrote a book two or three years ago, strongly advocating railways as the works which were best suited to the country.

That is, the railway so far from accommodating many who could not travel before, carries only a small proportion of the numbers of previous travellers.

On the Bombay line the numbers were 2,000 a day, and, as the average distance travelled was 24 miles, or rather more than a quarter of the whole length of the line, the average number for the whole distance was about 550 a day, of which the 1st and 2d class together were only 1-20th part, or about 30 a day.

The results of the Bombay line up to the end of 1857 were, length 88¼ miles, of which double 33, single 55½ miles. Average cost, 91,000 rupees a mile. Receipts per mile, 4,000 rupees; expenses, 1,900; nominal profits, 2,100 rupees, which, on 91,000 rupees, gives, per annum, 4⅔ per cent., and deducting from this 3 per cent. for renewals and repairs, it leaves 1⅔ per cent. for the probable real profits.

Captain Rivers the consulting engineer's remarks on this are: "The ordinary traffic for this half year is 21,000 tons. The railway had, at the close of this report, been open more than 18 months to the foot of the ghauts, and yet on

89 miles there is shown an average of 60 tons each way daily, a traffic insignificant, considering either the trade of Bombay, or the cost of the line, or the expectations which Government and the originators had in constructing it. But this remark supposes that the 21,000 tons were carried the whole length of the line. Probably they were not carried half of it, so that the average quantity carried along the whole distance could not have been 30 tons a day each way, or at the rate of under 20,000 tons per annum, a quantity insignificant indeed on the only land line leading into one of the capitals of India; and had it been 50 times as great, or 1,000,000 tons, which a communication on such a line ought to carry, it would still be of no consequence, while the goods are carried at a charge only a shade below that of the old means of transport.

The remark of the Bombay Government on this is: "The returns continue to show that the Company have succeeded in diverting only a very inconsiderable portion of the goods traffic of the interior, and strengthen the opinion of Government that the present rates operate injuriously to the Company's interest." But this supposes that the Company could afford to carry cheaper than they do, of which we have no proof. It is certain, from the lowness of the profits (probably not more than 1½ per cent.), of which by far the greater part must be derived from passengers, that the profits on the goods, even at the present rates, are insignificant, but it is much more probable, that on this railway also (as the consulting engineer has shown to be the case in Madras) there is an actual loss in the goods traffic; the fault is not in the managers of the railway, but in the apparatus itself. After all this enormous expenditure goods cannot be carried by it so cheaply as by the old means, without allowing anything for interest.

Compare these quantities carried by the railway on all the three most important lines in all India, the principal entrances into each of the three capitals, 20,000 to 30,000 tons a year on each, with the 150,000 tons already carried on the Coconada Canal, though it is hundreds of miles from any great city, and has not a town of more than 20,000 inhabitants anywhere near it, and though the supply of boats is so far from keeping pace with the demand, that the charges are three times as high as they need to be. There are no discussions as to why the goods are not carried by the canals in preference to the old modes.

I must especially notice the utter insignificance of the number of first class passengers, those for whom all this enormous expense has been incurred; in Calcutta the average for the whole length of the line is 15 a day, in Madras 2. Now we may safely say that, excepting those, almost the whole of the remainder would prefer, if they could obtain it, a lower speed and lower charge; they only travel in this way because they have no choice, therefore speed is not a benefit to them, but because necessarily united to a high charge, a real loss. Probably nine-tenths of these travellers, if they could, would travel at half the speed and half the charge.

I must also notice that, after all this expense has been incurred, even the proposed object is not attained, viz., high speed. These railways are all worked at from 10 to 18 miles an hour less, after all, than the speed at which the Hudson River is worked by steamers. The reason is, that after the expense of construction has been incurred, it is necessary, in order to keep the fare cost of transit down even to the present high charges, to work at a moderate speed. Were there a steam-boat canal by the side of these railways it might be worked very cheaply at a higher speed than the latter. The charge on the Hudson is 2½ pies a mile for first class passengers, one-seventh of the charge on these lines, without allowing for the difference in the value of money in America and India, which is six or eight to one, so that 2½ pies there is not equal to ½ pie here, 1-36th of the charge here. And so also in England, passengers are carried at from ½ d. to ¾ d. per mile from London to Edinburgh, with all the expenses due to a very bad sea navigation, equal to from ¾ to 4 pies per mile, and allowing for the difference in the value of money, from ⅛ to ⅔ pie in India, and it is evident that on a steam-boat canal, these charges might be still reduced. Such is the difference between land and water carriage, even at high speeds.

It is thus clear that at present the railways do not meet the wants even of the second class passengers, and they scarcely touch the third class at all.

Let us consider this point also by means of the charges themselves. In Calcutta the lowest charge is 3 pies (¼ d.), this is equivalent to six times as much as at home, or 2¼ d. nearly, two and a quarter times the charge for the lowest class

class in England, and it is notorious that for one that has money to spare here, there are 10 there. To put the people of India on a par with those in England, the charge ought not to be reduced merely in proportion to the value of money, but below that. It ought to be under ½ pie per head.

On the Rajahmundry canals, the charge is 1 pie, and it is fully ascertained that this excludes by far the greater part of those who would travel; it is now proposed to reduce the charge to ¾ pie, in order to obtain greater profits. And, if the boats were worked by steam instead of by men, they could afford to carry at ½ pie with a good profit; worked by men, and charging 1 pie, they are yielding now 30 per cent.

How grievous it is thus to see this enormous expenditure incurred, and, after all, the main wants of the country, as respects even passenger traffic, unsupplied by it. Even in this respect, what is wanted is, to convey from 5,000 to 10,000 persons a day at prices of from ½ to 2 pies, and whether they go at 10 or 20 miles an hour, whether it takes two or four days to travel 1,000 miles, is a matter of entire insignificance in comparison.

The certain consequence of the construction of a railway on the proposed tract will be that an insignificant proportion of those who used to travel will be carried at these ruinous charges, and that for this even, the country will have to be taxed in other ways to provide interest for the capital expended.

Secondly, let us consider the goods traffic. I urge that this is in reality the first point in the question of communications, in the present state of India. India is not in the position of the gentleman whose question is not about money, but how he may travel most speedily and with the greatest ease; but in that of the farmer, with whom the grand point is how he may get his produce to market at a charge that will enable him to sell it profitably. When India has by means of obtaining access to markets been enabled to sell its produce, and so secured more than the bare necessaries of life, then it might entertain the question of travelling with ease and speed, if the two questions were really separable, but they are not; the same means that will provide them sufficiently cheap transit for their goods will also provide them both speedy and pleasant transit for their persons.

We have, then, to consider the suitableness of railways as respects goods traffic, using the actual results on present lines for this inquiry also. First, on the Calcutta line. The total quantity of goods last year (not coals) was 49,000 tons; supposing that they are carried 50 miles, the average for the whole length of line would be 20,000 tons. The distance carried may be more than 50 miles, but the average quantity cannot be above 25,000 or 30,000 tons, which supposes the average distance to be 60 or 70 miles. But the highest of these numbers is utterly insignificant, even as respects quantity. Compare it with the water traffic to Calcutta. Compare it with the reported traffic in four months on the Nuddea rivers, 600,000 tons. I cannot find a memorandum of the total traffic on the two Calcutta canals, but unless my memory fails it is about 3,000,000 tons a year. The boats entering the circular canal alone were 170,000 last year, a year of confusion, probably containing 2,000,000 tons.

When we look at these quantities and see the railway carrying 1-60th or 1-100th part, it is clear that even as respects quantity it is a matter of entire insignificance. But when we examine the prices we find that even if it carried 50 times as much it would still be a matter of no sort of importance, because it carries at prices only just a hair's breadth under those at which the goods were previously carried. What does it matter whether the goods are carried by rail or by road, if there is no tangible reduction of cost? It has an appearance of being a point gained, when the rail succeeds in abstracting the traffic from the old modes of conveyance, but the change is no real benefit to anybody, that is, no benefit worth mentioning. In this case, suppose 30,000 tons have been transferred to the rail, and that there had been so great an actual reduction of cost as ¼ anna per ton per mile, the total saving to the public is 500 rupees a mile, or 60,000 rupees a year, an insignificant sum in comparison of an expenditure of 150 lacs.

But there is also a traffic peculiar to this line, viz., the coal traffic. It is evident that there may be anywhere a peculiar mineral traffic of this kind, which is in some important respects distinct from the general heavy traffic of the country, and each case requires separate consideration. This mineral was before carried entirely by the Damoodah, a small river flowing only a short distance,

liable to sudden changes, and never affording a steady navigation; a river navigation, in short, of the lowest kind, for a great part of the year without water, and in the monsoon alternately in flood and very low. It also enters the Hooghly so near the sea that that river there is very wide and exposed, and the distance is 40 miles more than the direct line. The expense of transit on it is accordingly very high for water transit, viz., 6¼ pies per ton per mile of distance carried, and 8½ pies per mile of direct distance, while the cost on the Nuddea rivers is about 4 pies per mile of distance, and by the river and Soonderbunds 2 pies for grain, and it would be less for minerals. The coal trade up river to the Ganges is carried at 1 pie per ton per mile. The total quantity carried last year was 90,000 tons by rail, and 54,000 by water. The charges were 3 annas a maund = 5¼ rupees a ton by the latter, and 2 annas 10 pies = 5 rupees nearly by rail. Thus, as was stated for goods, the least possible difference is made, and were the whole of this ¼ rupee saved it would only amount to 22,500 rupees a year; but it is not, for at Howrah the coal has to be discharged into boats to be conveyed to the different points where it is required, so that the saving must be quite insignificant; and this is further proved by the fact that the difference of charge is not sufficient to transfer more than 3-5ths of the whole to the rail. There is thus the least possible benefit to the public by the change.

It is no fault of the railway management; it is the defect of the apparatus itself; it is like a man cutting up firewood with a knife, he must of course charge high. The fact is, the railway is not suited for this work. A canal on this line would certainly carry the coal at one pie a ton a mile, or 10 annas for the 120 miles, and thus save 4 rupees 6 annas per ton, or 5½ lacs of rupees on the whole present quantity; and as such a reduction amounts to 60 per cent. on the cost of the coal at Calcutta, it would certainly cause a very great increase of consumption; and probably a saving to Calcutta of 10 lacs a year would thus be produced on this one article, were a suitable means of transit afforded, instead of much under 22,500 by the railway. By the present arrangement it is, in fact, just as if all the grain on a gentleman's estate was carried to market in carriages instead of in waggons.

This is a striking proof of the entire unsuitableness of railways for the heavy traffic of India, and is surely a warning to us in planning future communications.

We may safely say that Calcutta is paying 10 lacs a year in this one item for the privilege of having a magnificent railway to Raneegunge; and this is only a part of the loss, for a reduction in the price of coals from 9½ rupees to 5 would give a vast stimulus to her in all sorts of ways, both to her internal trade, and to her external commerce. And what also is the loss to the coal-owners by this mistake? What the effect of cheap transit will be in India we have positive proof in the Rajahmundry canals. There the supply of new boats cannot nearly keep pace with the increase of demand. On the day I left Dowlaishwarum more than 80 boats had passed through the head of the main canal by 5 P.M., and 33 were waiting to pass the lock, more than 110 in one day, containing probably 1,000 tons. In the first year about 700 boats passed, in the last month more than double that number of much larger boats; this increase is in seven years. And this is in spite of increased charges, in consequence of the inadequate supply, and in a part of the country without even large towns, and hundreds of miles from any city.

But there is another great point in this matter, and which is in fact one of the leading questions on the whole subject of Indian communications; it is no other than this: What is the actual cost of carriage by railway? Most strange to say, I have not seen any discussion of this essential point in projecting those works; and yet most assuredly without a right decision of it, no right conclusion can be arrived at.

In the present case, how can we possibly settle the matter whether a railway ought to be constructed to Beitkul, without knowing at what cost it can carry? Suppose, when we have made it, we see 5-6ths of the old traffic still going by the roads, as we do in Madras? It is strange indeed that this point should not have been thoroughly investigated. In one of the Punjaub reports we have an example of the strange, loose way with which this essential point has been dealt with. It is there said, "It will now be proper to state briefly what the advantages of this line are likely to be." But in the following discussion, it is only said, "If the carriage by rail should be kept low, so as to attract commodities which

which can only afford to pay cheap transit;" and again, "the present water traffic would preferentially take the railway, provided always the cost of transit be cheap," and so on. But not a word is said on the subject of what the cost would actually be at which the railway could carry. The carriage by river, with the present clumsy navigation by human power, is 5 pie per ton a mile, and it is certain it can be reduced, probably more than half. Is there from such data as we have, a probability that a railway would carry at 2 or 3 pie?

On the Calcutta line, I have only these data. The receipts from coals were about 2.20,000, viz., 44,000 tons at 2 annas 10 pie per maund, and the total receipts were 7,50,000, the former 2-7ths of the whole. Now, we may be sure that the profits on the coal were less than those on the passengers, the one carried at 8 pie a ton, and the lowest passengers at 3 pie a head, or 5 annas a ton. And as allowing for repairs and renewal, the profits could hardly have exceeded 3 per cent, on the whole it follows that that on the coal must have been much less than 2-7ths of 3, or certainly not $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, that is, 60,000 rupees on 44,000 tons, or 1 rupee 5 annas per ton, equal to 2 pie a ton a mile, which would make the actual cost of carrying the coal, exclusive of renewals and repairs, 6 pie a ton a mile. It seems impossible that it can be less than this.

On the Madras line there is a most careful examination of the actual cost by the late consulting engineer, and his result is above 6 pie a ton, without an allowance for renewals and repairs; and in the last report on six months' traffic there, there is shown an actual loss on the goods traffic, though the average charge is 10 pie.

Judging from these things, from the very low profits on the railways, even as the accounts are now kept, from my knowledge of the cost of carriage in England and America (for instance, the above case of the great diminution of profits on the Great Northern, attending upon an enormous increase of goods traffic, showing indisputably a positive loss upon the goods traffic at the rates there charged) judging from these and other things, I must say, that at present there is no indication whatever that these high-speed railways in India will carry at less than 8 pie a ton, a mile; more likely 10 pie for bare cost of carriage, without any allowance for interest.

The one fact, that the Madras Railway has failed after two or three years trial, to take more than a small part of the traffic off the common road by the side of it, "and that not a very good one," is a fact that speaks pretty plainly; and we may be quite sure that rather than suffer such an opprobrium, all the parties connected with the railway would strain every nerve, and be under a strong influence to carry at the lowest possible charge.

I cannot but think that these facts and reasonings will be conclusive as to the necessity of a careful investigation of this essential point, before the Beitkul Railway is decided upon.

But this is by no means the whole of the question. It is not whether the railways can carry at 8 pie or 10 pie, nor even at 4 pie; it is, do we not require to carry at a much lower cost than the lowest of these? Even 4 pie will not answer the purposes of the country. We have to carry goods of a very low value, hundreds of miles, and we must have very low rates, or India's resources will not be developed. A charge of 4 pie on 500 miles is 10 rupees a ton, which would be 30 per cent. on the value of grain for instance, probably the great bulk of the traffic. Wheat, in Goandwanah, costs 8 rupees a ton; such a charge as 4 pie would more than double its cost; thus we should throw away our peculiar advantage of cheap production, if we only have a means of transport of 8 or 10, or even of 4 pie a ton; we must have transit at half or 1 pie a ton a mile, if possible.

And further, this transit we can have; we have abundant proof that on a good steam-boat canal, traffic can be carried on at a rate not exceeding 1 pie; even on the Hudson, where men earn $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 rupees a day, the goods are conveyed at $1\frac{1}{3}$ pie a ton, a mile; and we have ample proof from the working of the river and canals in Rajahmundry, that for long distances, with steam-power at the extremely low cost of fuel in India, goods can be conveyed for less than 1 pie; this cost of fuel is a particular point. On the Godavery we pay 1 rupee a ton for wood, equal to $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees for coal, and I have every reason to believe, that when the river is regularly worked, it will be lower than this.

This is about one-fifth of the cost of fuel on the Ganges, where the actual cost of carriage up river by steam, according to such information as I have, is 4 rupees a ton. The charge is from two to three times this, but the profits are enormous, 50 per cent. and more. Every waterway in India will touch or approach some jungle, so that we may confidently reckon upon very cheap fuel; and this is particularly the case in the tract of country under review. I should think 1 rupee a ton for wood, equal to 14 rupees for coal, might be calculated upon. We may not be aware of the extreme cheapness of water-carriage when fuel can be obtained at such prices, till we make the calculations.

I am thus perfectly satisfied from actual results, that both in respect of passenger and goods traffic, these railways fail entirely to answer the purposes of the country, in respect of cost of transit.

There remains the question as to numbers and quantity to be carried.

I will not go so closely into this part of the subject as the last.

I have no doubt that a railway in India will be able to carry as great a traffic as offers, but this is only because its charges must be so high as to prevent 9-10ths or 19-20ths of the traffic there would be, if carried at such rates as are necessary, but it will thus effectually keep down the traffics; and the question, therefore, of whether it could carry such a traffic as there would be on many lines in India, is thus of small importance.

But on the line to the north-west, from Calcutta for instance, where the traffic is even now so enormous, and rapidly increasing, with very low rates, I should think we ought certainly to provide for 10,000 passengers a day, and 3,000,000 tons a year, and it is quite certain not even a double railway could carry that. No railway in England carries one-fourth of this, and some of them are most seriously crowded, and as in the case of the Great Northern, their expenses are so great in consequence of the speed they are obliged to push on the goods in order to escape from the passenger trains, the constant delays in sidings while other trains pass, &c., that there is an enormous loss on the goods traffic, as I have shown by the diminution of dividends.

I have no doubt that if Beitkul is made a port, and if the upper country is thoroughly opened up by a great extent of very cheap communication, that the main line will, in a very few years, have an immense traffic on it, and for this we must be prepared.

But it is a matter of very little importance that railways can neither carry at the rates nor the quantities that India requires, when we have a means in our reach, procurable at 1-5th or 1-10th of the cost of railways, that will in every respect most fully answer the purposes of the country as a communication; and especially when it will not only do so, but will at the same time enable us to attain to an object of still greater importance even than communications, viz. both as far as possible securing the produce, and greatly diminishing the cost of production.

One of the principles on which I consider that the examination of the present question should be conducted is this, that in India, at present, communications are not the works of the first importance, but that works which will, as far as possible, secure the population from famine and scarcity, and afford the cheapest production, are the first, and that communications are certainly second to this. What satisfaction would there be in a railway passing through a population dying of famine, and in abject poverty, because their means of raising produce was so imperfect that almost the whole population was employed in raising food, as is the case at this moment in the Southern Mahratta country, as well as in almost all India. I am aware that railways were proposed as a means of preventing famines, and I allow that they would, in a manner, mitigate them; but I urge, first, that they would do it in a very small degree, because in famines in India the great mass of those who perish, do not die for want of food, but for want of money to buy it with; second, that when a population are suffering from famine, no communication can possibly rescue them; 10,000,000 of people would require 5,000 tons of food a day, costing, at such a time, probably seven lacs of rupees a day. What was the state of Ireland with its sea-board, providing the cheapest possible conveyance of food to within a moderate distance of every part of the interior? was famine prevented? how many hundreds of thousand perished even on the very coasts? and if the monsoon failed hundreds of thousands would perish in the Southern Mahratta country in spite of a railway

railway that cost three millions. Further, the expense of carriage, as I have shown, is so great by a railway, that if the grain should be brought 300 or 400 miles, which it of course would, the cost of carriage alone would be at 8 pie a mile, 12 to 16 rupees a ton, or 60,000 to 80,000 rupees a day for 5,000 tons; and could a railway bring the quantity, and could all this money be found, still this would only bring it to the line of the rails, it would not distribute it throughout the tract, which would therefore remain to be done by other means. So utterly ineffective would a line of railway be in every respect. There is one more point to be considered with respect to this proposed line of railway. When it arrives at the top of the Western Ghauts, is it proposed to make a locomotive line down them, like the Bhore Ghaut? Though it would not be so expensive, yet it would certainly be an enormous addition to the cost of the line, and would make the average cost very high.

What is first required is to make the country, as far as its circumstances admit of, independent of other countries for food, and then, to provide it with communications which shall both carry extremely cheaply, and also in some good measure pervade the tract. A single line of communication through a country is not what is wanted, it is a net-work of them, a mile of cheap transit to every five or ten square miles of country.

I do not of course mean to say that we can absolutely secure the country from famine; if it pleases God to withhold rain for a certain time, all our works will be useless; but what I do say is, that beyond all comparison, our first work in India should be for the purpose of securing a supply of water to the land, and happily in doing this, we cannot but at the same time gain our second grand point, the pervading the country with a net-work of the cheapest possible lines of transit, capable also of carrying an almost unlimited quantity, and at ample speeds.

With respect to such works in this particular tract, I need not here go into detail, because I have already done so in the report I have forwarded on the Beitkul harbour.

I will only here state the leading points. The first is the remarkable fact that many hundreds of miles of the rivers here have so slight a fall that they are either now good navigation, or can be made so at a trifling cost. The Mootah Moolah, Beemah and Kistnah, for instance, form one line, with a fall of 900 feet in 600 miles, to near Kurnool, being a fall of only 1½ foot per mile. Wherever the fall is so slight as this, one of two things is the case: either the fall is equally distributed, and then the navigation is already good, or there are parts where the fall is rapid, and then these can be corrected by annicuts and locks, at a moderate expense, and the principal part of the river must have a still less fall than that average. For keeping up the navigation during the dry season on such small rivers as this, it can be done at a very moderate cost by storing water in tanks. Thus there can be no doubt that many hundred miles, probably not less than 2,000, of good river navigation can be obtained there for probably 1,000 or 2,000 rupees a mile, or 1–100th of the cost of a railway. The second point is, that though a great part of this tract is liable to very scanty supplies of rain (there was a partial famine there only four years ago, and one threatens now) yet the rivers are as well supplied as any in India, because the sources of the Kistnah, for a length of 400 miles, are in the Western Ghauts, and the whole country is thus traversed at every few miles by streams which I believe have never been known to fail. We have therefore as sure grounds as we could have for hoping that an effective system of canals for irrigation and navigation led from these rivers would be completely effective, and would really in every way fully answer the purpose for that tract, both securing cheap production and providing every talook with very cheap transit. One grand line in the southern borders of this tract, viz., from the sources of the Toombuddra, past Bellary and Kurnool, and thence by Cuddapah and Nellore to Madras, has now been examined throughout, and it has been ascertained that it is a perfectly practicable line from the very summit of the Western Ghauts, for a line of river and canal navigation. This line would unite with the Beemah and Kistnah line near Kurnool.

For the connexion with Beitkul, I have ascertained that the Kala Nuddee is capable of being made effective to about 40 miles from the coast, and from the information I have received I have no doubt that a canal could be brought along the high country opposite to that point. I would then connect the two by a series of inclined planes, which might be done at a practicable expense.

Now surely it is a question whether, under these circumstances it is best to spend three millions on 400 miles of railway here or on irrigating probably at least two millions of acres, yielding thereby an additional produce, at 15 rupees an acre only, of 300 lacs a year, and as far as possible providing for certain and cheap production, in addition to at least 3,000 miles of water communications to carry at ample speeds for all our purposes, and at one-fiftieth or one-tenth the cost of railway carriage. Or rather I should say, can there be the smallest room for question about it?

I must most earnestly urge a real consideration of these facts and arguments before so fatal a mistake is made as to enter upon this proposed work. It will not be the mere waste of three millions; it will be incomparably worse; it will in all probability seal up this beautiful tract of country for an unknown time from all the blessings of cheap production and cheap transit. For men once committed to these unhappy railways in India are under a sort of necessity to resist every attempt to give the country either of these two vital benefits.

I may just mention one most important point in this tract, viz., that it is perhaps of all India the best suited for European colonization. The situation of a great part of it so near the sea, and at the same time at an elevation of from 1,800 to 2,400 feet, makes it a delightful climate, and perfectly fit for European occupation. In this respect it is perhaps the most important tract in India, and worthy of the most particular attention from Indian statesmen.

I must again apologise for expressing myself so strongly and decidedly opposed to the views contained in these minutes; but I feel that it is a vital question to India, which requires the most explicit avowal of opinion by those who have had such opportunities as I have, however they may unhappily differ from those who, in office and everything else, are so much their superiors.

We are all agreed so far as that the grand object now is to bring to bear the energy, science and capital of the West upon the fertile soil and vast population of the East, as regards material things. The whole matter is resolved into the question, is the connecting link between these two to be iron or water? Which of these materials will most effectually accomplish our object?

Shall we make use of a material which we have on the spot in the utmost profusion, and which is procurable at an almost nominal cost, in comparison of its value; or shall we send to the other end of the world for one which is only procurable at a monstrous cost, and which, when brought, will not accomplish the real objects in view?

Supposing we bring a ton of iron into the interior for 150 rupees, we might for the same money apply to the land permanently at least 150,000 cubic yards of water a year, watering 30 acres, with an increase of produce of 450 rupees, and providing the cheapest transit besides. But the total cost of the iron, including the actual application of it to the work for which it is intended, is about 700 rupees a ton, viz., 110 tons of rails per mile costing 80,000 rupees, and for this 700,000 cubic yards of water may be brought to the land.

Spending our money on railways is, in fact, throwing away the greatest gift that God has bestowed upon India, and substituting for it that which can only be obtained at a cost entirely ruinous.

I am not surprised at these minutes. They only partake of the almost universal misapprehension under which not only Indian statesmen, from the late Governor General downwards, laboured, but even the mercantile community, who, it might be supposed, would have more readily perceived the necessity of cheap production and cheap transit.

There are happily strong indications that this misapprehension is now considerably weakened; and now that actual results of the railways can be referred to it seems to be a suitable time to make an effort to call attention to this great question, and to try to obtain for it a real investigation, of which there has not hitherto been a shadow. Everything, as in these minutes, has been taken for granted.

Among many such indications I may mention three which seem to me calculated to lead men to entertain the question whether they are right in thus taking for granted that railways are the remedy for India's material evils.

The first is, that when I had the honour of meeting the commercial community of Calcutta on the subject of the Rajmahal canal, rather to my surprise, I was not met by a single objection such as railway men usually make. I cannot

cannot but gather from this that the mercantile community generally have now great doubts about the railways answering the main purposes of the country.

Again, many of the witnesses before the late Colonization Committee strongly advocate irrigation and navigation. Mr. Balston, for instance, says, " A canal, even if it were to cost 50,000 *l.* a mile, would be much more profitable in India than a railway that cost 10,000 *l.*" He was a railway contractor.

Having thus called in commercial men, I trust I may be excused taking so great a liberty as to produce the testimony of a leading statesman also, viz., the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India.

The following is a passage from a printed report of that nobleman's speech, at a meeting of the Manchester Cotton Supply Association, last year:

" It seemed to him one of the most practicable functions the association could perform to give information upon these points, and carefully avoiding being mixed up with Indian politics they should keep to the two great things, roads and irrigation. As to roads, he feared we were in danger of being misled by the precedent and example of England. It seemed to be thought that because costly lines of railway for high speed were suitable for this country (before a line was constructed we had a complete canal system, adequate to our heavy traffic), they were equally suitable for India. He believed and so did more competent judges, that that system of proceeding was a complete mistake. What was wanted in India was not costly lines for rapid travelling laid down in a few parts, but a comparative inexpensive though slow means of communication extending over the whole face of the country. In that matter we should follow the precedent of the United States rather than of England. * * * It (the Association) aims at no victory but the victory of English knowledge, and energy and intelligence over apathy, and ignorance and sloth. We do not ask of the State to conquer fresh territories for us, we simply ask it to make use of those it already possesses. We do not desire the political subjection and humiliation of the native population of India; we do desire to compensate so far as is in our power the people of that country for the loss which we have caused of their political freedom, by enabling them to share in the material prosperity of the race that has conquered theirs."

I cannot but think that these indications of a different view being taken of the railway question from the almost universal one four years ago, are calculated to have a great effect in causing many others to pause before they proceed further in that direction.

I might add this Government's very decided testimony about hydraulic works, in their Despatch of the 15th May 1858, where among many other things they say: " Further the Government question whether, considering that the returns from irrigation works are always considerable and often immense, &c." Again, " The Government express their strong, unanimous and earnest advocacy, that all irrigation works, which on a comprehensive view of the wants of the country, may be deemed necessary to develope its undoubtedly great resources, be commenced at once, boldly and on a large scale, be pressed forward throughout all times and under all circumstances, and be looked on and practically treated, as in fact they are, the most economical because the most profitable in which the Government could possibly engage. It is needless now again to bring forward the innumerable instances in which money has in this Presidency been most advantageously invested in irrigation works. The proceedings of Government have only been too desultory and too vacillating, and it is confidently asserted that India could be placed in a position to pay all her own expenses and gradually discharge the debt, far more readily and speedily by a judicious expenditure than by any scheme of retrenchment and reduction." For the information of those who are unacquainted with this Presidency it is necessary for me to mention, that this was written just after a most searching discussion of the effects of these works of irrigation and navigation, in which everything conceivable was brought forward to prove that they produced no results; and this therefore is in fact the deliberate decision of this Government upon that controversy.

What I must insist upon is that this is not a light question. It lies at the very foundation; it is really the fundamental point in the whole question of the management of India. Everything without exception of course depends upon this one, the supply of funds. The denudation of India as respects European troops, which invited and gave the temporary success to the mutiny,

was solely owing to the want of funds, and to nothing else. And at this moment the most peremptory orders are received to put a stop to these things (which are absolutely essential to the well-being of India), for instance public works, education, &c., and so it must be till this only means of providing funds is resorted to.

Tanjore, the most lightly assessed district in Madras, where the land is all saleable at a high price, yields 55 lacs a year, solely because its irrigation and communications have been attended to from its coming into our possession, while all other districts in India yield only from 7 to 30 lacs; and Rajahmundry by the same means has been raised in a few years so as to yield 40 per cent. more revenue than it did before, with at the same time a complete relief to the inhabitants.

The revenue this year will be about ten lacs above the former average, and the works are far from finished. The increase already obtained, not nearly half of the ultimate increase, if obtained from all the other districts of India, would add thirteen millions sterling to the revenue, and the means used there are of universal application. These works will probably cost half a million sterling; the thirty millions guaranteed for the railways would have improved in the same way 60 districts, yielding even at the rate only of the increase this year in Rajahmundry, six millions sterling. Expended as they are being, there is now a certainty that they will add not much less than a million a year to the burthen of India.

The Madras Government alone has had decisive experience on this point, and their testimony is of the highest importance at this moment, and must have the greatest weight with that of Bombay.

Surely we have now had proof enough of the dreadful effects of this unhappy railway mistake. Take for instance the fruits that have been reaped from it in Bengal. Mr. Bourne, though sent out by the railway company, saw at once that water, not iron, was India's remedy. That to neglect its magnificent rivers, and send millions to England for iron, was a "complete mistake." He therefore proposed to put powerful steam trains on the rivers. This was referred to the late Governor General, and under the influence of that fatal ignorance of the fundamental principles of the science of transit which was so general, it was rejected by him. Instead of it, 150 lacs were spent on the Raneegunge railway. When the revolt came to try these two schemes, what was the result? Did the railway prevent the Cawnpore and numberless other massacres? did it reinforce our garrisons, pick up our hunted women and children on the banks of the rivers, &c.? The whole revolt went on just the same as if this 150 lacs had never been spent.

Now had a small part of this money been spent on a large flotilla of river steamers, and even a small portion of the remainder in improving the rivers, 2,000 miles of river might have been covered by these most powerful projections, garrisons might have been rescued or strengthened, the refugees might everywhere have been picked up, the Cawnpore and many other massacres could not have taken place, small detachments might have been landed in an unexpected moment, in the very heart of the enemies' haunts, quite fresh, and taken on board again at any moment; every steamer would have been a moveable and at the same time an impregnable fortress, and the whole character of the contest would have been totally altered. Millions of money, and how many lives of men, women and children, would have been saved.

After these terrible sufferings, from the most grievous neglect of incomparably the most powerful instrument in the hands of our Government, surely we may at least make this use of them, to consider the mistakes we have made and let it warn us to consider a little before we commence upon another great expenditure upon similar works.

Nothing can be more probable than that if this scheme is undertaken, when a similar sum of 150 lacs has been spent upon it, a famine may take place and hundreds of thousands perish, without the slightest relief from that expenditure, while the same sum spent on hydraulic works would probably entirely prevent a famine.

I would venture to suggest that committees composed of one engineer and one mercantile man should be appointed at each of the Presidencies to investigate this important point, at what cost such railways as these will be able to carry goods in India. I think it essential that a non-professional man, but a good

good man of business, should help in this inquiry. These three reports might then be remarked upon by the chief engineers of the railways, and the whole of the papers published. It seems to me that there are now tolerable data for examining this point, and that it is of very great importance that something like a definite conclusion should be arrived at about it, if possible. At present all these schemes seem to be decided upon an "if," of the value of which "if" there is no knowledge whatever. Of course the important items of depreciation and repairs must be estimated for in making this calculation.

There are in this paper many things repeated which I have said in former ones, but it is necessary to make the paper in a sense complete in itself, as it may come into the hands of those who have not seen the others.

To show the effect of irrigation and navigation, I append to this paper a statistical statement of the Rajahmundry district, showing its progress in revenue, exports, internal traffic, &c., since the commencement of the works there. Certainly no other district in India ever made such progress in the same time.

APPENDIX.

Commissioner's Office, Burdwan Division,
Hoogly, 14 April 1858.

No.

To the SECRETARY to the BOARD of REVENUE, Lower Provinces.

Sir

Fort William.

Revenue.

Report on the effects of the railway, or other means of conveyance.

IN reply to your letter of the 8th January last, No. 6, I beg to submit the following "remarks on the effect of the railway or other means of conveyance in the districts through which it passes," and I greatly regret that the utter absence of any legal power to call for such statistical information, as may be easily obtained in more civilised countries, renders me unable to submit a complete report.

Line of rail.

The railway, commencing from Howrah, runs first through five miles of that district, then through about 45 miles of Hoogly, and finally through 71 of Burdwan, altogether 121 miles to Raneegunge, close to which terminus are the great collieries of Bengal.

Decrease of coal-boats on the River Damoodah.

3. The number of coal-boats employed by the Bengal and other coal companies in 1844 was 2,252, which could be used only during the height of the rains, when the Damoodah river was full. That number has been now reduced (by about 30 per cent.) to 1,594, and the quantity of coal conveyed by their means from 23,36,582 to 16,22,363 maunds, or from 77,886 to 54,312 tons. But the railway alone in 1857 carried 90,754 tons; far more than the larger number of boats used to transport.

4. I have recently been informed that the very high price of provisions has led the boatmen to make an attempt to raise their demands for the conveyance of coals, which has hitherto been (3) three annas per maund; while the railway charge has been reduced from 3½ annas to 2 annas 10 pie per maund. This will of course yet further decrease the quantity of river-borne coal, unless the river freight charge be speedily and considerably reduced.

5. At Howrah, some rich chowdhries, each of whom could command several hundred carts, almost monopolised the Calcutta trade with the Upper Provinces, as to transport by land. The marginal statement shows what a remarkable effect the railway has had in diminishing the demands at Howrah for carts, reducing it in three years to less than one-third of what it was the year before the railway was opened.

Year.	Number of Carts.	Decrease.	Goods conveyed (Maunds).	Decrease.	Remarks.
1854 -	3,847	- -	76,943	—	—
1855 -	3,341	406	68,820	8,120	—
1856 -	2,725	716	54,500	14,320	—
1857 -	1,208	1,517	24,160	30,340	—

6. On the other hand, the number of carts starting from Burdwan, to which place merchandise is brought by rail from Calcutta, is greatly and daily increasing. During last month I had them counted for several nights, in one halting place only, and found the number to be from 163 to 185 each night. The Burdwan carters refuse to go down to Howrah for the goods, and at Raneegunge terminus no carts are to be had. Thus the strange practice of taking their goods off the railway at its centrical station, has, in many cases, been forced upon the merchants.

Salt.

7. It is remarkable that, during 1857, no less than 220,000 maunds about (70,000) tons of salt have been carried by rail from Howrah, and I regret that I cannot ascertain its destination, as it could hardly have been consumed in the chowkees on the line of rail, and I fancy it still goes up the country in boats.

8. [illegible]nd within easy reach of the line of rail, the goods traffic has increased greatly. I [illegible] close of the first year of the railway working (1855), I myself have seen 1,000 [illegible]e started from the Burdwan station in a day, whereas before the opening of the [illegible]ve 1,000 never left Burdwan in a month.

9. The

9. The annexed statement showing the goods and passenger traffic of five half-years is most remarkable. The second-class passengers were more numerous in the first half-year than they have ever been since, though the number is steadily increasing again; and the total carried on the fifth was a trifle less than that in the fourth half-year, but still nearly double of that quantity carried in the corresponding half of the preceding year. With those two exceptions, every entry shows a great and steady increase, and the shareholders must look with no small gratification to the fact that the outlay has not, in any one period, run ahead of a half of the incomings.

10. The enormous number of third-class passengers proves the wisdom of the resolve to reduce their rate of fare to the lowest possible limit. Our English Parliamentary rate is a penny a mile, while here a poor man is conveyed 121 miles for 45 pence, or nearly three miles for one penny.

11. I was surprised to hear a few weeks ago, from a most intelligent native gentleman, that the railway has done great harm to the poor people in its neighbourhood! On asking for an explanation of his meaning, I was told that the mania for travelling by railway has become such, that thousands of poor people deny themselves common necessaries, and pawn their petty jewels, or pots and pans, for the pleasure of being able to say that they, whose ancestors never knew any conveyance but their own legs or a bullock cart, and that within a circle of half a dozen miles round their homes, have visited Calcutta in a fire-ship, as the train is still very commonly called.

12. Again expressing my regret for the scantiness of my information, I must sum up my report thus:

13. There are parts of the three districts above named, such as the southern portion of Howrah, between the Hooghly and Roop Narayan rivers, and the north-eastern portions of Burdwan on the Hooghly, which are so well provided with water carriage, and so far from the rail; and other parts of all three districts in which the want of roads makes approach to the rail so difficult, that they have been little, if at all, affected by the rail.

14. There are parts of all three districts so favourably situated, close to, or easily accessible by road from the rail, that they have been greatly affected as to goods; but perhaps most of all as to third-class passengers' traffic.

15. The transport of goods by carts, and yet more of goods and of passengers by water, along the first 30 miles of rail (Howrah to Mugrah) is so very cheap, the trouble and expense of shifting goods from the rail to carts, and *vice versâ*, tells so seriously in short distances, and the natives are yet so incapable of appreciating our English idea, that "time is money," that the railway has not affected other means of conveyance hitherto, nor drawn goods traffic to itself so exclusively as it doubtless would have done but for the aforesaid previously existing cheap means of transit, and as it will no where those means do not exist; and when the Company may be prevailed upon, as I hope they soon will be, to adopt the same enlightened policy, with regard to their rates of carrying goods, as they have done with regard to the third-class passengers.

16. I have above stated that the low rates of conveyance by carts and boats have prevented so much use of the railway for goods traffic as might have been expected had those means been less cheap and accessible, or had the rail distances been greater and the charges for transit lower. It is also evident that on any short line, the trouble and expense of putting goods from a warehouse in Calcutta to the river side, of there unloading them, crossing them over the river, again moving them on cart or coolies to the Howrah goods station, forwarding them, say three miles by rail, and lastly conveying them four or five miles on a cart to their destination, will not be undertaken by any one who can load them on a cart at his own office-door, cross them on that cart over the ferry, and deliver them at the consignee without one change of conveyance, at less cost, and in not much more time, perhaps, indeed, in less time; for a cargo may be delayed 12 or 24 hours, or even more, at the railway station.

17. But another cause seriously affects the rail at present. Those merchants who might avail themselves of it to send their goods for 121 miles, *en route* to stations 500 or 900 miles distant, do so at present to an extent scarcely noticeable, I believe because at Ranneegunge it is next to impossible for them to procure carts. There has been during the last year a pressure on carriage for military purposes, which may now be disappearing; but the country around Ranneegunge yields nothing but the miserable cart called a *sugor* (a very small cart with wheels formed of a circular plank), and it is far better to engage carts in Calcutta for the whole journey, or even in Burdwan, as shown in para. 5, than to use the rail for a small portion of it, and then to fall into difficulty from a want of carts at Ranneegunge.

18. I feel confident that even the great past success of the railway will be eclipsed when it shall have been extended so far as to reach the great marts of the North Western Provinces and to absorb the vast traffic still carried on by carts along the grand trunk road, and by boats on the river, which it cannot yet be said to have touched.

19. I have from my youth up strenuously advocated road-making, and I think the importance of multiplying roads as feeders to the railway, and as promoting generally the political and moral advancement of the people, cannot be too much impressed on the Government and the community.

I have, &c.
(signed) *W. Elliot.*
Commissioner.

MEMORANDUM on Mr. *Elliot*'s Letter on the effect of the Railway or other means of Conveyance.

Para. 3. Coal traffic. The distance from Raneegunge by rail is 120 miles; by the Damoodah and Hooghly, 160.

The water charge of three annas per maund is equal to 6¼ pies (⅜*d.*) per ton per mile; that by rail was 3½ annas, or about 10 pies (1¼*d.*); the reduced rate, 2 annas 10 pies, is 8 pies (1*d.*) per ton; and Mr. Elliot states that the charge of 6¼ pies by water has become insufficient in consequence of the altered value of money of late. The quantity carried by water was 78,000 tons; it is now 54,000; by rail it is now 90,000 tons. The cost of carriage per ton for the whole distance was therefore 6 rupees a ton by rail, and is now 4¾ rupees, and by water about 5¾ rupees.

REMARKS.—1st. The water charge is increased by the short portion of the year that it is opened, by the increased distance, 40 miles, or one-third more than the railway, but doubtless most by the boats having to go down to the broad part of the Hooghly, which prevents their being loaded as they could be in smooth water, and causes great risk. This charge of 6¼ pies per ton per mile is enormously high for water carriage; in a thoroughly good water line it should certainly be under one pie, with such a length of carriage; that is, if the Damoodah were kept open nearly or quite the whole year, and connected with the Hooghly at Calcutta by a canal, making the line direct, the charge per ton of coal should certainly not exceed 10 annas, unless the present low value of money continues, when it might be one rupee. Taking the present quantity at 1,44,000 tons, the community are put to a needless expense of 5½ lacs of rupees per annum, and the consumption of coal will of course continue to increase; this is the difference between 4¾ rupees and 10 annas. It is certain that a very moderate expenditure, perhaps 2,000 rupees a mile on the water line, or 2½ lacs, would make it a good navigation direct to Calcutta, just $\frac{1}{60}$th part of the cost of the railway. In Rajahmundry the cost of carriage per mile in the canals is about one pie for short distances.

2. There cannot be a greater mistake than thus to expend an enormous sum in improving land transit, by which, after all, the cost of carriage must be ruinous while the water carriage is left in such a state from want of a mere trifle of expenditure, and when by no other means can the great traffic be carried cheaply.

Para. 5. The road traffic is so insignificant, that it is matter of little consequence how those goods are carried. It was under 3,000 tons a year, and is now under 1,000.

Para. 7. The statement of salt, 70,000 tons, does not seem to agree with the total quantity of goods mentioned in the Table as being only 49,000 tons for the same year. This requires explanation.

Para. 8. Increase of Goods Traffic. The whole of it is a small amount; the total number of tons is stated at 49,000 tons; but it is not stated what is the average distance it is carried, probably not 50 miles, in which case the average quantity carried along the whole length of rail does not exceed 20,000 tons, quite an insignificant quantity in such a locality, about $\frac{1}{100}$th part of the river traffic, and one-seventh of the traffic last year on one of the Rajahmundry canals, which only connects towns of 15,000 to 17,000 inhabitants.

Para. 9. Passenger Traffic. The total number of passengers for the year is above a million. The sum paid by each second class passenger is one rupee three annas, and by each of the third class half a rupee; showing that the average distance travelled is about 30 miles, or one-fourth of the whole length; so that the average number of passengers on the whole line is one-fourth of the total number, or 250,000 per annum, equal to 800 a day. To judge of this we must, as in other points, compare it with known passenger traffic by other means. On the southern road out of Madras, at 11 miles from the fort, the numbers were found to be 3,000 a day; on a high road in Tanjore, far from a city, 1,200 men; on a bridge, four miles from Trichinopoly, a city of 100,000 inhabitants, 20,000 a day; by the transit boat on the Rajahmundry canal to

Cocanada, 100 per day, a canal leading to a town of 17,000 inhabitants. The number corresponding to this for Calcutta, allowing 600,000 inhabitants, should be 3,500 a day. It is evident from these that the railway only receives a small portion of the travellers, just as it is in the Madras Railway, which does not convey $\frac{1}{10}$th of the travellers on that line. Thus it is certain that even as respects passengers, these expensive works do not suit the country. The charge of 3 pie, or ¼ anna, or ¾d., for the lowest class, completely shuts out lines of those who require conveyance. On the Rajahmundry canals the charge is one pie, and the manager states that even that charge is sufficient to keep away by far the greater part of the travellers. These boats are now yielding 25 per cent., and it is under consideration to reduce the rates to three-fourth pie as likely to be more profitable. The profits were increased much since they were reduced from two to one pie. Were these boats worked with steam instead of men, they would afford to carry very well at half a pie per mile; and no higher rate than that would bring the principal part of the travellers.

Of course, just at the entrance of a large and wealthy city like Calcutta, there is a large number who can afford to go backwards and forwards frequently a very few miles, but the numbers diminish rapidly as the distance increases. Probably, the average number on this railway being 800 per day, the numbers at each end are something like 1,400 at the Calcutta end, and 200 at the other.

But the most important point to be observed on this subject is, that the total receipts are 7½ lacs for a half year, out of which the first class passengers pay 25,000, or $\frac{1}{30}$th part; showing that those for whom this enormous expense is incurred, in order to provide them with high speed, are so far from paying their share of the expenses, that the profits from them, if any, are hardly perceptible. There cannot possibly be any mistake in concluding from this, that high speed is not what the country wants; the fact is, that the poor are paying for the rapid conveyance of a very few rich; they also travel quick themselves, but most assuredly they would much rather travel slower and pay less, but they have no option.

What the average passenger traffic will be as the railway extends further we have no data to judge, excepting that we know that in England, with all its wealth, there are few travellers of long distances, the average for all England being only 13 miles for each traveller.

Probably, as the railway extends, it will carry at these prices few besides that class who, in this Return, appear as first and second class passengers, excepting for a few miles out of the great cities. The proportion of people who can afford to pay eight rupees for a journey of 500 miles will be very small.

Para. 10. The charge of three-eighth of a penny here is far higher than one in England; even near Calcutta the proportional value of money is probably four to one, and in the interior it is at least six to one, compared with England. The price corresponding to that in England should not be more than three-quarters pie, merely allowing for difference in value of money; but the proportion of people at all well off in India is far less than in England.

Para. 13. The greater part of the country will be totally unaffected by the railway. It is the greatest delusion to call making a single line of railway through a vast breadth of country "opening the country." Not a fiftieth part of the country is benefited by it. To open the country there must be a close network of communications. Tanjore with its 1,000 miles of just practicable roads on an area of 3,000 square miles, is incomparably more benefited than Burdwan with its 71 miles of grand railway, and the Deltas of the Godavery and Kistnah, with their 2,000 miles of water communication at half to one pie per head or per ton a mile, are really opened up. The southern part of Burdwan, and the other districts with their wretchedly imperfect neglected water lines are immensely better off than the northern part with its one line of rail—and the cost of one or two miles of railway expended in improving the water lines would have had 100 times more effect than the whole line of railway. A comparatively most trifling sum would have given a first class steam boat communication at 15 or 20 miles an hour to Raneegunge, and at rates both for goods and passengers one-fourth of those paid on the railway, and ten times the number of people would have made use of it. The vast

natural

natural advantages of this country are thus thrown away, because in England they had not what we have. The 150 lacs that have been spent on one single line of 120 miles worked at 10 pice a ton, and three pice a head would have completely pervaded almost all Bengal with a network of first-class water-carriage to be worked at 15 miles an hour or more if wanted, and at from half to one pie per ton and per head. Probably 5,000 miles of such communication would have been obtained, besides that in doing it, an immense area would have been secured as far as possible from both drought and flood.

It is indeed most grievous to see so monstrous a perversion of means, entirely through a want of consideration of the circumstances of the country. If we saw the Egyptians busily employed in carrying the earth from the Delta to make land on the sands of the desert, because they had heard that in some barren country the poor people were compelled to fetch earth from a distance, we should clearly comprehend their mistake, bu this is exactly what we are doing. People suppose that because they have spent a great deal of money, they have necessarily accomplished a great object, but the amount of money expended may be simply the measure of the magnitude of the mistake they have made.

It is certainly no exaggeration to say that 5,000 miles of water communication carrying at rates that the poorest travellers, and the poorest goods could bear, would have conferred 1,000 times more benefit on the country than 120 miles of railway, carrying at prices only a hair's breadth below the old rates. For instance, 2 As. 10 h. for coals against 3 As. by the boats. Even were the whole traffic transferred to the railway it would be no proof of great benefit; if the diminution of charge is insignificant, the benefits are insignificant. With respect to coals also, the railway has after all to discharge them into boats to be conveyed to the other side of the Hooghly, and the various points where they are wanted.

Para. 15. The natives are at least as capable of appreciating "our English idea that 'time is money' as we are;" but they are too quick to think it is, when it is not. The Manchester people send $\frac{11}{12}$ths of their valuable manufactured goods at two miles an hour to Liverpool, by the canal with a railway running close to it, because they know that even in such goods 15 hours of time is not money; and the natives know well that a week in the conveyance of grain worth 3 lb. a ton, is not money, at least it is only 1 A. or one-eighth pie per ton per mile if it is carried 100 miles, allowing interest at 10 per cent., so that a difference of one pie per mile in cost of carriage, would be eight times the loss in interest if a week of time were saved. The Americans are in this respect on a par with the Indians.* While the Hudson and Lake Erie canal is closed by frost for five months together, 10,000 tons a month are carried by the railway, and as soon as the canal is opened again 300,000 tons a month are conveyed along it, so that there it is thought that five months of time is not money, for $\frac{29}{30}$ths of the traffic is stopped in the winter, although it is at that time that all the common roads leading to the railway are in the finest working order.

With respect to the enlightened policy "of carrying cheap," the question is at how low rate the railways can carry. It is most certain that the bare expense of carrying by rail, where high speed trains run, is eight or 10 times that by good water lines.*

Para. 16. Almost all the causes mentioned in this para. accounting for the small traffic by the railway, which would be greatly increased, if they were removed, are the irremediable objections to such a mode of conveyance inherent in the country. If goods could not be carried cheaper by water even with human power, than by land with steam power; if there were no water carriage; if Calcutta and Howrah and all the great towns and cities were not at the water's edge; if the nature of the country did not offer the greatest facilities for improving and extending water carriage; if the same circumstances did not offer essential obstacles to railway, (as for instance, neither goods nor passengers being able to enter Calcutta at all by this railway, &c. &c.,) if all these "ifs" were away, it

* On the Madras line, the Consulting Engineer showed that there had been positive loss on the carriage of goods at 10 pie a ton, on the last half year of 1857.

it might have been wise, under such unhappy circumstances, to spend 1½ lacs on a mile of railway, but these "ifs" are unrealities and impossibilities, and the question with wise men always is, not "what should we do, if, &c." but *rebus sic stantibus*, what is best to be done?

Para. 18. "When the railway absorbs the vast traffic carried on by carts along the grand trunk road and by boats on the river." With respect to the former, it is stated, para. 6, to be from 165 to 185 carts per night, supposing 100 of them loaded with half a ton each, it would give 18,000 tons a year, a small item for a railway. The water traffic is carried at about one-fourth of the charge on the railway, how much of that will be transferred, anybody can judge, even supposing the unaccountable neglect of water carriage is continued, but it cannot be imagined that under the new regime at least the immeasurable natural advantages of the country will continue to be entirely thrown away, as they have been under the old one. A mere trifle expended on even the present water lines, will reduce the cost of carriage to half of what it now is, and a thorough system of water communications would reduce it to one-fourth of what it now is, or to $\frac{1}{8}$th of the railway charge.

Para. 19. "Common roads." All that is here said in the comparison of water and rail, is also in a measure true of water and road. The natural circumstances which are all in favour of water are against the roads. In Rajahmundry and Guntoor, if 80 lacs are ultimately spent, and 2,000 miles of navigable canal are obtained, the canals will have cost only 4,000 rupees a mile, supposing that the whole were charged to navigation, but at least three-fourths should be charged to irrigation, leaving only 1,000 rupees a mile of communication at half or one pie a ton a mile. Whether in a similar country it is preferable to spend 1,20,000 rupees a mile on roads, to carry at two or three annas a ton, can easily be decided.

It is nothing less than a vital question to India, what kind of communications are suitable to it. If a first-class passenger could step into a steamer on the Calcutta side of the Hooghly and go direct to Raneegunge at 15 or 20 miles an hour, he would accomplish his journey at one-third the cost, far more comfortably and conveniently, and as quickly as by rail, while the capital expended in completing a first-class steam-boat communication would have been so ridiculously small compared with that which has been spent on the railway, that the shareholders might be receiving 50 or 100 per cent., and instead of 800 passengers a day, 8,000 would probably have had the benefit of conveyance. In no one single respect has even a first-class passenger an advantage in travelling by the rail, that he would not have in going by water, while all parties concerned, the travellers, and especially the poor ones, the producers, and consumers of goods, the shareholders, the Government, the whole community, would have had enormous advantages which the present line does not afford. What has been gained? the grand sight of a locomotive with its train of carriages. But was the object of this expenditure to produce something to look at? The object was to carry goods and passengers, 1st, cheaply, 2d, at a suitable speed, not to have something grand to look at. Where the latter is the object, let the money be expended accordingly. But don't let us leave Calcutta with the object of going to Delhi, and travel on without observing in what direction we are going till we arrive at Madras.

It makes no difference to either the merchant, or the tea-drinker, or the sugar grower, whether the sugar was carried in a grand procession, or in a poor looking canal boat, but it does concern them all whether it was carried cheaply or dearly.

And what is the difference to the poor, $\frac{99}{100}$ths of the community. Suppose that in Rajahmundry, instead of protecting a million of people from losing their lives and their property by floods or by drought, irrigating 12,00,000 acres, conveying fresh water and cheap transit, throughout the year to every village, at a cost of 50 lacs, suppose instead of this, 50 miles of railway had been made, conveying two or three first class passengers luxuriously, but leaving almost the whole population in every respect just where it was, liable to death by famine or flood, without communications, and in some places miles from drinking water in the hot weather. Would it have been a wise proceeding? What is applicable

to one district is equally appplicable to all India. How awful it would be if we were to see 100,000 people in Burdwan die of famine next year, with its grand railway passing through it. It might help to bring grain to a small portion of the district, but it could not make the people able to purchase it. In general, the people of India do not die of famine for want of grain, but for want of money to purchase it. How poor a compensation it would be that the dying people saw daily a grand sight in the railway train, and knew that half a dozen gentlemen were travelling at a high speed. In Madras the number of first class passengers on the first 80 miles out of the capital is three a day, and on this line it is on an average 15 a day on the first 120 miles out of such a city as Calcutta.

With respect to the profits to the shareholders, the present statement does not show what they are. The balance, after deducting the stated expenses, is 7,000 rupees a mile, or 6 per cent. on 1¼ lac. But nothing is allowed for the two great items of repairs and depreciation. All the works being comparatively new, the present cost of the former is of course trifling, and nothing is allowed for the latter. I suppose these two items would considerably reduce the apparent profit.* As the railway extends, the traffic on the present part will of course increase, but it by no means follows that the average of the whole will be greater than the average of the first 120 miles out of Calcutta, for the number of passengers going to and returning from the capital a few miles is enormous, compared with what it will be at a distance from any great city.

But we have now abundant data for this conclusion, that the returns, whether direct to the shareholders, or indirect to the community, will be utterly insignificant from a lac of rupees expended on a mile of railway, compared with that from the same sum expended on 25 miles of irrigating and navigable canal. And it is equally certain that the amount of these returns direct and indirect is the true measure of the value of any works for the material improvement of the country. "But why not do both?" Surely reason requires that we should rather ask, "why should we do both?" If we know how to spend any amount of money, so as to yield directly and indirectly 200 per cent., "why should we" waste any part of it on schemes which would not yield 20.

If a merchant discover a way of employing his capital so as to return 20 per cent. does he say, "why should I not" employ part of it in another scheme which he knows will only yield 2 per cent.

2dly. But the case of the railways is far worse than this, because it keeps all parties under the delusion that they are "opening India," and this prevents their doing anything else. But for this unhappy delusion, something would certainly have been done during the last 10 years towards "opening India." For instance, most assuredly we should have had large steam flotillas on the rivers, which would have prevented $\frac{99}{100}$ths of the horrors and consequences of the late revolt.

Undoubtedly so far as the material welfare of India is concerned, no question can compare with this in importance, what is to be done in future? will the home authorities continue to guarantee interest on any number of millions to be employed in making railways, while they continue to refuse the same to capital employed in navigation and irrigation?

The question is now before the home authorities in several ways, and they have so far given way as to grant an annual sum for the navigation of the Indus, which was refused by them on the decision of the late Governor General 10 years ago. The question indeed is now becoming so urgent that it will no longer be possible to defer a decision upon it.

A new case has now arisen. Which should be done; should a million be expended on a hundred miles of railway in the direction of Midnapoor, or should the same sum be expended on a canal from Calcutta by Midnapore to Cuttack and the Chilka, with the irrigation of 2¼ millions of acres lying between that line and the sea; rescuing the magnificent Deltas of the Mahanuddee, Braminy, &c., with their two millions of inhabitants from their present shameful state of exposure to drought and flood, and giving them 2,500 miles of water transit?

Upon

* On the whole of the Railways in the State of Massachusetts in America, the repairs of roadway alone is in a series of years 2¼ per cent., to which must be added that of keeping up the rolling stock.

Upon the Delta of the Godavery 30 lacs have been expended, the revenue this year is about 10 lacs above the average of years before the works, and more than 60 lacs of excess of revenue have been received since the works were begun, or 30 more than the whole sum expended; and only about one-fifth of the land watered yet pays any water rate, and the benefits to the people are of the value of a far larger sum. Compare this with the results of the railways. What is the next excess of actual receipts over expenditure in their case? While 1½ millions have been expended on the part of the Calcutta line finished have three millions been received? The statement shows a total excess of receipts over current expenditure of 16 lacs up to the end of 1857, or $\frac{1}{20}$th part of that sum, and certainly the proportion of benefits to the community are in a still smaller proportion. On the Madras line the results are far worse, and on the Bombay certainly not better than in this. And in all these cases, it is the first piece out of a capital city on which all the traffic of various main lines of country is concentrated. What will be the result in some of the distant and thinly populated parts of the country? Most certainly they won't pay the expenses of stations.

It is surely high time fairly to consider this vital question. It cannot possibly be deferred much longer.

(signed) *A. Cotton*, Colonel,
Commandant of Engineers.

EAST INDIAN RAILWAY.

Statement of Traffic.

PERIOD.	Number of Passengers.			Tons of Goods.	
	1st Class.	2d Class.	3d Class.	Coal.	Sundries.
Second Half 1855	4,966	26,564	3,14,137	13,217	4,833
First Half 1856	6,379	23,137	4,00,123	19,443	13,811
Second Half 1856	6,562	25,702	4,30,162	23,864	20,897
First Half 1857	6,906	26,181	5,32,024	46,462	22,142
Second Half 1857	7,026	26,389	4,89,171	44,292	27,083

PERIOD.	Receipts of Passengers.				Receipts of Coals and Goods.	Total Receipts.	Gross Expenditure.
	1st Class.	2d Class.	3d Class.	Sundries.			
Second Half 1855	17,440 15 –	34,705 6 3	1,59,751 10 9	24,099 11 10	1,27,940 6 –½	3,63,938 1 10½	1,61,404 13 6
First Half 1856	28,886 2 –	29,463 12 2	1,98,243 8 6	31,783 11 7	2,19,543 15 6	5,07,921 1 9	2,06,951 10 10¾
Second Half 1856	26,439 14 –	32,678 6 10	2,07,744 3 10	23,362 7 7	2,40,376 8 5	5,30,601 8 8	2,18,944 2 5
First Half 1857	29,089 6 9	34,874 – –	2,43,597 9 7	49,824 7 8	3,41,024 7 7	6,98,410 13 2	2,63,241 4 2
Second Half 1857	25,516 1 –	32,626 2 8	2,39,762 15 2	93,444 2 6	3,61,717 – 4	7,53,066 5 8	3,27,515 9 1

E. and O. E.

Hooghly 15 April 1858.

(signed) *Fred. Cox*,
Traffic Manager.

(True Copy.)
(signed) Edward Palmer,
Agent.

(signed) *W. Elliot*,
Commissioner of the Burdwan Division.

COMPARISON of a RAILWAY from *Calcutta* to *Raneegunge* with Water Communication in the same Line.

	Railway.	Water Communication.
Length	120 Miles	120 Miles.
Cost per mile	1,20,000 Rupees.	—
Cost improving Damoodah		2,000 Rupees.
Cost complete Canal		10,000 Rupees.
Total Cost	150 Lacs.	—
Cost improving Damoodah		2½ Lacs.
Cost complete Canal		12 „
Charge for interest at 5 per cent.	7½ Lacs.	—
Charge in Damoodah improved		12,500 Rupees.
Charge in complete Canal		30,000 Rupees.
Speed.—1st Class Passengers	17 Miles	15 Miles.
2d „ „	17 „	12 „
3d „ „	17 „	8 „
Goods		15 to 3 Miles.
Coals		6 „ „
Train.—1st Class	7	8 „ „
2d „	7	10 „ „
3d „	7	15 „ „
Goods		8 to 40 „
Coals		20 „ „
Charge.—1st Class	18 p.	6 p.
2d „	9	3 „
3d „	3	¾ „
Goods	8	1½ „
Coals	8	1½ „
Total Charge for 120 miles:		
1st Class	11¼	3¾ Rupees.
2d „	5½ Rupees	1¾ „
3d „	2 „	½ „
Goods	5 „	1 „
Coals	5 „	1 „
Nos. of 1st Class Passengers	15 per day	150
2d „ „	40	500
3d „ „	740	7,000
Tons of Goods	20,000 per	200,000
Coals	90,000	300,000
Profits deducting 2 per cent. from the stated profit on the Railway for repairs and depreciation.	4 per cent.	40 per cent.
Saving to the Community on present traffic only:		
Passengers.—1st Class		35,000 Rupees.
2d „		50,000 „
3d „		4 Lacs.
Goods		2 „
Coals		3½ „
Number of places for receiving and discharging	20	Every point.
Terminus	One on the Howrah side	Every point on the Hooghly, the Canals, &c.

The estimated cost of construction and of working the water-line is taken from the known cost of canals in similar situations, and the estimate of numbers of passengers and tons, is made from the reduction of charge. The cost of the Banka Canal was 1,500 rupees per mile; the sum here allowed is 10,000 rupees. The tons of goods passing down the Rajahmundry canal to a town of 17,000 inhabitants is 1,50,000, and it increased by 60,000 tons last year; the quantity here estimated to a city of 6,00,000 inhabtants is only 200,000 tons.

(signed) *A. Cotton*, Colonel,
Commandant of Engineers.

STATEMENT of REVENUE, EXPORTS, &c. of the Districts of Rajahmundry, from Ten Years before the New Works

Years.	Total Revenue of District.		Price of Rice per Ton.	Bullion Re-circulated from Treasury.		Balance of Bullion.			Imports by Sea.		
						Against District.		In Favour of District.			
	Annual.	Averages.		Annual.	Averages.	Annual.	Averages.		Grain only.	Average.	Total Imports.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
	£.	£.	£. s.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.
1836-37	216,000		4 1	124,000		92,000					
1837-38	214,000		4 9	111,000		103,000					
(a) 1838-39	173,000		6 19	78,000		95,000					
1839-40	174,000		5 10	74,000		100,000					
1840-41	174,000	196,000	5 2	74,000	(c) 98,000	100,000	(d) 98,000	- -	- -	- -	- -
1841-42	210,000		3 3	18,000		121,000					
1842-43	196,000		2 17	95,000		101,000					
1843-44	173,000		2 13	106,000		67,000				(f)	
1844-45	233,000		2 18	127,000		106,000	- -	- -	19,000	22,000	23,000
(b) 1845-46	200,000		4 5	106,000		94,000	- -	- -	25,000		39,000
1846-47	242,000		4 5	154,000		89,000			19,000		41,000
1847-48	250,000		3 19	159,000		91,000			34,000		64,000
1848-49	233,000	237,000	3 11	132,000	150,000	101,000	87,000	- -	23,000	23,000	44,000
1849-50	224,000		3 7	157,000		67,000			17,000		33,000
1850-51	242,000		3 3	148,000		94,000			12,000		30,000
1851-52	245,000	245,000	2 18	159,000	197,000	86,000	48,000	- -	9,000	7,000	35,000
1852-53	250,000		2 17	233,000		17,000			3,000		23,000
1853-54	244,000		5 11	247,000	- -	- -	- -	3,000	4,000		26,000
1854-55	251,000	- -	4 15	250,000	- -	1,000	- -	- -	8,300	(e)	45,000
1855-56	259,000	- -	4 12	266,000	- -	7,000	- -	- -	1,700	6,000	57,000
1856-57	268,000	- -	4 8	236,000	- -	32,000	- -	- -	10,000		75,000
1857-58	2,750,000	- (n) -	4 7	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	51,000
									First Five Months of 1858-59		-

(a) Some trifling repairs began this year.

(b) The great works began this year.

(c) These sums show the amount of bullion paid out of the treasury within the district on account of—1st. Government establishments; 2d. Public works; 3d. Private drafts granted for money paid into the treasury at Madras.

(d) The balance of bullion sent out of the district.

(e) The import of food is now insignificant.

(f) The imports, exclusive of grain, were about 10,000 *l.* a year; they are now about 60,000 *l.*, showing that as the district has more to sell, it buys foreign articles more extensively.

(h) The cloth trade has declined through the competition of England, and is not much affected by the state of the district.

(i) The exports, excepting cloth, are almost exclusively agricultural produce of the district; the increase was last year 244,000 *l.* above the former average of 36,000 *l.*, or nearly eight fold. It is a *bonâ fide* increase of income to that amount, and 160,000 *l.* more than the increase of revenue paid to government. This is beside exports by land.

(k) The sums from this date are those expended on new works only; they amount to 352,000 *l.*, which includes all new works in the upper talooks as well as the Delta, and also in half of Masulipatam.

(l) This is the number of boats. The average tonnage of the boats is probably more than doubled, and there were besides 2,230 rafts of timber and bamboos; estimated tons carried, 150,000, in 1856-57.

(m) This canal was closed for three months.

(n) The increase of revenue in Rajahmundry alone has been 80,000 *l.*, and probably more than 10,000 *l.* in Masulipatam, about 40 per cent. upon the old revenue, and 25 per cent. upon the outlay. But by far the greater portion of the lands watered have yet paid no water rate, and only two rupees an acre for one crop where it is levied. At the same rate, fully 100,000 *l.* more revenue would be paid if the rate was lowered on all the lands. And the water carriage is all free, about 1,000 miles of connected canal and river.

of Irrigation and Navigation, to 1857–58, taken from the Returns furnished by the Collector and Civil Engineer.

Exports by Sea.					Expenditure on Public Works.	Number of Boats passing Main Channel to the Port of Coringa.	Total Number of Boats passing the Three Main Channels from the Weir.	
Cloth.	Agricultural Produce, &c.	Averages.	Total Exports.	Averages.				
12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	
£.	£.	£.	£.	£.	£.			
(*h*)	(*i*)							
44,000	25,000		69,000		900	- -	- -	Insufficient rain.
41,000	24,000		65,000		590	- -	- -	Unseasonable rain.
43,000	20,000		43,000		1,690	- -	- -	Hurricane and inundation of the sea, causing much damage.
19,000	17,000		36,000		1,980	- -	- -	Extreme distress these two years.
21,000	9,000	36,000	30,000	57,000	4,080	- -	- -	Scanty rain.
17,000	29,000		46,000		1,720	- -	- -	Seasonable weather. Abundant crops.
16,000	41,000		57,000		1,220	- -	- -	Ordinary season.
11,000	53,000		64,000		3,780	- -	- -	Sayer abolished. Great distress from severe (river) floods.
10,000	63,000		73,000		3,420	- -	- -	Favourable year.
14,000	77,000		91,000		4,470	- -	- -	Scanty rain.
40,000	97,000		137,000		(*k*) 24,400	- -	- -	Abundant produce.
18,000	92,000		110,000		18,700	- -	- -	Ditto. Two Talooks received water.
12,000	103,000	93,000	115,000	114,000	27,500	- -	- -	Heavy (river) floods and inundations. Considerable loss.
15,000	81,000		96,000		18,200	- -	- -	High floods. Ponasa failed. Rice crop abundant.
16,000	124,000		140,000		24,100	- (*l*) -	- -	Ordinary year.
13,000	118,000	140,000	131,000	154,000	16,600	752	- -	Rain abundant.
11,000	152,000		163,000		33,700	2,300	- -	Very high floods. Damage inconsiderable.
16,000	167,000		183,000		36,900	7,400	11,300	Drought, and consequent high prices.
13,000	150,000		163,000		45,300	8,300	18,800	Heavy rains and high freshes.
11,000	170,000	164,000	190,000	176,000	47,400	9,400	- -	Rains moderate; singular failure of freshes in the Godavery.
13,000	162,000		175,000		59,900	13,400	- -	Not reported.
13,000	280,000	280,000	293,000	293,000	- -	9,600	- (*m*) -	Scanty rains.
- -	159,000	—						

Comparison of the Two Years 1845–46 and 1857–58.

Years.	Price of Rice per Ton.	Revenue.	Exports of Produce.	Collector's Remarks on the Seasons.
	£. s. d.	£.	£.	
1845–46	4 5 -	200,000	77,000	Scanty rains.
1857–58	4 7 -	275,000	280,000	- ditto.
	Increase or	75	203,000	
	per Cent.		260	

That is, in similar unfavoura[illegible]asons, before and after the works, the revenue now is 37½ per cent. [illegible]er, and the exports 260 per cent. greater than in the former period.

Comparison of the Years 1841–42 and 1855–56.

Years.	Price of Rice per Ton.	Revenue.	Exports of Produce.	Collector's Remarks on the Seasons.
	£. s. d.	£.	£.	
1841–42	3 3 -	210,000	29,000	Seasonable weather. Abundant crops.
1855–56	4 12 -	279,000	170,000	Rains moderate; singular failure of freshes in the Godavery.
	Increase or	49,000	141,000	
	per Cent.	23	490	

That is, in similar good seasons (when such works are least required). The revenue lately was 23 per cent. higher, and the exports 490 per cent. higher than before the works.

Comparison of the Years 1841–42 and 1857–58.

Years.	Price of Rice per Ton.	Revenue.	Exports of Produce.	Collector's Remarks on the Seasons.
	£. s. d.	£.	£.	
1841–42	3 3 -	210,000	29,000	Seasonable weather. Abundant crops, but large Imports of grain from Arracan.
1857–58	4 7 -	275,000	280,000	
	Increase or	65,000	251,000	Scanty rains.
	per Cent.	32	870	

That is, in a year of scanty rain; the revenue is now 32 per cent. higher, and the exports of produce 870 fold greater than in an abundant season before the works.

LETTER from Colonel *A. Cotton*, Commandant of Engineers, to *T. Pycroft*, Esq. Chief Secretary to Government, dated Jaulna, 8 December 1858.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to transmit an addition to my memorandum on the proposed Southern Mahratta Railway, and to request that the former part may not be transmitted anywhere without this.

Addition to a Memorandum on the proposed Hyderabad and Sedshegur Railway, by Colonel *A. Cotton*.

At the half-yearly general meeting of the East India Railway (Calcutta) Company of the 28th October 1858, the Chairman, Mr. Crawford, stated that he calculated the cost of the 120 miles from Calcutta to Runugunj was about 1,200,000*l.*, or 120 lacs, and that the net revenue for the half year was at the rate of 7½ per cent. per annum. This, as in all the other statements of this sort, omits the two great items of railway expenses, depreciation and repairs, the actual expenditure on the latter being, as before stated, of course, insignificant while everything is new. This 7½ would give a sum of 90,000*l.*, or nine lacs, as the annual profit on the 120 lacs. The Chairman also stated that they had determined to build steamboats to carry their railway material by the river. A shareholder inquired what the cost of the steamboats would be; to which the Chairman replied, "that 80,000*l.* (eight lacs,) would cover the whole expense, and they hoped to save that sum in the first year." (Overland Mail.)

It seems to me impossible that no stronger testimony to the principles I insist upon as to communications in India, could be afforded than this striking fact affords. This is not the "theory" of an advocate for water carriage, but the sober and sure judgment of the head of the principal railway undertaking in India. It is his deliberate judgment, openly declared in the presence of a large assembly of railway shareholders, that while, after several years from the commencement of the expenditure, on by far the most important line of railway in India, the first 120 miles of the line of greatest traffic, the north-west approach to the capital of all India, the profit is 7½ per cent., he expects, that in the first year, the profit on capital expended on river navigation will be 100 per cent. If there is one person above all others who would be liable to a bias in his judgment against the views I have taken on this great question of suitable communications for India, it would certainly be the Chairman of the principal Railway Company of India, and it is therefore with peculiar satisfaction that I am thus enabled to add his testimony to those of the Secretary of State for India, the Madras Government, and Mr. Balston, a railway contractor, as entirely concurring with me, that capital would be incomparably better expended in working even our present unimproved natural waterways than in making land communications at a cost of 10,000*l.* a mile.

If the Chairman's judgment in this case is correct, the following would be the returns upon the East India Railway Company's expenditure when the steamers are at work:

CAPITAL.

120 miles of Railway - - - - - -	£.1,200,000
Steamers - - - - - - -	80,000
TOTAL - -	£. 1,280,000

PROFITS.

7½ per cent. on 1,200,000*l.* - - - -	£. 90,000
100 per cent. on 80,000*l.* - - - - -	80,000
TOTAL - - -	£. 170,000

The profits upon the combined expenditure would thus be more than 13 per cent. of which seven would be obtained from 1,200,000*l.* spent on the railway, and six from the 80,000*l.* spent on river navigation. I have not the least doubt that this is substantially a true estimate of the comparative effects of capital spent on the two different kinds of transit, water and land, though the cost of the

the railway is probably considerably under-estimated, and the profits certainly much over estimated, inasmuch as no allowance is made for depreciation and only a trifle for repairs.

If the Company thus employ only a small portion of their capital on water communications, I have no doubt that the profits upon the whole will be very fair.

Thus we see that now at length after so many years, and after so many millions have been wasted, the leaders of the railway system in India have come to the very conclusion that Mr. Bourne arrived at 10 years ago, immediately on his seeing the actual state of things in the country.

But does it not appear wonderful that neither the Chairman himself should be startled at his own figures, nor any one of the shareholders present; that they should not put these two things together, and say, "But if we can only get 7½ per cent. for our capital expended on railways, after losing the interest for several years, even on by far the most important piece of communication in India, while we can get 100 per cent. on capital invested in river navigation, the first year, what in the world are we doing, to spend our money on such comparatively unremunerative works? Nobody can oblige us to waste our capital in this way; we ought certainly, without further waste of time or money, to employ all our capital in future in such enormously profitable undertakings as water transit."

It seems to me highly probable that the end of this company will be similar to that of the Scinde Company who are preparing to navigate the Indus, and that thus these great railway companies will become in reality river navigation companies, for the heavy pressure of large profits on the capital so expended, will overcome all scruples about their being accused of being thus forced by their acts to acknowledge their opponents to have been right. If by a judicious expenditure of one lac on navigation for every 16 lacs spent on the railway they can double their profits upon their whole capital, no doubt they will follow up that plan.

I will only add, that surely it will be acknowledged by all that the amount of profits that can be obtained by capital expended on different public works, is the best and indeed only true test of the suitableness of those works to the state of the country. If working the rivers will yield 100 per cent. and working railways will only yield 7½ per cent. it is most certain that what the country wants is water carriage and not land carriage. If the head of the principal company of India is so satisfied that river navigation will yield returns 13 times as great as the most productive 120 miles of railway in India, I think we may safely conclude that such views are no longer "theories." If the facts which support them are so strong as entirely to overpower all the natural bias of the leading railway man against them and to lead him to make such an open and unqualified avowal of his adoption of those views even before a large meeting exclusively composed of railway men, and to act upon them to such an extent as to spend eight lacs of rupees upon operations totally different from and indeed directly antagonistic to those for which the company was ostensibly formed, I think the question may be considered as decided in favour of water carriage.

If in future this is to be called a "theory," let it, at all events, be called "Mr. Crawford's theory," "the theory of the Chairman of the Calcutta Railway."

(signed) *A. Cotton*, Colonel,
Commandant of Engineers.

India Office, 14 April 1859.

(True copies.)

(signed) W. T. Thornton,
Secretary, Public Works Department.

—No. 3.—

REPORTS on the HARBOUR of BEITKUL in Sedashighur Bay, by Colonel *A. T. Cotton*, Madras Engineers, and Lieutenant *A. D. Taylor*, I. N.

(No. 1932.)

From the Chief Engineer in the Department of Public Works, to the Secretary to the Marine Board, Madras.

Central Office of Public Works, Fort St. George,
18th October 1855.

Sir,

Marine. 9

2 Original Plans with 2 Copies.
2 Enclosures.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith, copy of a letter from the Collector of Canara, transmitting a very able and interesting Report drawn up by Lieutenant Taylor of the I. N., upon the proposed establishment of a Harbour of Refuge in the Beitkul Cove, adjoining the port of Sedashighur on the western coast; and shall feel greatly obliged by your submitting the same for the early consideration and report of the Marine Board, for the information of Government. It is to be apprehended that if the Government, guided by the opinion of your Board, should direct the prosecution of the project, and the investigation of the Civil Engineer into the feasibility of the proposed canal to connect the harbour with the port on which the convenience of the trade is obviously so greatly dependent, it cannot at this advanced period of the year, be practicable to have the estimate of the probable expense prepared in time for entry in the Budget for 1856-7; and no actual outlay can be expected to take place therefore, before the 1st May 1857. Of course the advisability of constructing the several works required for the completion of the Harbour of Refuge on that dangerous and exposed coast, will rest in a great measure, upon the expenditure at which the sea walls and possibly the wharves, can be established; but I am fully under the impression, that the information already afforded in Lieutenant Taylor's report, is sufficient to enable the Marine Board to arrive at a decisive opinion respecting the general merits of the project.

2. I also transmit the two original charts prepared by Lieutenant Taylor, and as I have already transferred them to the stone, as by a specimen now forwarded for record in your office you will observe (the originals being obligingly returned), I have to request that you will do me the favour to state, to what extent these charts will be of value to the navigator on the western coast. I shall be thankful to have this information as soon as convenient, in order to regulate the number of impressions; and for which purpose it is further desirable, that the relative value of the smaller and larger scale for general use, should be made known to me.

3. I will have the charts mounted on cloth for better preservation, and should wish to learn what number might be supplied with advantage to your office, to the Collector of Canara, and to the Government of Bombay; and also whether these should be supplied to the public gratuitously, or at a cost, to cover the expenses of preparation, of say one rupee each.

I have, &c.

(signed) *C. E. Faber*, Lieut. Col. of Engineers,
Chief Engineer in the D. P. Works.

(A true copy.)

(signed) H. Thomson,
Acting Secretary.

(No. 5.)

From *W. Fisher*, Esq., Acting Collector of Canara, to the Chief Engineer, Madras

Collector's Cutcherry, Mangalore,
Sir, 27th September 1855.

I HAVE the honour to forward for the information of Government, copy of a report (accompanied by two original plans) from Lieutenant Taylor, I. N., giving the result of his examination of Sedashighur Bay and Beitkul cove, and proposing that a shipping port and Harbour of Refuge be constructed behind Carvar Head.

2. Few spots on any coast would present equal facilities for the construction of a port commanding a valuable and extensive trade, and at the same time possessing so many qualities which admirably adapt it for a Harbour of Refuge, the great want on this long and dangerous line of coast.

3. Lieutenant Taylor's report illustrated by his plans, leaves me little to do but to recommend his project to the attention of Government. This I do most earnestly as regards the larger work proposed, but it seems to me imprudent to risk certain and great advantages for the sake of obtaining early possession of a small portion of them. This I think we should do, in erecting the proposed elbow to protect a communication with the river from the wash of the sea, whilst the construction of the main breakwater is in progress.

4. I should rather hope that Government in undertaking this great and useful work, would so employ the resources at their command, as to leave the Bombay trade and that of the western coast generally but a short period to wait for a complete and excellent refuge; when such a harbour has not only been a long admitted want, but one which Government has been anxious to supply.

5. I will only add, that Beitkul cove affords fresh water of good quality and in abundance; points of great importance in estimating the value of the locality.

I have, &c.,
(signed) *W. Fisher*,
Acting Collector.

(True copy.)
(signed) C. E. Faber, Lieut. Col. of Engineers.
Chief Engineer D. P. W.

(True copy.)
(signed) H. Thomson,
Acting Secretary.

From Lieutenant *A. D. Taylor*, Commanding H. C. Surveying Vessel "Pownah," to *W. Fisher* Esq., Collector of Canara.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to forward for the information of the Madras Government, the accompanying plans and report upon the Sedashigur bay and Beitkul cove.

1. We have visited the cove frequently in the worst of weather, and found it remarkably smooth and well adapted for a harbour, and I would here state what, on mature consideration, I deem the best measures to render it a safe and convenient one.

2. For easy reference the plans are lettered; No. 1, is a chart of the entire Sedashigur bay and river mouth, and on it have been detailed all facts of importance to the navigator, in case Government should wish to have copies of it lithographed at Madras or Calcutta.

No. 2. Is on twice the scale of the other, and is intended to show the Beitkul cove, more distinctly with reference to my propositions for a harbour.

3. The blue curved lines are meant to represent the monsoon swell as it rolls into the bay; they show how the force of that ocean swell must be broken, by the high, rocky, west cape of Beitkul, called by navigators Carwar Head.

4. As the river entrance is unapproachable in the south west monsoon for cargo boats, it becomes necessary to consider how far this excellent river could be made available for carrying goods from Mallapore to Beitkul harbour (20 miles), so as to supersede land carriage altogether.

5. This, to my mind, could be effected by a canal from Sinkerry creek to the south extreme of the sandy bay (A. on the plan in red), a distance of about three statute miles; already there are creeks which fill at high-water over half this distance.

6. From A., where the canal could not *débouche* into the open sea of the south-west monsoon (nor even when the north-west winds occur in force), I would propose to throw out a breakwater in a westerly direction for about 1,200 yards to B., this would afford protection to boats from the canal, and would form the north-east side of the harbour.

7. A breakwater about 200 yards in length from the point C. would form the north-west opposition to the swell that rolls round the point.

8. Thus we should have a harbour of great extent, with 21 feet water at its entrance, at the very lowest spring tides (26 to 28 at high water) and with an area of five or six acres, having 19 and 20 feet sufficient for several large vessels; the bottom being soft mud they would suffer no injury from grounding. The general area of that part of the harbour, which has a depth of from 15 to 21 feet at low water, would be upwards of 20 acres, and the bottom nothing but soft mud.

9. On the western side of the bay, on the space within the red line G., a wharf on piles filled up at the back with earth and stones could be constructed to allow vessels to be alongside, with warehouses in the back ground.

10. But if the breakwater A. B. were built substantially enough for a wharf (its inner side on piles) it would make an excellent one, as the warehouses could then be on the sand A., where any amount of ground is available.

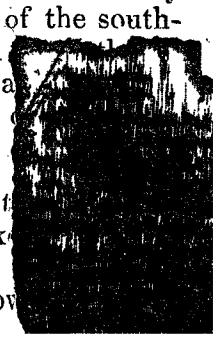
11. And alongside this wharf we should have a space of 300 to 400 yards in length, where six or eightvessels of 500 to 1,000 tons could load with facility, at all times of tide and in all weather.

12. Indeed, although I have marked the site for a wharf on the west side, A. B. claims superior attention, as the merchants' warehouses could be erected at once at A., and at no expense, compared to the scheme of construction on piles.

13. The natives say that Beitkul cove has not diminished in depth within their recollection, nor would there be in the above plan for a harbour, any forces brought into play that would tend to fill it up.

14. In the above proposal for rendering Beitkul a convenient harbour, the great consideration has been to maintain an uninterrupted line of water communication from Malapore to it; thus I hope to have shown it to be a perfectly practicable, and I think not very costly undertaking, when the advantages gained are considered.

15. The breakwater A. B. would be necessary to keep off the swell caused by the north-west winds which prevail from March to the setting in of the south-west monsoon, and which are annoying to the native craft, though by a large ship. But to ensure the permanency of such a work, a it of use as a wharf, it must be substantially built, and thus would time in erection.



16. I am well aware of the importance attached by Government t ment of a harbour of refuge on this coast (such a one as I have sk might have saved the unfortunate steam-frigate "Cleopatra," in and this has led me to the proposition of such extensive works, kno

anxiety of the merchants to settle here at once. I shall towards the conclusion of this report, state what minor works I would recommend so as to enable the trade to be developed earlier, and to be even carried on if need be, during the monsoon of next year.

17. It was my opinion at first that the bay marked S., in blue, would have formed the best harbour, as deep water with muddy bottom occurs there so close to the shore, and there is shelter for two vessels already in four fathoms at low water, were moorings laid down for them as represented by the two red circles, where the sea is remarkably smooth.

18. This plan would have rendered it necessary to build a breakwater at T. to protect the wharf on piles that would have to be erected at the rocks marked V.; and a road along the water's edge would be needed to Beitkul bay.

19. This would involve considerable expense, and the bay would be open to the north-west winds if other works of a like nature to those at the other bay were not constructed.

20. Nevertheless, this bay will be useful in connexion with Beitkul harbour as a point of departure and arrival of vessels there; they would pick up a pilot to conduct them into the harbour, and thence they would make sail to fetch out of the bay, having previously warped there by means of the mooring buoys I have marked with red circles, from the entrance of our harbour. This latter course is rendered unavoidable from the cove being so far to leeward, and though a disadvantage, is but a trifling one compared to those attendant upon some of our finest harbours: Calcutta, where there are many miles of intricate river navigation to be got over; Bombay, where the great difficulty in boisterous weather is to get a sufficient offing in one ebb tide, to enable a vessel to clear the coast, which there lies south from the lighthouse.

21. A vessel leaving the westernmost mooring in that little bay would fetch out clear of Deoghur Island, tack so as to pass the leeward of the Oyster Rocks and to windward of the Elephant Island, when she has a clear south-east by south course before her down the coast.

22. The ebb tide would assist her out, and yet another powerful influence is there in her favour, which is that during the south-west monsoon, when the current sets down the Malabar coast at the rate of two or three miles an hour, sometimes it runs into Sedashigur bay, as represented by the red arrows in No. 1 chart, and escapes along the Beitkul or Carwar Cliffs as therein shown; high-water being chosen as the starting time, there will be one fathom more water than shown in the chart.

23. As a proof of how the swell and force of the wind is broken by the intervention of the lofty Carwar Head, I may here state that my assistant, Lieutenant Sweny, went out to the bay S. on July 17th, as boisterous a day as we have had this monsoon, in a small canoe with no outrigger, when the wash of the sea was found to be not more than 1½ feet in the little sandy spot shown in plan No. 2, and a landing could have been easily effected.

24. Were a breakwater of 100 yards length constructed from the west point of that bay, mooring ground for five or six large vessels could be obtained, but this might be left as an ulterior measure, should the port become of sufficient importance to warrant such additional expense.

25. Sedashigur bay seems by nature designed for a harbour. We have high land (Goodhully) peak (1,800 feet above the sea) less than three miles to the eastward of Beitkul; Carwar Head is 640 feet high, and admirably adapted for the site of a lighthouse (marked L. in the plan) which would be needed. The Oyster Rocks, an excellent breakwater behind which vessels may anchor on their first arrival; these rocks or islands in their highest part are 160 feet above the sea, and being so far out, form excellent landmarks.

26. It were needless to say how great an advantage our proposed harbour would be to the native coasting vessels as a port of refuge in the gales that are periodically experienced along this coast.

27. The lighthouse need be of very little height, say 20 feet, and if of the same breadth at base, and kept white, would be a fine conspicuous object in the day time.

28. Vessels bound to Sedashigur should in the south-west monsoon endeavour to make the coast by Cape Ramos, for if they get to the southward of the port, much difficulty will be experienced in getting to the northward against the strong current which in this season of the year sets down the coast.

29. As every project for diminishing the cost of such an undertaking as I have proposed cannot but be acceptable to Government, I suggest that the old guns of the fort (totally useless any longer as such) some twenty in number, be used for the moorings recommended above, as guns are used in Bombay. Along the coasts of Concan and Canara there must be nearly three hundred which could be most advantageously employed in the manner mentioned, and as posts along the wharf.

30. Now to the measures which could be presently adopted to ensure the early opening of our port for vessels of 500 to 600 tons. The black circle denotes the position for them to anchor at, in 3¼ fathoms at low water spring; the bottom soft mud, where it will be found much smoother than Bombay harbour, and there is no tidal current to disturb them.

31. The erection of warehouses could be proceeded with by the fishing village, A., advantage being taken of the river to bring goods from Mallapore to the present ferry, opposite Sedashigur port, whence they could be taken on carts or bullocks to A.

32. By throwing out a breakwater, M. N. O. and clearing out the channel between it and the cliffs to gain a depth of 5 or 6 feet at high water, (in fact making the commencement of the breakwater A. B. as far as N. where it would be necessary to turn it to the south-west for a short distance to prevent the sea breaking into its mouth), boats could start with their cargoes from N. and carry them alongside the vessel, with much more safety and less trouble than is experienced at Bombay. The little bay, p. q. is where we always embarked during this monsoon in a canoe, to prosecute our investigations on the locality of the harbour, and is remarkably smooth.

33. This breakwater channel is all that is requisite to facilitate the conveyance of merchandise to ships in Beitkul until the completion of the harbour, when the more expeditious method of loading from a wharf will supersede it.

34. Referring to para 20, it seems to me, that if one of the small steamers of Bombay, which are idle during the south-west monsoon, were here employed to tow vessels out to Carwar Head, the saving of time and trouble would be great.

35. The entrance of Sedashigur river has this year moved a little more northward, and now is close to the large black rock marked K. on the chart, and, owing to scanty rains and to the Madhully stream having this year broken out to the southward of the rock, as shown by the blue tinted lines which represent its present limits, the bar has diminished in depth. At present the sea is too rough for us to examine it afresh, but I shall not fail to do so when practicable, and to show on the plan the amount of alteration.

36. It is my opinion that the construction of any works to bring the stream permanently into its former channel of 50 years ago, so strong in its monsoon fresh, would cost half as much as the proposed breakwaters in Beitkul cove, and there can be little doubt that the native vessels would prefer Beitkul, were the water communication with it and the river kept open by means of the canal.

37. During the months of November, December, January, and February, when the land winds prevail, the sea is calm, and the traffic likely to be greatest, the river mouth can be taken advantage of, in carrying goods to and from Beitkul.

38. In conclusion, I have the honour to state, that I have already commenced the survey of this river towards Mallapore, but the late heavy rain has been a great

great drawback to the completion of this duty. I shall proceed to examine the Tuddree as you have requested. The means at my command are very limited at present, having only my tender with me; but I have requested the Commander in Chief of the Indian Navy, to send me the "Pownah" again as early as possible, and I have just learnt that she is being made ready, and will be here in a month.

I have, &c.

Sedashigur,
13 September 1855.

(signed) *A. D. Taylor*, Lieutenant, I. N.,
Commanding H. C. S. Vessel, "Pownah."

(True copy.)

(signed) W. Fisher, Acting Collector.

(True copy of a copy.)

(signed) C. E. Faber, Lieut. Col. of Engineers,
Chief Engineer, D. P. Works.

(True copy.)

(signed) H. Thomson, Acting Secretary.

From Lieutenant *A. D. Taylor*, I. N., commanding H. C. S. Vessel "Pownah,"
to *Henry Forbes*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government.

Sir,

In forwarding the following report on the harbours and rivers of Canara, called for by Government in Extract No. 1279, of Minutes of Consultation, dated 1st July 1857, I have the honour to state that, since the monsoon of 1855, I have, by order of the Commander in Chief of the Indian Navy, been engaged on the survey of the Canara and Malabar coasts, which duty, owing to my almost constant ill-health from March to November 1856, was only completed in April last.

2. I need not repeat my former report on Sedashigur Bay and the harbour of Beitkul; but I would mention that the plan for a harbour proposed by me was considered by Colonel Arthur Cotton to be of too limited a nature to meet the growing wants of the country. It was therefore proposed to take the whole bay between Coormagur Island and Carwar Head for a large harbour.

Sedashigur Harbour.

3. This was to be effected by a sea breakwater of loose stone, from Carwar Head towards the islands, about 1,000 yards long, with an opening 400 feet wide at a distance of 400 yards from the Head. Another breakwater from the point of Deoghur Island, and about 500 yards long, would protect the harbour against any swell from the north-west, whilst the Oyster Rocks would nullify the effect of any westerly swell. There cannot be a doubt that this more comprehensive scheme would be of greater ultimate benefit. Beitkul Cove now offers shelter for small vessels, and the construction of the above works extending over several years, the harbour would get gradually better year by year as the produce from the interior increased.

The present wants of Bombay Harbour.

4. But I am reminded that harbours can be too large as well as too small by the late discussion regarding that of Bombay, where, in November 1854, so many vessels were wrecked by a gale from the eastward. A similar warning occurred in 1837 that was neglected, but now the attention of Government and the merchants is steadily directed to the grand object of giving more shelter to vessels whilst loading or unloading cargo. Wet docks were proposed by Government engineers, but such works are so liable to silt up, especially in the muddy harbour of Bombay, that it seems to me that scheme will never be adopted. Wharf walls (running parallel, I suppose, to the ebb and flow of tide) are proposed by a civil engineer, to cost the enormous sum of 89 ¾ lacs. Some modification of the latter

project will, I think, be accepted, but will doubtless be undertaken by a joint-stock company, and not by the Indian Government. Bombay Harbour is entirely open on its south side; the ocean swell from S. S. W. rolls almost unimpeded over the space in which the merchant shipping lie; to the S. S. E. there is an expanse of water eight miles in length; a gale blowing over this causes a heavy swell.

Advantages of Beitkul Harbour.

5. Now the main desideratum of a harbour of refuge on the west coast is that its south side should be a natural defence against the south-west swell of our rainy season gales and periodical hurricanes. Carwar Head is pre-eminently such. Our north-west winds from March to May are but trifles to a large ship, and when the wind in a cyclone has got round to north-west, the only point on which our bay is open, the centre of the revolving storm will have passed to the northward, nor is the storm-wave likely to recoil upon our works from the north-west.

6. I mention these things merely to point out that there is as much chance of our falling into error in forming a harbour of too great an extent as there is of our limiting one to too small an area. I have reconsidered the subject in all its bearings, and am now of opinion that my former views were too circumscribed, and that any works to be undertaken at Beitkul should be on a large scale.

Tuddree, a fine-season Harbour.

7. We have a harbour in Tuddree (as I shall presently explain) upon which three ghauts converge, and though making it a south-west monsoon port is out of the question, yet there needs very little to make it the centre of the export trade of North Canara temporarily, whilst the grander port and harbour of refuge of Beitkul is being prepared.

Objections to many small ports, on one coast.

8. There is this to be said with regard to the advisableness of establishing small ports in anticipation of the development of one great harbour, viz., where once a beginning has been made, when shall we cease to add improvement to improvement upon the little ports, and when cease to cherish a rising place. Take Madras itself as an instance in point. Had the fort been built abreast of the Armegom or Pulicat Shoals, we should not now be clamouring for works to nullify the effect of the surf, and to render landing easy, for at both those places we should have so fine a nucleus for a sea breakwater that three-fourths of the labour and expense now required to render Madras a safe port would have been saved, and the project would come within the easy means of either Government or a private company. Now that so much has been expended by merchants on warehouses and other buildings, and Madras is become a great commercial port, it is clear that a harbour some few miles distant will never answer, but that one will have to be made here at whatever cost.

9. With these preliminary remarks on the first essentials for a good refuge harbour I shall proceed to state what is needed at Sedashigur. The Marine Board, in their report upon my project for making Beitkul a harbour of refuge, objected to the light being placed on Carwar Head, their preference being given to the Oyster Rocks as the site. In a letter to the Collector of Canara, dated 26 November 1855, in continuation of my first report, I stated my reasons for selecting the Head as the place where the light should be. The Collector's reply was to the effect that the advantages of the proposed harbour had been so clearly pointed out by me, he thought nothing more need be said on the subject. At that time I was ordered by Sir Henry Leeke to continue the coast survey, and until the arrival of the Right Honourable the Governor on the western coast, I had been incapacitated by sickness from giving such attention to the subject as I could have wished.

Lighthouse of first class for Carwar Head, and not on the Oyster Rocks.

10. The following remarks are, for the most part, what I wrote in the letter above alluded to; as I can at this distance of time improve upon and add to them, I propose doing so.

Arguments in favour of taking Carwar Head, as the site for a Lighthouse.

11. In selecting Carwar Head as the site for a lighthouse, I took into consideration its commanding height above the sea. It is a known fact, which probably the captains of the P. and O. Company's steamers have noticed while passing along this coast, that during the south-west monsoon a vapoury salt spray, rising to a height of some 100 feet, veils the seaboard of Western India, rendering a recognition of the features of the low land no easy task. The Oyster Rocks,

Rocks, which I at first thought of as the place for a lighthouse, come, in a measure, under the influence of this mist; that is to say, the rocks which project from them on their southern and western sides cause the spray to rise high into the air; and I contend that a light of so little height as these islands would afford, will be less distinguishable at five miles and a half distance than the lofty Carwar light at eight miles; the greater height of the latter, 650 feet, placing it above the limits of this ocean mist.

12. The Oyster Rocks afford no landing-place during south-west gales; their margin is rock-bound, possessing no patch of sand on which a boat might be beached. Some, at no little expense and trouble, would connect the two high islands, which are about 50 yards apart, the interval filled by impassable rocks above and below water; this barrier must be some 30 feet broad and raised at least 10 feet above the water to give any shelter to leeward, but even then we may expect the ocean swell to roll round to the landing-place; the cost of such a barrier would be great.

Arguments against Oyster Rocks.

13. Fresh water is to be found on them during and after the rains, but the scouring of the jungle would not be conducive to health; the transit of supplies would be difficult, and in the event of injury to the lantern or house, no native artificer could be found to brave the passage by sea. It would not suffice that the communication with the main land should be confined only to intervals of fine weather; sickness or accidents to the people in charge, would render it imperative that a large boat should be always at hand.

14. These are some and the most weighty of my reasons, for giving the preference to Carwar Head as the site for a first-class light, whose brilliancy would enable it to be seen 30 miles off from a vessel's deck.

15. Our harbour is the nearest seaport to the great Dharwar cotton fields; that town itself is but 75 miles, as the crow flies, from Sedashigur; when in my former report I wrote of developing the trade during the ensuing year (1856), I was under the impression that the road to Malapore from the Dharwar district was finished. Mr. Brice, a merchant resident at the latter place, has since undeceived me, The Kyga Ghaut line is opened merely to a bridlepath, and the nullahs are unbridged; he pointed out the immense advantages a rail to Beitkul would ensure, in keeping the goods dry in transit, a point which he looks upon as an essential, as so much loss is now suffered from deterioration of goods by the rain; but, surely, provision against damp could be managed in the boats we would build expressly for the purpose; the rail would cost an enormous sum, and could not possibly compete with water carriage.

Beitkul is the nearest port to Dharwar cotton country.

16. The ordinary traffic roads are now nearly impassable during four and a half months of the year, June to middle of October, and with any increase to that traffic, such as we may expect on the opening of our port, the wretched state of these roads during the rains will be a serious drawback. There are no works commenced at Sedashigur that would render it of importance in a pecuniary point of view, to prevent their supersession by others, however more feasible; on the contrary, the harbour and its approaches are as nature formed them, there is nothing to alter; before us lies an entirely new field of greatest promise, all that is requisite is to look before we leap, to see that the most advantageous scheme be selected. If the trade of the interior is to be brought to the sea, a harbour on this coast, of easy access, sheltered from all winds, capable of receiving very large vessels, and at one tithe of the distance from the internal resources of the country that the Madras or east coast is, where there are no safe harbours, would surely be preferred.

17. The above is what I wrote before to show that I had not overlooked the Oyster Rocks, when considering where to place my principal light. It is a grievous mistake to place a first-class light on a low hill, when not far off there is one four times the height. Besides, there is this to be said in favour of high lights, that they are visible so much further from the deck of a ship, by aid of a telescope, which is a difficult instrument to handle at the mast head, where the motion is of course so much more violent, and footing insecure.

The great advantage of a high light.

18. I agree so far with the Marine Board, that the Oyster Rocks should have some landmark on them, and I would recommend that a small white house (to

serve also as a column for a small light), be built on them, where a few fishermen could live in the south-west monsoon, keeping provisions enough for their maintenance: breaks in the weather, afford occasional though not frequent opportunities, of communicating with Beitkul Cove. It should be the duty of these men to burn blue lights either at stated times (as at the outer light-vessels in Bombay), on observing lights at sea, or hearing guns. A signal gun should be placed there. The Oyster Rocks, though 160 feet high, have loose granite boulders on their summit; levelling these, and making a place for signal guns, would reduce the height considerably, so that a column of 40 feet would give the light a height of 160 feet still.

Small light and a Signal Gun on Oyster Rocks.

Light on Carwar, visible 30 miles, Oyster light only 18 miles.

19. The small light on those islets would not interfere with that on Carwar Head, which is so lofty as to be visible from the deck of any vessel at 30 miles distance; whereas the light on the Oysters, if 160 feet above the sea, would be only seen in fine weather 18 miles; the distance between the two is two miles and a quarter, so that the greater light would be visible for some time before the other, and when both are visible, that on the Head would appear so much more exalted and brilliant. I would wish to explain more fully what I said about the salt spray of the ocean; it hangs like vapour above the sea, and so dims distant objects, that land 200 feet high, which can be seen in clear weather 15 miles off, is scarcely discernible during the south-west monsoon on the west coast, (even when rain is not falling,) at half that distance.

20. I need say no more regarding the lighthouse on Carwar Head, but that breadth is what is wanted, not height in the building. We have the necessary altitude in the hill itself.

Proposed works for Beitkul Harbour.

21. Adverting to my former report, I would now reject the two piers at the mouth of the cove, but would increase that proposed at the point T. (*vide* plans Nos. 3 and 2) to a length of 400 yards in a line due north, leaving an opening of 400 feet wide at the water's edge. I would continue the breakwater in a line N.N.E. as shown on the plans Nos. 2 and 3. The stone for these works could easily be quarried from the hill, and they would give at once great security to Beitkul by increasing the anchoring ground for large vessels; and with the canal from the Kalee Nuddy, which I would have as shown by the blue line in Chart No. 2, (and not as formerly suggested by the Sinkerry Creek) the produce of the country above the ghauts, could be brought from the present head of navigation, about two miles above Malapore, to the shipping in Beitkul by the same boat.

Canal, to join the River to the Harbour.

22. A subsequent examination of the Sinkerry Creek, and of the shoals in its neighbourhood, led me to alter the proposed line of canal; my new line commences from the deep water of the south bank, nearly opposite Sedashigur old Fort, and marked blue on plan No. 2, pursuing a nearly due south course to the fishing village near Beitkul; this is 4,400 yards, or two and a half statute miles long, with a rough stone breakwater running along the rocky cliff by the fishing village, and turning down to the south-west so as to protect the canal mouth; the water communication all the way from above Malapore to Beitkul will be perfected.

Present roads, bad in rainy season.

23. With the present means of communication between the coast and the interior, and until by covered boats on the rivers, and by covered carriages (on perhaps lines of light rail) above and below ghaut, the goods can be carried dry to any part, it is needless to expect merchants to avail themselves of any but the five months, viz., October to May, for shipping goods at any port. The rain is now our greatest drawback on the western coast. With a canal system it will facilitate progress.

Lines of Canal, wanted for North Canara.

24. The proximate lines of canal to connect all our present roads from the ghauts with our harbour are shown on the accompanying plan, No. 1, in blue tint; these are all that are required to connect all the rivers north of Honore with Beitkul; that there is comparatively but little work in this undertaking will be evident at a glance. In such a tract of country as that between the west ghauts and the sea, where for two or three months of the year the freshes come down with great violence, overflowing the banks in many places for hundreds of yards, and sometimes bearing on the surface of the water enormous trees, which threaten destruction to any bridge of boats, where stone or strong wood bridges requiring great span would be most costly; in such a country canals are clearly the proper highways.

Canals, and not roads, suited to the wants of Canara.

highways. A journey from north to south of Canara is now a tedious business; a constant shifting from palankeen or horse to boat and back again; canals with suitable boats will remedy all this, and enable passengers and goods to travel at one tithe of the present cost, and certainly as quick. I cannot resist the temptation to state the fact, that horses do not thrive in Canara during the season of the cutting land winds, neither do bullocks thrive, there being great difficulty in getting grass for one-fourth of the year.

How far Kalee Nuddy is, or may be open.

25. My survey of Sadashigur River, or the Kalee Nuddy, is herewith forwarded. It shows the river to be navigable 20 or 22 miles up, or to about two miles above Malapore, at which place my survey ended, but will be resumed when the rainy season is over; if it can be made navigable for 15 miles more (as is most likely from all accounts), a great advantage will be gained, the importance of which I shall not overlook.

Effects of a groin, at the Kalee Nuddy entrance.

Another object gained by the groin.

26. The entrance of the river has improved since my first examination in January 1855, having moved northward until stopped by the black rock, which, forming a natural groin, deflects the stream, and will doubtless keep it in one channel henceforth; already has this groin operated to advantage; the entrance channel has now 15 feet at low water, and 21 feet at high water, and this will admit vessels of 500 tons in the fine season; they will be able to lie off the steep south bank, near the entrance of my proposed canal, where a pier, 100 yards long, would give 20 feet water at its head. Another advantage is gained by the entrance of the Kalee Nuddy being kept so far north, which is, that the alluvium brought down by the river freshes, is, on its exit to the ocean, encountered by the south-west swell, and deposited to the eastward of those rocks, situated about a mile to the north-west of the Groin Rock (*vide* plan, No. 2), which rocks are now joined to the mainland by a sand spit, dry at low water; thus is the deposit prevented from entering the sorthern portion of Sedashigur Bay, where our harbour is to be.

Singawady

Roads that come down upon the Kalee Nuddy.

27. There are no impediments to boat navigation up to Malapore; nearly opposite that place the Singawady Ghaut comes down to the river on the right or north bank; on the south bank is the Kyga Ghaut; these two roads, when completed, should bring the whole of the Southern Mahratta Country cotton and other produce to Beitkul. The rains, which commence in April by the western ghauts, make the roads very heavy, and do much damage to the cotton, so that very little arrives on the coast from the interior before the south-west monsoon sets in, the greater part being kept above ghaut until the rains are over; until then a harbour be obtained, it is of little use having the roads kept in good repair during the rainy season, when there is no traffic.

Devimunny Ghaut.

Arbyle Ghaut line of road.

How it may be improved.

28. At present the cotton goes down by principally the Devimunny Ghaut to Cutgal, on the north bank of the Tuddree River; thence, instead of going by boat to Tuddree, it is carried in carts up a hill again, and then down to the Munky Ferry, about two miles and a half from Coomta town; the carts, bullocks, and cotton are then carried across the stream, a breadth of 300 yards, when the carts, being reloaded, proceed onwards to Coomta. Some carts come down the Arbyle Ghaut, but the ferry on the Gungavelly River between Sooksaul and Goondabaly, which is fordable for only six or seven months of the year, is a great drawback. The Gungavelly River from this ferry to its mouth is navigable all the year round, clearly then it should be used, and connected to the Tuddree by a canal, as represented in the Coast Chart, No. 1; the details of this arrangement will be found under the head of Tuddree. An estimate was made by the late Civil Engineer of Canara for bridging the river by the above-mentioned ferry; this bridge was to cost half or three-fourths of a lac of rupees; now I am certain the small piece of canal which I recommend cannot cost more than a quarter of a lac.

Tuddree a fine-season Port.

Arbyle Ghaut.

Devimunny Ghaut.

29. But we have a fine season port in Tuddree, which is far superior to Coomta, from which most of the up-country produce is now exported, with a small canal of less than one mile and a half in length (*vide* letter A. on No. 1, Canal Chart); the Gungavelly River can be connected with the Tuddree, and so the Arbyle Ghaut be made of use during the whole year, instead of only being an indifferent road for two-thirds of the year, as it is at present. Then, again, the produce that is brought down the Devimunny Ghaut should go no farther by land than

Cutgal, where it could be put on boats, and sent to Tuddree at far less cost than by the present system, which carries it up a hill 200 feet high along its top, and down again to Munky Ferry, a distance of six miles; then over the ferry, which involves the operation of unloading on one side and reloading on the other, and then a three-mile drive to Coomta. The Neelcoond Ghaut comes down upon the Tuddree River some miles above Oopenputnum; the river could either be improved, or the road made along its right or north-east bank to the highest point where it is now navigable above Oopenputnum, and thus the Neelcoond Ghaut be brought down to Tuddree at but little expense.

Neelcoond Ghaut.

30. With these three ghauts (excellent during the fine season) coming down upon Tuddree, that port ought to be the most frequented, as it is the most excellent on the coast. It is sealed for 2½ months in the year, or from middle of May to beginning of August, after which large vessels might lie outside of the river, and others of less than 400 tons could run in and load. There is now 11 feet at low water, and 18 at highest on the bar, and I have no doubt we could get upwards of 21 feet by preventing the first of the ebb-tide from running out over the sands on the west side of entrance. This I propose doing by a groin of loose stone, thrown down as marked in red on the plan of Tuddree, No. 5, accompanying this report. This work would cost some 10,000 rupees, which will be recovered by the additional duty that would be levied on grain and other produce embarked in square-rigged vessels from Tuddree direct; at present all this goes to Bombay in native crafts, and there the duty is collected instead of in Canara. Before the harbour of Beitkul can possibly be ready to receive vessels, this work at Tuddree will have paid for itself over and over again.

Tuddree Harbour.

Vessels of 400 tons can enter.

The Bar may be deepened.

Export duty can be levied.

31. Tuddree is the haven for which many native vessels steer in our periodical cyclones and southerly gales; it is the next port north of Cochin, and, with a light-house, would be a nice harbour of refuge for the native craft. It is 25 miles more to windward than Sedashigur in the above-mentioned breezes, and a small port-light here could never be mistaken for the lofty one which it is proposed to place on Carwar Head, which, as I have said before, should be a first-class light, like that of Madras. With the interests of Canara fully at heart, I deem it my duty here to record my opinion that a lighthouse and flagstaff on the high land west of Tuddree would be of far greater general advantage than the present column of Coomta, which is situated far back from the sea, on a receding part of the coast, whereas Tuddree Point is so prominent. My long experience of this coast shows me that a light is not cared for, except in bad weather, on this particular part of a coast so mountainous. I have felt my way by night in fine weather, as the tindals of pattimars do, by knowledge of the form and features of the land. Only in squally weather is a light an immediate necessity, and then Coomta is too far back to be of use; for in bad weather vessels must not keep in shore, but an offing must be maintained, whence the light would be scarcely visible.

Tuddree.

Present refuge harbour for the native vessels.

Light at Tuddree instead of at Coomta.

At what times the light is wanted.

32. The Gungavelly is the river down which most of the teak timber for Bombay Dockyard is floated; it has a very poor entrance, and consequently pattimars have mostly to be loaded outside in the open sea, the timber being rafted out. These rafts frequently break adrift, and away goes the timber. If the small piece of canal to connect Gungavelly and Tuddree rivers be first executed, this timber could be taken on board in the quiet river of Tuddree, and much expense thus saved to the Government of Bombay; the Arbyle Ghaut would then be brought down, as it were, to an excellent seaport, and it would then relieve the Devamunny of a great deal of that superfluous traffic which, now incessantly plying upon it during October, November, and December, so severely cuts it up.

Canara teak for Bombay Dockyard.

Canal between Gungavelly and Tuddree.

33. To my mind, then, the works of primary importance for North Canara are:—

Works of primary importance.

1st. The Gungavelly and Tuddree Canal.

2dly. A wharf wall and a few small improvements at Cutgal.

3dly. Bringing the Neelcoond road on to the river above Oopenputnum, where also should be a wharf.

4thly. A wharf at the spot where the Arbyle Ghaut comes down upon the Gungavelly.

5thly. A small

5thly. A small lighthouse on Tuddree Hill.

6thly. Two buoys to mark Tuddree Bar.

7thly. The groin at the entrance of Tuddree River.

34. I have long been impressed with the utter inferiority of Coomta to Tuddree in every way, and have not failed to express my conviction of the same to the authorities of Canara.

The natives say that the god or goddess of riches (I forget which) has taken up an abode at Coomta, but I think the first year's saving to them by adopting Tuddree would prove that their deity has also a country seat there; indeed, the famous temples of Gokurn are within half an hour's walk of Tuddree. A little was done for Coomta at first, trade gradually increased, and the cry was, "What more shall we do for the place's benefit?" Now people say, "It is getting on so well, we cannot neglect it even in favour of a better, something more must be done for Coomta;" and thus is the original mistake perpetuated, instead of the inferior port being at an early stage of its existence superseded by the better one of Tuddree. I have not the least doubt that Tuddree Bar may be much improved by the means I have above recommended in para. 30, and at a very small sacrifice of money, at, indeed, one tithe of what is intended to be spent on the Coomta Canal, which work the very inhabitants of that place (for whose benefit the canal is said to be contemplated) deprecate as a waste of money without commensurate advantages.

Tuddree Harbour, better than the Coomta Roadstead.

35. This canal between Coomta and Tuddree has been, I understand, sanctioned, but it seems the general opinion of the natives that if any toll be levied on it, the old way of conveying goods to Coomta, as explained in para. 29, will be maintained. That Coomta (a wretched little port from which the native craft fly on the approach of a gale to Tuddree) should ever have been allowed to supersede the latter fine port is greatly to be deprecated. A lighthouse has been built at Coomta, but not being on the proper site is not of any use in making the port from the north. The Devamunny and Neelcoond Ghauts are both interrupted by the Tuddree River, which seems to invite the traffic on to its stream to Tuddree; will then the native merchants, who are so knowing in money matters, carry their merchandise to Coomta to ship it in an open roadstead, when they can take it with less trouble, and no tolls to pay, to Tuddree, and there ship it from the pier that is about to be built at that place? The canal must be free to boats passing, otherwise it will not be used. For one-fourth the sum it is estimated to cost, we could make a lighthouse on Tuddree Point, and the Tuddree River accessible for nine months of the year to vessels of 600 tons. Doubtless, at some remoter period, when the Gairsipa Ghaut is opened, the canal may, in connexion with others connecting the Honore and Coomta rivers, be an adjunct to that ghaut, and form a part of the canal system of North Canara. That the system of canals along this northern Canara sea-board, cannot be extended lower than Honore without a great outlay, is shown by the fact that a range of hills 200 to 300 feet high, and in the lowest part not under 100 feet, projects into the sea, three miles south of Honore Ferry. Byndoor Head and several little capes intervening between it and Honore, projecting into the sea, throw obstacles also in the way.

Canal between Tuddree and Coomta not yet wanted.

Obstacle to canal system south of Honore.

36. The object of deepening Tuddree River entrance is to enable vessels to get inside to load by a pier, which process is a great saving to merchants, but is not an absolute necessity; for Bombay, that much-vaunted harbour, has not yet that accommodation, although that they appreciate the advantage of a wharf is patent from the fact that Government have had estimates laid before them for the construction of wet docks, the least sum being 12¾ lacs, whilst one civil engineer proposes wharf walls in preference to wet docks, and states that 89¾ lacs of rupees would be required. The deepening of Tuddree River then may be looked upon as a work of secondary importance, more demanded by the interests of merchants than by those of Government, although, of course, every incentive to trade cannot but benefit the Government. I must not, however, omit to mention, that the groin proposed will prevent the ocean swell from cutting away the point outside of Mr. Brice's screwhouse, as it now does at the first burst of the south-west monsoon, which comes up well from the south but does not last many days, late in May or early in June. Thus will be gained that piece of ground (tinted yellow

Object of deepening Tuddree entrance is to admit larger vessels to load by a pier.

Valuable land will be gained from the sea by the groin.

yellow on No. 5 plan) most valuable for a merchant's storehouse, as it has deep water close to its east side, where a pier can be made.

Advantages of Tuddree.

37. I have in my hand a list of 24 vessels which were in Bombay harbour between May and October of last year, any one of which when loaded could have left Tuddree River as it now is. There are, besides, many that could load inside to a draught of 16 feet, and fill up with cargo outside. Any one of the vessels that frequent Cochin River could, with greater ease, enter and depart from Tuddree, where the bar is quite smooth during the fine season: the west point of land (on which I propose to place a light marked on the charts Nos. 1 and 5), so completely breaks the swell of the north-west winds, which are the only breezes that during the fine season last long enough to produce any swell that is troublesome to vessels on this coast. In these north-west winds Coomta is an open and exposed roadstead, and I have heard many complaints of the cotton and other goods getting wet alongside native crafts. I believe the merchants allow about two per cent. for the deterioration and loss of cotton in shipping and transit to Bombay from the coast.

Disadvantages of Coomta.

Tuddree not open throughout the year, but made use of by native vessels in gales of wind.

38. Tuddree is the port to which the attention of merchants is now turned; two or three screws are now ready to press the cotton bales, and vessels of 300 or 400 tons will be able to load from a pier, and sail direct to England. Tuddree is, however, as I said before, merely a fair-season port; it is sealed from the middle of May till beginning of August, but for nine months of the year can be made the centre of a great trade, and is the next port north of Cochin wherein native craft seek shelter during gales of wind. In the cyclone which committed such havoc in Bombay on 1st November 1854, and which was felt all along the Malabar and Canara coasts, nearly 30 pattimars put into Tuddree for shelter; and at the early setting in of the monsoon of 1856 many took advantage of it likewise. It is well known that loading vessels from a wharf or jetty is far cheaper and more expeditious than the method pursued at Coomta, of loading by means of many small boats. The jetty constructed by Mr. Brice at Tuddree had, I am assured, in half a year, paid its cost by saving boat-hire. In the face of this fact, can it be expected that Coomta will continue to hold up its head before the rising importance of Tuddree, an open roadstead from which vessels have to fly on the appearance of a gale, before a safe and commodious harbour? Cotton will have to be landed at Tuddree, as it has to be pressed; but linseed and other seeds can be packed and weighed at Cutgal, placed in a boat, and sent directly alongside the merchant vessels, either in Tuddree River or outside: here, then, is another source of saving to the merchants.

Saving in loading from a pier or jetty.

Gain in shipping direct from the Coast.

39. I am assured that the value of seeds exported from Coomta and Tuddree, in the official years of 1855 and 1856, was 40,000 rupees; whilst in 1856 to 1857 it was 80,000, and still increasing. I append a Memorandum given me by the firm of Brice & Co., to show what saving is effected by shipping cotton and seeds from Tuddree direct in English bottoms, instead of transporting it, as is now the custom, to Bombay, where it is shipped and the duty levied.

		Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
Cotton (American) value 100 rupees per Bombay candy of 7 cwt.	Freight to Bombay	1	8	–
	Marine insurance	–	12	–
	Extra landing in Bombay	–	12	–
	Bombay agent's commission	1	–	–
	Interest of money for one month, at per cent.	–	12	–
		4	12	– p' candy.

(Nearly 5 per cent.) saving.

Linseed,

Linseed, at 4 rupees per cwt. - - -	Freight to Bombay - - -	50 reas.
	Insurance - - - - -	4 „
	Landing and shipping in Bombay -	50 „
	Interest, one month - - -	4 „
		108 reas.

(About 6 per cent.) saving.

40. This is the saving to the merchants, and it is independent of loss by deterioration and pilfering which cargo has to undergo on its passage to Bombay in native vessels, and on being landed there. This is sufficient inducement indeed to attract many to these parts. In the latter end of last year, Messrs. Brice & Co. wanted to charter a vessel to load at Tuddree, but the demand for tonnage which the Persian war created made freight too high; however, the principal objections to going there made by masters of merchant vessels were, that there was no magistrate at Tuddree, and that they had no correct charts of the coast. If, as above suggested by me, Tuddree be made the head-quarters of the timber agency, the first of these difficulties would vanish; the second one will soon be removed by the publication of the coast charts, copies of which, from Cape Ramas, in the Goa territory, to Mount Dilly, in Malabar, I have now the honour to forward, together with one of Tuddree river entrance.

Charts of Tuddree wanted.

41. There is another argument so much in favour of water communication in Canara; it is this: the native cart-men are so loath to go a few miles beyond their own villages, that they look upon it as a great favour being discharged as soon as possible; thus frequently have goods to be shifted from cart to cart during their progress; so at the Munkey Ferry each cart has to be unloaded, and a reloading takes place on the other side of the river. All this is avoided by the cheaper and quicker method of transport by boats. The Arbyle ghaut comes down upon the Gungavelly, or Baidlee river, about two miles below the village of Arbyle; and if the river were navigable from this place to the canal which is proposed to join it with Tuddree, a great point would be gained; there would be so much less (some 20 miles) roadway to keep in repair. If the Kalee Nuddy were made navigable from Taree Malapore, or Barhull, 15 miles above Malapore, to its mouth, there seems every probability that a line of road could be made from either of those places to Gurrus, between Iddagoonjee and Yellapore. If so, there would be so many miles less of road (some 15) to make and keep in repair. These are important points, and I propose examining these two rivers as soon as the season permits me to resume work.

Canals suited to the wants of Canara.

Gungavelly river to be made navigable.

The Kalee Nuddy to be made navigable higher up.

42. I have already surveyed the Kalee Nuddy as high up as Malapore, as will be seen by the accompanying Chart, No. 4, which demonstrates that the navigation so far is excellent. There is said to be a small barrier some two or three miles above Malapore, but I fully expect it will fade into insignificance on a careful inspection. I shall endeavour to get through the survey of this river from Malapore to Barhull as quickly as possible; for I understand that the Kyga ghaut is to be proceeded with at once. Now, if the river be navigable, or may without difficulty be made navigable higher up than Kyga, it will clearly be a mistake to carry that ghaut so low down the river. The hurrying on of the Kyga ghaut will not accelerate the development of Sedashighur, for, until the harbour is formed, we cannot expect ships to go there. They may at once go to Tuddree in the fine season; indeed, I fully expect several will load there before the close of this year.

A better line than the Kyga ghaut may perhaps be found.

Kyga ghaut.

43. I learn from Messrs. Brice & Co. that it would be absolutely necessary, in case of half the transit of goods from above ghaut to the coast being by land, and half by water, that merchants should have an office and warehouse at the place of shipment, goods having to be weighed and taken care of in shipping from carts to boats. Here, then, is another point we must not neglect, viz., that the locality for such offices be healthy. I shall bear this in mind during my examination of the rivers. Cutgal, on the Tuddree river, already adopted as a half-way house by

Halfway house between ghauts and the coast.

Road from Neelcoond to Tuddree.

the above enterprising firm, is decidedly well chosen. I have visited the river above the last-named place, a little higher than Oopenputnum, and found no impediment to regular water communication so far. The maps of the Great Indian Atlas represent a road running along the right bank of this river to the Neelcoond road It is evident then that we shall not need an entirely new line of road to connect that ghaut with Tuddree river, as proposed in para. 29, but only a few repairs to an old road.

Charts of Canara.

44. I cannot think of any point that has been omitted in demonstrating the great value, some years hence, of a grand refuge harbour and commercial port at Sedashigur, and the present advantages possessed by the little port of Tuddree. As charts of the whole Canara coast may be useful to Government, I have the honour to forward them; they are in three sheets, marked respectively Northern, Central, and Southern Canara.

Honore river.

45. Honore river is navigable by small boats for 20 miles from its mouth, or up to the old town of Gairsipa, whence there is a good ghaut road passing by the falls of Gairsipa to the Mysore country. I cannot see that any improvement is needed on this river. The entrance is indifferent, but nothing need be done to that, as canal communication will subsequently connect the river with the great harbour to the north, shown in the Canal Chart, No. 1. I have before stated, in para. 35, that difficulties (not insuperable, however, but to be overcome by engineering skill) exist in the way of continuing a coast canal southward. The space of seaboard from Honore to Byndoor abounds with little capes projecting into the sea; there may be low level ground at the back of these, but it has not been examined by me. Below Byndoor again, and as far south as I have surveyed, every facility for a continuous coast canal exists.

Coast canal below Honore.

Coondapoor.

46. Coondapoor, a place of very considerable trade, is situated just to the south of all that rocky foul ground on the south of Hog and Pigeon Islands, where rocks a few feet above water, and in some places just under water, lie so far as three to three and a half nautical miles from the mainland in seven fathoms of water. I have not yet examined the Coondapoor river inside, but it is said to be navigable for small boats for some distance from its entrance, both towards the Coolloor and the Agoombee ghauts, where the two ghauts come down upon the river. Here, again, therefore, we have water communication, and no roads are needed, entailing unnecessary expense upon the country. A small port light at Coondapoor would be very useful to the native shipping; no part of the whole coast of Canara is so dangerous at night as that between Hog Island and Moolky rocks, on account of the many rocks at so great a distance from the shore.

A small Port-light for Coondapoor.

Coast Canal already half made by nature.

47. Between Coondapoor and Mangalore, and to the south of the latter port to Malabar, there is every facility for a coast canal, the backwaters running in numerous instances parallel to the coast for several miles; few and short cuttings are all that are needed to perfect the system of water communication for hundreds of miles. The charts of Canara will give a tolerably good general idea of what is wanted for the country.

Mangalore River entrance.

48. I now proceed to lay before you a few remarks on Mangalore, showing what has been done and what suggested by others, and finally what is my own proposal for the improvement of that port at the least possible outlay; so that the river entrance may be permanently kept at one spot, and consequently be rendered deeper and more accessible. My first examination of the river entrance took place in April 1855. Copy of this was furnished to the civil engineer of Canara, who, during the monsoon of that year was engaged in operations contemplated to prevent the river mouth from moving up northward; these operations were unsuccessful. A second survey taken after that rainy season showed, that notwithstanding the impediment to the cutting action of the ocean swell and ebb tides when augmented by the freshes, that the laterite battery on the north side of the entrance was expected to afford, a strip of nearly 100 yards in breadth and 300 in length, including about two-thirds of the battery itself, was swept away. On the south side of the entrance, what was in April of that year a projecting point always above water, was, after the rains, a spit, which scarcely dried at low water; the main body of the point was removed from 200 to 300 yards to the south-west.

How the North Point has been cut away since the year 1855.

49. My

49. My latest survey, in November 1856, is represented on the Plan No. 7 in lake, whilst in black is shown the contour of the sand in January of the same year. Much of the north point was cut away in the rainy season of 1856, and with it went the last remains of the battery. In November of last year I found a depth of 25 feet water over the site of that battery; a startling proof of what a scouring current we have to deal with. I feel confident that if left to itself the river will find its way out by the Goorpoor mouth in ten (10) years; much of the Buntwal stream goes out of the Goorpoor mouth, and this year my officers report that this has occurred more than formerly. To prevent the river mouth from thus moving northwards year by year, is an important consideration. It was my opinion that such a result could be attained, though not without a heavy outlay, by a substantial revetment from the vicinity of the custom-house in a right line or in a gentle curve to the north sand until where it bends round to the seashore; but a work of this sort would be very costly, as it must, of course, have a deep foundation to withstand the scouring action of the current upon the stones, which, unless protected by a facing of piles and wales, would be picked out in detail and swept away by the stream.

The river mouth is moving up Northward.

How to prevent that, and to keep it in one spot.

50. The ocean swell is the most active agent in cutting away the north point; the sand is broken up by it, the trees shaken in their foundations, and the ebb tides carry them away; sheet piling of cocoanut trees deeply sunk, and backed up by stones, would protect the seashore of this north point, and when the sand is no longer removed year by year from that locality, we may expect the southerly current to carry with it much of what is now deposited near the bar. By such a revetment, as above described, we should gain a long wharf facing, where pattimars may load and discharge cargoes under cranes, an immense advantage for the native shipping. The whole space before the Custom-house is fast filling up, and the groin, if allowed to remain, will accelerate that process; the little bank to the north-west of the groin was formed in the rains of 1855, and is a type of what may be expected in a series of years. Close to the extremity of the groin the present survey shows 11 feet at low water, where, prior to its construction, were only six feet; this exemplifies the scouring power of the stream even on a small scale, and convinces me that had the attempt to open a mouth by means of that groin and by cutting away the sand succeeded, the groin itself would in process of time be undermined, and its materials swept away piecemeal by the ebb, when the river mouth would again move northward year after year.

Mischief done by the groin where it now is.

51. I would recommend that the Goorpoor stream be kept as it is, and that no attempt be made, by stopping the present outlet, to bring it down as a counterbalance to that of Buntwal, in anticipation of an increase of scouring power; for if so brought down it will inevitably bring with it all that mass of sand banks, which now dries at low tide in the backwater between the two streams; these banks have been deposited by the dead water where the two freshes meet. Unless a groin be built off the Custom-house towards the west some 200 yards, the greater force of the Buntwal stream will overpower that of Goorpoor, and render it a difficult task to prevent the latter from taking to its old outlet, the attempt to close which will of itself be a difficult job. Abreast of this groin, if one be built, will be the river mouth, into which such a swell will roll that no boat could round the groin to pass from the Buntwal to the Goorpoor stream, without risk of being swamped, or carried out by the freshes and wrecked on the north shore. A glance at the plan will show how the sand of the river mouth is deposited in patches (thus forming so many blind channels) when only one stream has its outlet there. If that of Goorpoor be led to the same mouth, I fear these banks will be even more spread about, and the result will be that we shall have no single deep channel, but the bar will be extended over an immense area. One of the agents (and by no means an inactive one) in the formation of the bar, must be the current that runs to the south along the coast in the south-west monsoon, and much of the peculiar direction the sand banks take must depend upon this, whether its action, that of the ebb, and of the south-west swell be synchronous or not.

Argument against closing up the Goorpoor mouth.

52. I had, during the rains of 1855, an excellent opportunity of witnessing the effect of the monsoon swell at Sedashighur, and am convinced it is the latter rains only that we must depend on for scouring the bar; these happening in October,

Rains in the latter part of the monsoon scour the bar most, their effect witnessed on the bar of Sedashighur.

when the sea is comparatively calm, the freshes are met by no antagonistic forces. Before the middle of October the bar was one continuous breaker right across, and the fishermen said there was actually no deep water channel, but my soundings in the beginning of November, showed the channel was then better than in the season before.

Probable effect of closing the Goorpoor outlet, and if works on a small scale be tried, the freshes will soon re-open it.

53. Shutting up Goorpoor outlet, will, I fear, cause the flooding of both the Buntwal and Goorpoor lands, and I cannot agree in the propriety of such a measure. I said in para. 51, that to close Goorpoor mouth would be a difficult job; the late attempt in May 1856, failed, though it was said to have been very nearly successful; I still hold to an opinion formed at that time, that even if it had succeeded, then such success would only have been temporary, for early in June, when the freshes came down, they would, by impinging against the battery rocks, and by meeting with the opposing current of the Buntwal stream (as mentioned in para. 49) being at such periods higher by several feet than the usual high-water level, soon force themselves out at their original outlet. This is supposing that only works on a small scale be tried, for I by no means intend to say that if that outlet be effectually shut up, the stream will not in a measure, by counterbalancing that of Buntwal, maintain the river mouth in one place (as is the case at Moolky for instance); but the combined freshes of the two rivers will bring out so much more sand, and I fear we shall, as I said before, have no longer a good deep entrance; a result more to be deprecated than the mere shifting of the opening in the sand. When the Goorpoor stream joined that of Buntwal (previous to an opening of its own being made to the north) the Buntwal entrance was some two miles south of where it now is, and then, doubtless their co-operation tended to do good. Now that the Buntwal mouth has moved up so far north, the case is widely different, the one stream running exactly opposite to the other, whereas formerly the one met the other at right angles.

Argument against shutting up the mouth of Goorpoor river;

54. Another disadvantage resulting from the closing of Goorpoor is, that boats wishing to communicate with large vessels which anchor so far off shore during the prevalence of the heavy north-west winds of March, April, and May, will not as now, be able to avail themselves of the backwater and Goorpoor mouth to get to windward, and drop down upon the vessel, and will be compelled to pull directly in the face of a heavy breeze. The water communication, which now exists between Buntwal and Goorpoor town by their two streams, will be stopped during the monsoon months if the latter mouth be closed, for the two streams will deposit their silt in the eddy water abreast their common mouth, far out from the line of custom house shore, and no small boat will be able to pass round the projecting point from one stream to the other without encountering the force of the monsoon swell and wind. This will be a serious impediment to canal communication along the coast, such boats as we require for canals must not venture out near the sea; if they get into deep water, they will be carried out by the strong ebbs and swamped.

As it will cause an interruption in the communication between the two streams in the south-west monsoon.

The little Fort by Goorpoor entrance called "Sultan's Battery," forms a natural groin.

55. A reference to my plan of Mangalore and Goorpoor river entrances show what an extent of rock there is off Sultan's Battery. That little fort is built on a solid granite foundation, which is some 10 feet above the level of high water, the parapet of the battery is 25 feet higher. I have coloured the rocky parts a green tint to show them more clearly, and I would recommend to have the backwater south of the battery examined by boring, to ascertain if more rock exists there. I think it would be the best policy to let the mouth go on moving northwards year by year, until the rocks off Sultan's Battery prevent it; then will the two mouths be kept in their proper positions by a solid natural groin at no expense at all. The lands of Goorpoor and Buntwal will not be flooded, as to a certainty they will be, if the former mouth be artificially closed. The sandy islet now intervening between the two mouths is 2,600 yards, or 1½ miles in length, and in places very narrow; there is but little cultivation upon it, and it would not be much loss to Government, whilst the removal of all trees from it would purify Mangalore town by allowing the sea breeze to blow unimpeded along the line of wharf.

Proposal to allow Buntwal river, to have its exit at the south side of Sultan's Battery.

Effect of a natural groin at the Kalee Nuddy.

56. Since my survey of Sedashighur river in January 1855, its mouth has moved, as I stated before, northward to the black rock fronting Madhully stream, which rock, forming a natural groin, has prevented the entrance from moving further

further north, and has given a greater depth of water there, viz. 15 feet at low water, or 21 feet at high tide; we may expect the same advantageous operation at Mangalore if, as I suggest, the mouth be allowed to work itself up till it reaches Sultan's Battery rocks, which acting as a groin, will deflect the stream out to sea, and the Goorpoor river in the north side acting as a cheque upon it, we shall have the entrance kept permanently in one place. I do not recommend an attempt to keep the Mangalore river mouth from moving up north by any small works, such as were tried in 1855, and again early in 1856, and only ended in total failure; the money (and no small sum either) being literally sunk in the stream. If it be deemed essentially necessary to save that small piece of cultivated ground between the two mouths (and I cannot myself see what is to be gained by it), works on a large scale must be undertaken; nothing under half a lac of rupees will do any good.

Similar effect expected at the Goorpoor Battery.

57. I am of opinion, moreover, that the addition of the little battery to the entrance of Mangalore will be a great point gained. It is built of very large blocks of granite fitted well into each other. The trade of Mangalore, in common with that of all the west coast ports, is fast on the increase, and if the river mouth be kept where it is by any works, there will be no increase of anchorage room obtained; there is scarcely enough now for the few small vessels that come inside. But if, as I have above advised, the mouth be allowed to go up to Sultan's Battery, we shall gain the whole of that strait reaching from the groin to the battery, a length of more than two miles, and the channel may be kept near either side, as most needed, by little groins on either bank; the present lighthouse is now too far north with respect to the river entrance. It is better situated as a land mark for an entrance near the battery. I think it may be objected that this project will cause the same impediment to continuous canal communication as that suggested in para. 54; but I am prepared with a remedy in this case which could not be so feasible in the other, because, off the present custom house there is now so much (and in the event of bringing down the Goorpoor stream there would be so much more) sand deposit. My remedy is to carry a small canal, as is shown in blue, round the back of the battery rocks; a stream now exists for half the required distance, which drains the town in the rainy season. The suggestion I have now made as to the best method of improving Mangalore river, and keeping its mouth permanently at one point did not occur to me whilst Colonel Arthur Cotton was with me on the west coast, and I cannot but think it will meet with his approval.

Means of keeping up the Coast Canal communication.

58. There is such a vast quantity of water brought down in the rainy season by the Buntwal river, and so swift is its stream, that in the month of June just passed, after a heavy fall of rain, the velocity of the stream was measured by Massey's patent log from the "Pownah," (moored in the river) and found to be in 24 hours no less than 77 knots or 88 statute miles. Here, then, is a scouring power for any works to stand against. Assuming the breadth of the stream of 88 miles at only 200 yards (and it is more) and its mean depth at four yards, we find that 124 million cubic yards of water found their exit in one day, or upwards of five millions of cubic yards per hour. Sand is fast accumulating in front of the custom-house, through the baneful influence of the elongated groin, and landing is getting more and more inconvenient; if the outer part of that groin (say a length of 500 feet) be removed and thrown down on the sand opposite it, on the spot marked G. in the Plan, so as to turn the stream over towards the custom house wharf, we should gain deeper water there, and thus enable boats to come alongside the wharf wall at all times of tide, an advantage which was intended to be obtained when the piece of ground now constituting the custom house wharf, was gained from the river by building that wall.

Swiftness and great scouring power of the Mangalore freshes.

Proposal to remove part of present Mangalore groin to opposite bank and thereby deepen the stream of the wharf.

59. If, then, the Government deem my proposal to let the river mouth go up north to Sultan's Battery to be worthy of consideration, I shall be happy to examine the locality of the battery to ascertain more thoroughly what amount of rock foundation there is; I anticipate that we shall find it much more extensive than what I have shown on the plan in green tint, and if so, so much the better; I shall not enter more into the details of this scheme until a more thorough examination has taken place.

60. In conclusion, I beg to state the number and titles of the different Charts and Plans sent with this Report.

No. 1. Canal Chart, comprising the Coast from Cape Ramas, to Honore.
„ 2. Sedashighur Bay and Beitkul Cove, showing the proposed harbour works.
„ 3. Beitkul Cove, showing the same on a larger scale.
„ 4. Sedashighur river, or Kali Nuddy, including part of the Bay.
„ 5. Tuddree river entrance, on a large scale, to show the proposed works of improvement.
„ 6. Tuddree Bay, on a smaller scale, (to be lithographed if required).
„ 7. Mangalore river entrance, with that of Goorpoor.
„ 8. North Canara,
„ 9. Central Canara,
„ 10. South Canara,
} On a scale of about 4½ inches to 10 statute miles.
„ 11. Beypore river entrance (to be lithographed if required.)
„ 12. Ponany river entrance.

I have, &c.,

(signed) *A. D. Taylor*, Lieutenant I. N.
Commanding H. C. S. Vessel "Pownah."

Madras,
27 July 1857.

(1664.)

ORDERED that the foregoing report be forwarded to Colonel A. T. Cotton for any remarks that he may wish to offer.

(signed) *H. Forbes*,
Acting Secretary to Government.

Fort St. George,
1st September 1857.

97° 30′ 98° 98° 30′

KAKHYENS AND HILL CHINESE

SHANS

CHINESE SHANS

MYNE-MOW

MYNE WAN or Mowon (B)

MYNE-LA

SEHFAN

Pak. sot

Myon

Nam Mooma

Moolai Choung

Nam Taping

Nam Pouno

Nam Yin

Nam Maunwan

Nam Mao

Nam Yin

Shweley River

Tuguan-ye

Quan-yin

Kyengyd-Hou

Pow-hone-sa-kyan

Ita-sin

Taskwe-hpo

How-shew-shan

Shwe-dway

Wa-Shaun-Shaun

Talo

Shaba

Khyan-done

Law-haw-khyan

Kon-yong

Shen-khan

Hot Spring

Nan-Sone-quan

Chilah

Sanset

Monesoom

Moupoo

Khan-sa-kan

Kyan-kan

Kyan-lone

Man-phan

Man-sah

Man-kan

Man-kaing

Man-thyow

Man-pin

Man khown

Noung-ngyeen

Taanyin-kaing

Makoon-ran

Chay-louk

HSANDA

Lung Nongs

Sey-byan

Man-pang

Man-sheelah

Saw-neey-kaw

Ma-paw-sey-lan

Man-khong-pa

Noung-boo-la

Man-khang

Mansy

Oung-poung

Man-ka-nohpe

Man-woo-ho

Mankang

Nounglio

Ween-tsan

Man-hyl

Man-khong

Man-loung

Noung wan

Kong-hoo

Noung-souey

Lasying

Man-pin

Man-cheen-kaw

Kone-sium

Ngyoung-meen

Manwyne

Hosoung

Mah-ling

Man-sang

Pang-wao

Pale

Wa-soung

Man-kaw

Wo-choung

Sarey

Lat-long

Nam-phoun

Kagong

Cheh-nah

Lamaung

Sen-tun

Pongoh

Wone-kaw

Nan-yin

Wone-klein

Lathoun

Sey-khia

Ho-thone

Muthun

Mantouki

Pong-nin

Kadaw

Sin-loung

Lawlian

Law-dark

Long-kram

Momouk

Kyel-yin

Song-sa

Pak-wa

Manloung

Pongwa

Pongroo

Morvo

Mone-vge

Mrero Toung

Nama

Pong-seing

Mansek

Kokhyen Village

Phacome

Kha-oo

Phacome

Pan

Palong

Wachow-lon

Saley

Asha

Kaw-yin-shan

Pongee

Pongee Khan

Sey-loy

Senthong

Laboy

Phuloon

Kheeter

Mothan

Man-loy

Manlay-phya

Man-soo

Mon-tong

Pangan

Man-ung

Nam-soake

A Shan

Kang

Phuloong

Man-kang

Man-tsan

Man-ung

Man-ee

Man-chay-kaik

Man-tsan

Hosing

Man-loy

Man-tay

Man-ee

Man-kaw

Man-ky

Man-boon

Chain-boon

Hosipt-nay

Pan-line

Shin-moojai

Panka

Kangpeh

Manyo

Mungwan

Mynekah

Sin-chai

Kutchwa

Hohoung

Man-ean

Holam

Nam-mok

Luey-line

Pa-hok

Man-pin

Luey-lick

Mucy-Leik

Noung-kan

Man-ping

Honah

Seh-mung

Lone-tee

Iline-Lone

Kin-lone

Petah

Lawa

Nan-Khai

Kat-long

Noungam

Kotlung-tow

Lon-poke

Hokhai

Koung-way

Fwey-hai

Ying-tan

Cheh-meh

Nuleh

Koung way

Moo-chow

Ky-toh

Myne-hun

Kin-mung

Kuh-dee

Myne yan

Mon-han

Mung-tee

Howan

Pan-chan

Shan-ma-long

Shan-hay-long

Kimtang

Peh-yo

Man-mul

New-how

Man-tong

Sanpak

Man-ping

Hoheng

Man-tow

Man-boon

Chain-boon

Man-pak

Man-dun

Man-tan

Man-tsan

Man-ung

Man-ee

Man-kaw

Man-ky

Man-tsan

Man-chay-kaik

Man-loy

Man-tay

Man-soo

Mon-tong

Pangan

Man-ung

Man-tsan

MAP

shewing the

MILITAR STATIO

of the MIES of the

THREE RESIDENCIES

BENGAL, M RAS & BO

Com for the

Madras Militar le Orpha As

CHINESE TARTARY

Himalaya Mountains

NEPAUL DOMINIONS

SIKIM

BHO N

Darjeeling

Titalya

Residents Escort

Seetapoor

Seerora

Oude

Jellalabad

Persheadipoor

Gorruckpoor

Fyzabad

Taundavy

Rampoor

Segowlia

Munjarwar

Sooltanp.

Mundree

Azimgurh

Segowlie

Puttepoor

Jaunp.

Allahabad

Ghazeep.

Arrah

Dinap.

Patna

Purneah

Burhampooter R.

Jumulpoo

Sooltanpoor

Benares

Buxar

Soory

Monghur

Bhagulpoor

Rajmahal

Mirzapoor

Gyah

Moorshedabad

Buxar

Berhampoor

Serainpore

Hazare

Ramghur

Goorooa

Deogurh

Burdwan

Hooghly R.

Ganges R.

Chuttra

Burwa

Dorunda

Bancorah

Chotanagpore

Jubbulpoor

Chinsurah

Barrackpore

Dum Dum

Fort William

Calcutta

Allypoor

Midnapoor

Chyebassa

BENGAL PRESIDENCY

Mundlah

Jushpoor

Ruttenpoor

Mahanuddy R.

Kyepoor

Sumbulp

Coupore

Mouths of the Gan

Saugor

Nagode

Rewah

Myhere

Lalitpur

Goonah

Sipree

Jhansi

Gwalior

Dom

BUNDELCUND

Agra

Muthra

Hattrass

Myapoor

Jeypoor

Burtpoor

Shahgunge

Dholpoor

Kerowlie

Bil

Delhi

Meerut

Ghazeeodeen

Bolundshuhur

Allyghur

Koradabad

Jehanp.

Paniput

Kurnal

Saharampoor

Umballa

Loodiana

Roop.

Jullundur

Philor

Jalopa

Simla

Dagshace

Subathoo

Kussowlie

Kalka

Deyra

Land

Kotgurra

Deenanuggur

Mokerian

Harburpoor

Hooshearp.

Noorpoor

Ganges R.

Jumna R.

Goggra R.

Burhampooter R.

Hooghly R.

Ganges R.

Chargolah

Jumulpoo

Rajmahal

Purneah

Titalya

Darjeeling

Residents Escort

Segowlia

Gorruckpoor

Rampoor

Seerora

Seetapoor

Lucknow

Oude

Persheadipoor

Taundavy

Munjarwar

Sooltanp.

Mundree

Azimgurh

Segowlie

Puttepoor

Jaunp.

Allahabad

Ghazeep.

Arrah

Dinap.

Patna

Purneah

Burhampooter R.

Jumulpoo

Sooltanpoor

Benares

Buxar

Soory

Monghur

Bhagulpoor

Rajmahal

Mirzapoor

Gyah

Moorshedabad

Buxar

Berhampoor

Serainpore

Hazare

Ramghur

Goorooa

Deogurh

Burdwan

Hooghly R.

Ganges R.

Chuttra

Burwa

Dorunda

Bancorah

Chotanagpore

Jubbulpoor

Chinsurah

Barrackpore

Dum Dum

Fort William

Calcutta

Allypoor

Midnapoor

Chyebassa

BENGAL PRESIDENCY

Mundlah

Jushpoor

Ruttenpoor

Mahanuddy R.

Kyepoor

Sumbulp

Coupore

Mouths of the Gan

Saugor

Nagode

Rewah

Myhere

Lalitpur

Goonah

Sipree

Jhansi

Gwalior

Dom

BUNDELCUND

Agra

Muthra

Hattrass

Myapoor

Jeypoor

Burtpoor

Shahgunge

Dholpoor

Kerowlie

Bil

Delhi

Meerut

Ghazeeodeen

Bolundshuhur

Allyghur

Koradabad

Jehanp.

Paniput

Kurnal

Saharampoor

Umballa

Loodiana

Roop.

Jullundur

Philor

Jalopa

Simla

Dagshace

Subathoo

Kussowlie

Kalka

Deyra

Land

Kotgurra

Deenanuggur

Mokerian

Harburpoor

Hooshearp.

Noorpoor

No. 53.

From Colonel *A. T. Cotton*, Commandant of Engineers, to *H. Forbes*, Esq., Acting Secretary to Government in the Department of Public Works, Fort St. George.

Sir, Commandant of Engineers' Office.

I HAVE the honour to transmit a Memorandum on the Harbour of Beitkul (Sedashighur), and the internal communications which I would propose in connexion with it.

I am still receiving further information on the various points referred to in this paper, but I send it up now, in the assurance that my information is so far complete, that nothing further that can be learnt will essentially vitiate the projected system of works. That the whole area of the basin of the Kistna, from Poonah to near Mangalore, can thus be completely laid open to foreign markets, besides being secured from famine while the monsoons continue, at a cost not exceeding one year's benefits, I have not the least doubt.

I must repeat here one of my fundamental principles, viz., that water-carriage, and that alone, can carry the mass of produce at a remunerative rate of charge from the interior to the coast. The charge by the Madras Railway is now 10 pice (1¼ *d.*) per ton per mile, at which rate a ton of goods would cost 20 rupees to convey it from the centre of Bellary to the coast, a cost which would prevent a railway from touching the great traffic of the country. It might convey 20,000 or 30,000 tons of cotton, indigo, &c., but the 500,000 or million of tons of grain, timber, stone, lime, fuel, &c., that ought to be moved, would, as now, be immovable; but a charge of 1 pie (⅛ *d.*) per ton would reduce the cost to two rupees, at which almost any thing could be conveyed.

The charge per ton on the Bombay Railway to cover the interest of the Bhore Ghaut Railway (80 lacs) would alone be two rupees, supposing that half the interest were paid by passengers, and that 100,000 tons per annum were carried (besides the cost of conveyance); a charge which would convey a ton at least 400 miles by water.

I beg to call particular attention to the coloured map which accompanies this. I think it calculated to be of use in showing at a glance the comparative importance of the different ports, and answer many questions, such, for instance, as why should a certain sum of money be spent upon a certain port rather than upon another, &c. &c.

The main question with respect to every port is, of what extent of country is it the natural outlet? Because upon the answer to this entirely depends the sum of money which it would be wise to spend upon it. In the case of Madras the question is indeed settled, by its being the capital and the seat of government, as to what particular point of that coast should be improved as a port, but naturally a very large tract of country would be drained either to it or to some other point at no great distance.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Cotton*,
Fort St. George, 4 March 1858. Commandant of Engineers.

MEMORANDUM on the Harbour of *Beitkul* or *Sedashighur*, and the general Improvement of *Canara*, &c. by Public Works.

THE Right Honourable the Governor having sent orders to me at Bombay to meet him at Sedashighur, I proceeded there accordingly.

I may mention that when at Bombay I had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Bryce, a mercantile gentleman of remarkable energy and intelligence, who was engaged in trade in cotton and various articles, purchasing them over a great extent of country above the Western Ghauts, in the districts of Darwar, Canara, &c., and shipping them at the new port of Tuddree, where he has an establishment and is putting up cotton-screws. From this gentleman I received most valuable information respecting the produce, communications, &c., of those

countries, which was a most opportune occurrence, as preparatory to the duty to which I was now called.

I should first point out that the question about the improvement of the harbour of Beitkul is necessarily so intimately connected with the state, produce, communications, &c., of the country surrounding it, that it is impossible to form any correct decision upon the former, without carefully inquiring into the latter.

What it may be advisable to do for any harbour must, of course, depend mainly upon the following points:—

1st. What is the extent of country of which it will naturally be the outlet, or of which, by artificial means, it may be made the outlet?

2d. What are the population, present productions, capabilities, &c., of those countries?

3d. What means of communication have they with the port, and what facilities for improving those communications?

Thus, the whole internal state of those countries and the system of public works required for their full development, is involved in the question of the port.

It is evident that whether that port is to be the outlet of a country occupied by half a million or by ten millions of inhabitants, whether that country is capable of producing valuable articles of export, and of consequently consuming extensively foreign articles, whether their present state is little short of what may be soon expected from them in the way of production, or whether by an extensive system of public works, their capacity for exporting and importing may be increased a hundred-fold, upon such points as these must depend, to what extent it may be advisable to incur expense in the improvement of the port; whether, in fact, it is to become a first-class or a minor port.

The naval points in the question are of course also essential, such as its accessibility, whether it can be used throughout the year, its advantages or disadvantages in comparison with other ports, &c.

As the engineer is so dependent upon the merchant for help with respect to the internal points, so he is upon the naval man with respect to these external ones; and just as I had the great advantage of very superior mercantile information, so I had also help in the naval points from a remarkably superior naval man, most intimately acquainted by long experience with the coast and the Arabian sea; this was Captain Taylor, of the Indian Navy, now employed on the Western Coast Survey.

As respects revenue questions, &c., I had also the equally great advantage of the society of Mr. Bourdillon, Secretary to Government, so that I had certainly the help of three of the most intelligent men in India, in their own lines.

I may also mention that, by a remarkable coincidence, I had been of late turning my attention to the countries lying east of the Ghauts in that latitude, and had actually on paper a sketch of a project for a system of communication with irrigation in those very districts, the consideration of which had led me to look for the natural outlet of them.

Starting under these favourable circumstances, although I had never before been in those parts, I am in hopes that this paper may help in some degree towards a correct view of the subject.

Let us first take a glance at the particular nature of the western coast of the peninsula, as respects its capabilities for exporting and importing.

The peculiar points seem to be these:—

1st. Its being cut off from the interior, throughout its whole length from Cape Comorin to the Nerbudda by the Western Ghauts, distant only from 10 to 40 miles, and varying in height from 2,000 to 8,000 feet.

It is clear that, in consequence of this feature, the natural outlets of the peninsula must in general be on the east coast.

2d. But there are three points where there are decided breaches in this barrier. The northernmost is where the rivers Nerbudda and Taptee, flowing from a considerable distance to the eastward, enter the sea near together. The centre at Sedashighur and near it, where three considerable rivers, the Kala Nuddee, Beidtee, and Gairsappa, break through; which rivers, though much shorter

shorter than the two former, yet flow from far eastward of the line of the Ghauts; and the southernmost, which is by far the most evident and complete breach, where the Poonany, which rises about 100 miles from the coast, breaks through.

3d. Almost throughout the whole of the remainder of the Ghauts they are a wall forming an effectual natural barrier to traffic; which, though it can be in a measure removed by artificial works, yet clearly shuts us up to these three points, as those on which only our labours can be wisely expended. Of course, natural obstacles can be to some extent overcome, but to attempt to work against nature, when we can have her help, is simply folly.

It is particularly to be observed that from the Taptee to Beitkul, the Ghauts are, especially near the coast, an unbroken wall, and Beitkul is the first place where there is any possibility of forming a really good communication with the interior.

4th. In this respect Bombay is most unhappily situated, having quite close behind it a perfect wall 1,800 feet high, the disadvantage of which no work can ever counteract, except in a very partial manner. This is demonstrated by the fact that 800,000 *l.* is now being spent in conveying a railway up them, and if we add to this ten lacs of interest during the five years that it is under construction, and 30 lacs paid for 30 miles that the railway is carried out of a direct line to get to the Ghaut, we have 120 lacs, the mere interest of which, on so large a traffic as 100,000 tons, and 100,000 passengers, would be per head and per ton three rupees, the cost of conveying a ton of goods 1,400 miles by sea, and probably 1,000 by good internal water communication; besides the cost of working the Ghaut and the other 30 miles. This enormous sum of money being sunk, the interest of it must be paid, and thus must remain an irremediable and serious check to trade on that line, and it will be more and more felt as the interior is opened out by lines of navigation. Such is a specimen of what we must lose when we attempt to work against nature instead of with her.

5th. The level of the country which belongs to this coast is a very material point. So much depends upon the introduction of European energy and knowledge, and of bringing it to bear upon the native population, that whether the country has a temperature and climate which Europeans can enjoy or not, makes a very great difference.

The country at the back of the Ghauts has this great advantage. Up the Nerbudda and the Taptee you must go some hundreds of miles from the coast to get on a high level; at Poonany, by going inland about 100 miles, you get upon the table land of Coimbatore, 1,300 feet above the sea, and where, consequently, for most of the year, there is a very fine temperature for Europeans; but from Sedashighur you soon get into a country from two to 3,000 feet above the sea, which in that latitude forms a climate for Europeans far superior to that of England, and where, consequently, there will undoubtedly be an extensive settlement of Europeans, if the country is thrown open to private undertakings by communication and irrigation.

In this respect the situation of Sedashighur is quite singular.

The Southern Mahratta Country and other districts offer a delightful abode for Europeans, and a field for European enterprise, if only produce can be conveyed to a port and shipped cheaply.

6th. The whole of these countries are highly fertile and well supplied with rain, and most of them are now occupied by a considerable population, so that labour is abundant.

7th. For produce. These countries are fitted to produce abundance of exportable articles; among them excellent cotton, coffee, oil-seeds, teak, &c.

8th. The peculiar point in respect of the accessibility of the coast to vessels, is, that during three months of the year the stormy south-west monsoon makes it difficult for a vessel to proceed on her voyage, thus giving an advantage to ports in proportion as they are further south, and so more windward, at least as far south as the 9° channel.

This is a material point, Poonany has an advantage over Beitkul, and Beitkul over Bombay in this way, and Cochin over them all. But there is nothing to

prevent vessels coming into any of these ports or going out all the year round, though, of course, during the monsoon, the comparative easy accessibility of any one of them, and its freedom from neighbouring dangers, is a great advantage.

9th. This coast has the advantage in being the nearest to Aden, and the mails for Madras and Calcutta ought undoubtedly to be landed at the end of the railway at Poonany, as soon as a good harbour is provided for vessels.

10th. For shipments for China and the Eastern Islands, of course this coast is inferior to the east coast of the peninsula.

11th. It most materially affects this question that most of the rivers of the Kistna basin, the Toombuddra, the Kistna, the Beema, the Seena, &c., have a very moderate fall, from one to two feet per mile almost up to their sources, that is, to very near the Ghauts, so that the whole of them can easily be made effective navigations. This is a most important fact, and is indeed one of the great leading features of this tract of country.

Probably 2,000 miles of internal navigation may thus be obtained at an insignificant price. Whenever a river has not a greater fall than two feet, it can certainly be made navigable at a small cost, and if it is not a very large river the expense will be quite insignificant.

Of the value of such a gift we may judge, when it is considered worth while to make railways to carry goods at ten times the cost of water transit, at 80,000 or 100,000 rupees a mile, so that 2,000 miles would cost from 16 to 20 millions sterling.

There is thus a vast amount of work done to our hands, and this system of internal communication requires only to have its defects corrected, and to be connected to a port by an artificial work, to throw open the whole country to foreign trade.

12th. So also with respect to the strip of country between the Ghauts and the sea. The whole way from Cape Comorin to Beitkul, there are great facilities for a canal along the coast, and I have ascertained that it can be carried into the harbour of Beitkul. It has already been cut in an imperfect way in some places, and in Travancore the whole traffic, both of goods and passengers, is carried along it, and a very moderate cost will make an excellent navigation the whole distance of 550 miles. This canal will thus connect the innumerable rivers which can all be navigated nearly to the Ghauts, so that the whole of these below Ghaut districts, will be completely supplied with a system of navigation connecting every village with the ports, and with each other. This is also a fundamental point, because it so affects all our treatment of the minor ports. Of course such a complete and cheap internal communication will tend greatly to concentrate the trade at the great ports, and thus save us from wasting our means upon a great number of petty places. North of Beitkul, all the way to Bombay, I am informed that the country is impracticable for a coast canal, but a late chief engineer of Bombay assured me that it was quite practicable to connect the Taptee and Nerbudda with Bombay Harbour by a canal, and thus give Bombay unbroken internal water communication with the basins of those rivers.

13th. With respect to the actual means of connexion of the ports with the interior, I have ascertained that there is no difficulty whatever in improving the navigation of the Poonany river, and carrying on a canal from it quite through the country to the east coast. At Beitkul the breaches in the Ghauts are not so complete as this. But I have ascertained that the Kala Nuddee is navigable, or easily improvable to 20 miles within the line of the Ghauts, overlapping the country practicable for a canal east of them, so that it will be only necessary to connect them by inclined planes capable of transferring loaded boats. I have no doubt that this can be accomplished at a cost in interest and working expenses, which will form a very small charge in the traffic, so small as not materially to affect it.

14th. Since the very imperfect means of communication with the interior, of unmetalled, and in some cases unbridged Ghauts, or passes, have been opened, a vast and most rapidly increasing trade has sprung up at the imperfect ports of Tuddree and Coompta, in spite of an enormous cost of transit and the great expense

expense of sending produce by sea to Bombay to be re-shipped there for foreign ports. The saving of these two items of expense would alone form an enormous profit on the trade in such produce. I would call particular attention to the very remarkable fact of all the three rivers, the Kala Nuddee, Beidtee, and Gairsappa, which here break through the Ghauts, falling nearly to the level of the sea, about 20 miles within the western line of the Ghauts. As I have said, they all flow for that distance through a deep and wide ravine, with the country on each side of them rising to one or 2,000 feet. This is one of those innumerable cases in which difficulties vanish when they are looked for. No person looking at the Ghauts from the coast could imagine that these rivers have not a fall of perhaps 50 feet a mile down to the point where they clear the line of the Ghauts. Instead of which the fall is so small, about two or three feet, that the rivers may easily be made available for 40 miles from the coast, and having given us access to that point it then becomes comparatively easy to connect their navigation with a canal in the upper country. I examined the Kala Nuddee for some miles within the Ghauts and found that there was every circumstance that an engineer could desire to facilitate the completion of the navigation.

I cannot think of any other points that in a material degree will affect our conclusion on this subject.

They seem to be quite conclusive as to the following points; viz.

1st. That there is a most remarkable concurrence of circumstances pointing to the position of Beitkul, as that where a first-rate port is eminently required.

It is, indeed, the only point between the Taptee and Poonany, where there are natural facilities for communication with the interior.

2d. It will have great advantages over Bombay, as being 250 miles to windward in the monsoon.

3d. If it were a thorougly safe and convenient port, and the communication with and in the interior, were improved, it must eventually become a first-class seat of trade.

4th. We should, therefore, be prepared to carry out its improvement on a proportional scale, if it is in itself worthy of it.

To show clearly my ideas respecting these ports, I append to this paper a map of the peninsula, showing by different colours the tract of country of which each port in the peninsula seems to be the natural outlet, which will show their comparative importance. I also mark on another map the proposed lines of communication, the blue being the navigable rivers and the red the lines of canal. The black lines show the railways now under execution, so far as my information goes.

I now proceed to speak particularly of the natural advantages of Beitkul as a harbour, its capability of improvement, &c.

Captain Taylor has furnished me with the accompanying most complete survey of this port, a single glance at which is sufficient to show its admirable fitness for being formed into a first-rate harbour.

It in fact affords, even in its present state, a most accessible and perfectly safe shelter for vessels, and the wonder is how such a place could have been so long treated with utter neglect. Much as I had heard of the neighbouring ports of Goa, Tuddree, Coompta, &c., I had never even heard that there was such a harbour as Beitkul.

I must, of course, leave the proper nautical account of the harbour to nautical men, but I may venture to mention the leading points in it, after having had all my queries on nautical points answered by Captain Taylor on the spot.

1st. There is a large space with ample depth for ordinary merchant vessels now sheltered from the south-west monsoon.

2d. There is an inner cove with 15 feet and under, almost completely land-locked.

3d. There is partial shelter from the north-west gales (which are very heavy sometimes),

sometimes), by the two small islands lying off the mouth of the river. These islands must greatly break the sea that rolls into the harbour during those gales.

4th. The anchoring-ground is good.

5th. There is a cluster of islets outside, nearly enclosing an anchorage with seven fathoms, which might easily be made into a perfect shelter by a small extent of breakwater, if such an addition to the accommodations of the port should afterwards be considered necessary.

6th. A cut of two or three miles through flat ground will bring boats from the Sedashighur river (the Kala Nuddee) into the harbour, without their being exposed to the sea.

7th. A canal can also be cut through the low bund that closes the bottom of the cove and carried on along the coast, thus terminating the coast canal also in the harbour. This must, indeed, be effected by carrying a loose stone breakwater outside two headlands, for a length of about 1½ miles, but the water is not deep, material is at hand, and the expense will not be excessive.

8th. Carwar Head, which forms the harbour, is a fine lofty headland and a good sea-mark, and will allow of a lighthouse being placed at a great height above the sea.

9th. Ample materials are on the spot for any extent of breakwater at, I should think, a rupee a ton at the utmost.

10th. There is both flat and elevated ground for building to any extent.

11th. The cove has not filled up at all in the memory of man.

12th. This place is remarkable for being the coolest on the coast, owing, perhaps, to its being opposite to the opening in the ghauts.

13th. There is a hill 1,800 feet high, up to which a road with a slope of 1 in 12 might be made, making the distance four miles. This is a very important addition to the advantages of the place, opening the way for the residence of the families of the Europeans connected with the port, in a temperate climate, and affording an immediate relief to invalids.

14th. The place is most free of access in all weathers.

15th. The only danger is, the cluster of islets above-mentioned, the outermost of which is about 2¼ miles off Carwar Head, but this is not a serious drawback, as they are high rocks, and a lighthouse may be placed on them.

16th. The harbour is capable of improvement literally to any extent, at a moderate cost. By carrying out a breakwater from Carwar Head, as shown in the plan, a most extensive anchorage may be sheltered, a great part of which will be just like a dock. If carried out 1,000 yards in 4½ fathoms, it will contain about half a million tons of stone, costing five lacs, but this may be done by degrees, as an increased extent of shelter is required. It would be quite sufficient to carry it on at the rate of a quarter of a lac of rupees a year. This shelter may be further improved by connecting the two islands off the mouth of the river, where the depth is at most 24 feet; this, as it might be very low, would take only about 40,000 tons, and cost 40,000 rupees, and a further addition might be made by carrying out a short breakwater almost south-west from the point of the outer island, at an expense of one lac. It is evident, then, that the harbour may be completely land-locked at a comparatively unimportant expense.

17th. By blasting the rock, and throwing it over into the sea from the inner end of the Carwar Head breakwater to the cove, and along the sides of the cove, a fine extent of wharf may be formed, on which warehouses may be built and alongside of which vessels may lie.

18th. One of the most remarkable things connected with this harbour is, that no river falls into it, so that it will have an advantage that scarcely any other harbour has, connexion with the interior by water without any of the evils arising from currents, silt, &c.; upon the whole I think we may safely say there

is

is scarcely a harbour in the world that has a more remarkable collection of advantages than this would have considering—

1st. Its position both with respect to the sea and the country.
2d. Its security.
3d. Its accessibility by sea.
4th. Its improvability.
5th. Its climate.
6th. Its connexion with extensive internal water-communication.
7th. Its sanitarium on the neighbouring hill.
8th. Its freedom, so far as I can see, from any one drawback.

That such a harbour should be placed opposite such an opening in the ghauts, leading to such a country, and with such facilities for internal communication, is most remarkable, and it would seem to be madness to neglect so great advantages.

The works that I would propose to put in hand at first, in connexion with this harbour, are these:—

1st. The construction of a first-class lighthouse on Carwar Head. A small one has been ordered, but I would urge that it would be a great pity to spend time and money on anything now that would not be in accordance with the other improvements, and which would consequently soon have to be altered.

2d. The cutting of the canal from the river to the harbour.

3d. The forming the canal from the harbour to the southward as far as the Tuddree river.

4th. The commencement of the breakwater from Carwar Head.

5th. The connexion of the two islands by a breakwater.

6th. Blasting the rock to form a roadway, wharf, &c., along the face of Carwar Head, near the cove.

7th. The improvement of the navigation of the river up to 40 miles from the coast, and the connexion of the head of the navigation with the upper country by a temporary ghaut, which latter can be done at a very small expense, as the height is not great; I believe about 1,200 feet.

These seem to be the only works which should be at once commenced upon; a rough estimate of them is as follows:—

	Rs.
Canal from the Kala Nuddee - - -	20,000
Ditto „ Tuddree - - - -	2,00,000
Carwar Head Breakwater (commencement) -	50,000
Connexion of Islands - - - - -	20,000
Forming road, &c., on Carwar Head - -	50,000
Improvement of the Kala Nuddee Ghaut -	20,000
Total - - - -	5,10,000

I think if this sum were sanctioned in the first instance it would be sufficient; ultimately I would expend 4½ lacs more on the Carwar Head breakwater, and of course the further improvement of the harbour itself by the construction of wharves, &c., might be carried to any extent, and would depend upon the progress of the trade of the port.

I would next give a sketch of the system of internal public works that I would propose in connexion with this port.

First, in the upper country. I have remarked that the distinguishing feature of this tract is the moderate fall of most of the rivers, making them available for navigation. The grand object, therefore, is to form these several streams into a system of navigation by connecting them with each other, and with the two coasts by artificial water-lines.

It is from the confluence of the Kristnah with the Toombadra upstream that the former river and its branches have so moderate a fall. At the confluence the level is about 850 feet; and at Poona, the Mootamoola (a branch of the Beema) is on the level of 1,750 feet, a rise of 900 feet in 600 miles by the rivers, giving an average of only 1½ foot a mile, almost up to the Ghauts. The Kristnah also itself has a similar fall, but not so far to the westward. The fall

of the Toombadra does not become moderate so far to the eastward, but from the confluence of the Wurdah with it (30 miles below Hurryhur), which is about 1,800 feet above the sea, so far as my information goes, there is a very moderate rise up to close to its source, but I am not certain on this point. The works, therefore, that seem to be required to complete this system of water-communication in this table-land, and to connect it with the ports, are these :—

Further information fully confirms this.

1st. A canal from the Toombadra, near the mouth of the Wurdah, leading through the Bellary district to the Kristnah, near the mouth of the Toombadra.

2nd. A canal from the above near Kurnool, carried over the open water-shed of the Kristnah and Koondaur (a level of about 1,200 feet above the sea), and down the open valley of the Koondaur to the Pennaar near Cuddapah; thence the Pennaar to be improved to the frontier of the Nellore district, and from that a canal to join the east coast canal at Kristnapatam. The whole of this line has been examined by Captain Collyer, Lieutenant Fisher, &c., and its practicability seems to be established, but there will be considerable difficulty in the Pennaar. These canals to irrigate a great extent of country.

3rd. A canal from the opposite bank of the Toombadra, to be carried north and west to meet a canal from the water-shed of the Beidtee Nullah. These canals will also irrigate extensively. They will pass through the centre of the best cotton country in the Kristnah basin.

4th. Extensive tanks to supply the irrigation from these canals when the river is low, and to keep up the navigation of the rivers in the dry season. These tanks are also absolutely necessary to preserve the great works in the Kristnah Delta from dangerous floods, and to supply that tract with summer-water.

I also find that a canal can easily be carried from Bangalore, to meet the main line at Bellary.

5th. Numerous small branch canals (or light railways) to feed the various main lines above-mentioned, especially one from the Kristnah to the city of Hyderabad, a very important point to reach.

Thus the whole of this extensive table-land, forming western and southern Hyderabad, Bellary, Kurnool, the Southern Mahratta country, North Mysore, and Upper Canara, will be connected together, and with both coasts; and with extensive tracts of irrigation, and such a climate, it may surely be expected to become a very thriving country by God's blessing.

With respect to lower Canara I have already mentioned the coast canal to connect all the different rivers and ghauts. It is a most remarkable mistake that has been made on this coast, that with every possible facility for water-communications, and almost every possible hindrance to land ones, the attempt to form the latter should have been so long persisted in, in spite of complete failure, and in spite of the prodigious superiority of water-carriage actually proved in Travancore. To make a good land-communication along this coast, with its innumerable broad tidal rivers, is literally impossible, but to connect those rivers by canals is the simplest thing in the world. It is curious to observe how vain are the efforts of one mind when all others are obstinately wedded to a mistaken system. Mr. Conolly laboured for years to cut a few miles of one of these canals to connect the back-waters, and only effected it on a small scale, and by endless labour and innumerable manœuvres. But he did not effect any change of system. Latterly various efforts have been made to get one or two other cuts made, but nothing of any consequence has yet been effected, while probably the sums that have been wasted for 50 years in vain attempts to make a land-communication, would have made a complete steamboat-line the whole length of the coast, and have connected together hundreds of miles of river navigation. Now let us compare these two modes of dealing with this coast.

A COMMON ROAD.

1st. The cost of bridging such numbers of broad tidal rivers would make that out of the question.

2d. There are all the circumstances that make bridging difficult here; bad ground for foundation, deep water, ebb and flow of tide, severe floods from the interior, and heavy drift timber.

3d. Numberless

3d. Numberless broad ferries, however well managed, would render the communication always a very slow, inconvenient, and expensive one.

4th. In the monsoon these rivers have strong currents, making the ferries particularly inconvenient.

5th. A great part of the distance the road passes along low, and swampy, or sandy tracts.

6th. All the goods are brought from the interior of the low country by the rivers, so that they must be transferred from boat to land-carriages, in order to go on by the road.

7th. At the least, the cost of transit by the road, in consequence of the endless interruptions, would be 20 times that by water.

8th. It would be much slower.

9th. The loss from injury by the water would be much greater.

10th. The road must be formed the whole length of the coast.

Thus, everything is against the road.

For the Canal.

1st. About two-thirds of it is done to hand, many of the back-waters running for miles parallel to the coast.

2d. The first cost would be much less.

3d. There would be no transfers.

4th. There would be no interruptions.

5th. By steamers, any speed could be used for passengers.

6th. Goods and passengers would be embarked at any point up the rivers, conveyed by them and the canal, and up other rivers, and be landed at any point without transfer.

7th. Produce of any kind could be transferred from any part of the low country, or from any of the ghauts leading to the interior to any other part of the coast, which they could not be at all by the best road, as it would be too expensive.

8th. During the monsoon, the coast being shut up, all traffic up and down the coast is effectually stopped, but by the canal it would be carried on in the monsoon, as well as in other weather.

I call attention to this, because it is one of those things that shows how inveterate the prejudice has been against water-communications. Men here were not blinded by the established prejudices which a complete ignorance of the principles of transit has allowed to grow up in favour of railways, and yet in the face of utter failure in the attempt to establish a road, and of complete success in the canal where it has been tried, as in Travancore, the former has been persisted in for years. When an engineer urged the cutting of one of the links of this line, he was told to attend to his proper duties; and even when a collector attempted to cut one, he had to use his own personal influence in all sorts of ways, and it was only after years of labour that he got one short line executed, and that very imperfectly. And yet every day men were experiencing the difference between the attempted land-communication and the canal. They made their way down through Malabar, meeting with incessant interruptions, difficulties, and delays, and at a great expense, but on reaching Travancore they jumped into a boat with delight, feeling that all their trouble was over, performing the rest of their journey south, with fair speed, with perfect convenience, and at an insignificant cost.

This case puts in a strong light the difficulties which have to be encountered, in introducing water-communications in the face of such determined prejudice.

If a man proposes to lay out 5,000 rupees on a mile of common road to convey goods at 1 *d.* or 2 *d.* a ton, or 100,000 rupees on a mile of railway to convey goods at from 1 *d.* to 4 *d.*, and passengers at from $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* to 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *d.*, he is a sensible, judicious man, but if he proposes to establish a water-communication

at from 500 to 5,000 rupees a mile, to carry both goods and passengers at $\frac{1}{8}$ *d.* per ton and per head, he is a wild theorist, and told to attend to his proper duties. I should say, has been, for certainly a beginning has been made of a complete change in public opinion on this point. There is, however, abundance of prejudice to be encountered still, and a great deal of what remains is unhappily of the most inveterate kind of all, that is, the prejudice which is based upon men's own acts, who have committed themselves to the wrong course, and who consequently, in mere desperation, try to shut their eyes to the truth to the last possible moment.

In Wales, goods are taken from the side of the railway at the Menai Straits and carried 750 miles round, doubling the Land's End, and encountering all the risks and delays of a coasting voyage in those stormy latitudes, and the expenses of the port of London, where they might go by the rail, a distance of only 250 miles, one-third of that by sea, because they can be carried cheaper; and nothing but an opportunity of seeing a similar case in India will fully open the eyes of the public to the real facts of this question.

With respect to the connexion of the southern ports of Canara with the interior I would say:

1st. Of course if a perfect main line of communication is made in the upper country, terminating in the Kala Nuddee, the plan should be to connect as much of that tract as possible with such main line, and then the question of the minor ghauts, like that of the minor ports, becomes one of much less consequence.

2d. When on the coast I went up one of the ghauts and down another, that I might see what the the nature of the difficulties is, and my conclusion is clearly that what is wanted for these minor passes, is light rails following the windings of an ordinary road.

Such a work could be executed much cheaper than a wide common ghaut, and as by far the greatest traffic is downwards, they could be worked very cheaply, only requiring one or two men to each train, with powerful breaks to let them down, and cattle to take back the nearly empty waggons.

I have lately made an experiment with $\frac{3}{4}$ inch bars welded together throughout, so as to have no joints, and worked with waggons with double flanches, and with the tires of the wheels sloped so as to allow of the waggon running round a very sharp curve freely.

These bars welded into one piece were merely laid on rubble work, without any fastenings whatever, and appeared to answer perfectly for slow traffic.

Such lines, with a gauge of two feet, which is sufficient for one ton loads, would require the most insignificant cutting, and with the timber which abounds there for longitudinal sleepers, and for bridges, would probably not cost more than 3,000 rupees a mile, so that to ascend 2,000 feet at one in 25 would take 10 miles, and cost 30,000 rupees. A few such ghauts just for the conveyance of the produce of the small tract of country near them, that would not be carried to the main line, would be of use, but the traffic on them would not be great.

About four such passes would be sufficient for Canara.

Thus my conclusions on this subject are these:

1st. That everything coincides to point out Beitkul as the site of a first class port, and that both with reference to lower Canara and the whole upper part of the basin of the Kistnah, our main attention, labour, and money should be given to the establishment of that harbour.

2d. That a first class water-communication should be made in the upper country, terminating in the same.

3d. That a coast canal should be carried along the whole length of Canara and Malabar, also terminating in it.

4th. That about four minor ghauts should be laid with rails in Canara.

5th. That the system of water transit in the upper country should also be connected with the east coast.

By these means, I have no doubt that produce may be conveyed to either coast from the whole of this tract at from 1 to 3 rupees a ton, that is, at 1 pie

1 pie ($\frac{1}{16}$ *d.*) a mile, and passengers at from 1 to 6 rupees, that is at from 1 pie ($\frac{1}{8}$ *d.*) to 6 pice ($\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*) per mile. And if Beitkul is fully improved, I believe it will be as cheap a place of shipment as any in the world, and certainly much cheaper than any port in India at present, so that it will have the advantage over Bombay as it is now, and as it will be with its railway, for shipment of the produce of the upper country, by from 5 to 10 rupees a ton, much more than would constitute a good profit. If only 100,000 tons were shipped here per annum it would thus yield a profit, above what it would if shipped at Bombay, of about 7 lacs a year.

I give a rough estimate of the supposed cost of the works that I would propose in connexion with this port.

	Lacs.
Improvement of 2,000 miles of river navigation at 1,000 rupees a mile	20
Canal from the Kala Nuddee to the Toombuddra, 120 miles at 30,000 rupees	36
Canara Coast Canal, 180 miles at 6,000 rupees	11
Four ghauts	1
Detail works connected with irrigation of half million acres at 6 rupees per acre	30
Works at Beitkul before enumerated	5
TOTAL	103
Or, £. 1,000,000	

This is besides the canal and irrigation to the eastward of the Toombuddra.

I merely give this to show in a general way the scale upon which I think these improvements should be carried out.

That in this way in five or ten years, with God's blessing, this whole tract of country inhabited by about ten millions of people, would be brought into an entirely new state, I am fully assured.

As respects the people, the change would be just the same as we see in this district of Rajahmundry, where there is now full employment for all at about 50 per cent. higher wages than there was before, so that the relief to the mass of the people is really complete, and the change here is as great in all other respects. This year about 27 lacs of revenue were collected with perfect ease, 40 per cent. more than the average before the works, paid with great difficulty. The traffic on the main canals in the past year was 13,000 boats, averaging about ten tons each, besides rafts, in all about 160,000 tons, against 1,000 boats averaging about five tons, or with rafts, perhaps in all a traffic of 10,000 tons six years ago.

Exports and imports to the value of 25* lacs against an average of 10 lacs, of which 2 ½ lacs was imported grain, the latter showing not the wealth but the poverty of the district at that time. Lastly, a large import of bullion instead of a constant export.

The land to which water is now led, is about seven lacs of acres, and as a water-rate is now being levied of from two to four rupees per acre, and they are allowed the water free for two years, in the third year from this time, about 20 lacs of direct additional revenue will be levied in this one delta, one-fifth of the whole deficiency in the finances of India. This is, besides increase of cultivation, which is very extensive, an increase of extra revenue from the improved condition of the people.

The extension of this irrigation is going on rapidly, and the same in the delta of the Kistnah, so that we have ample grounds for concluding that these two deltas will within a few years yield an increase of revenue equal to the whole present deficiency in the finances, of one million. Again, by many different sources of information, we find that the increase of produce in these irrigated lands is certainly above 15 rupees an acre over the former produce in one-crop land,

* Now (1858) increased to 35 lacs.

land, so that in these seven lacs of acres there will be an increased value of produce of 100 lacs, or one million sterling, besides a second crop on 200,000 or 300,000 acres.

Does it not seem strange that the question should still be asked, in a despairing tone, what can be done to correct the finances? If it is asked, but if there is so much land watered in Rajahmundry now, how is it that the revenue has not increased still more rapidly (the works having been begun in 1845)? The answer is simply, because the revenue officers would not collect it. There are literally thousands of acres of land that have yet paid no water rate, that have had the water for 11 years, and several hundred thousands that have had it from one to five years.

It is only now, that in consequence of peremptory orders from Government, the water rate is being regularly levied, but in the meantime at least half a million pounds sterling of revenue has been lost through the grievous neglect or obstinacy of those whose duty it was to collect it. But still, notwithstanding this extraordinary hindrance, there has been collected since the works were commenced in 1845, about 60 lacs in this delta, more than there would have been in the average of former years, and that, not only without any increased burthen to the people, but with a relief equal in amount to much more than the whole former revenue.

The total cost of these improvements, up to the end of last working season, was about 30 lacs.

It is highly important that these results should be mentioned in every paper, recommending improvements of a similar nature for other parts of India, to show that we are not now dealing in theory, but have unmistakable grounds for concluding that these are really the public works that India wants.

It must be observed that this delta has a secure port.

(signed) *A. Cotton*, Colonel,
Madras, 3 March 1858. Commandant of Engineers.

(No. 1012.)

(Public Works Department.)

EXTRACT from the Minutes of Consultation, under date the 28th May 1858.

READ the following letter from Colonel A. T. Cotton, Commandant of Engineers.

Transmitting a memorandum on the Harbour of Beitkul (Sedashighur) and the internal communications in connexion with it.

(Here enter 4th March 1858, No. 53.)

Para. 1. With this letter, Colonel A. T. Cotton lays before Government a memorandum on the harbour of Beitkul in Sedashighur bay, and the internal communications connected with it.

Consultation, 18th August 1857, Nos. 16-17.

2. This paper has been drawn up in reference to the order of the 14th August 1857, in which the Government desired Colonel Cotton to take the whole subject of the Sedashighur harbour works into his deliberate consideration, and to place his opinion upon all points connected with it before them. Since then the matter has engaged attention in England, as it is seen that an association, formed expressly for the object of promoting measures for facilitating the importation of Indian cotton, has adverted to the formation of Sedashighur harbour, and the opening of roads into the interior, as one of the means by which that object would be attained. Colonel Cotton's report therefore is opportune, and its importance cannot be over estimated. The Government are anxious that the matter should be well deliberated upon, and for this purpose they resolve to order that Colonel Cotton's report, together with those which preceded it from Lieutenant Taylor, of the Indian Navy, be printed, and that 300 copies be struck off, and distributed to the engineer officers; and further, that the chief engineer be requested to prepare plans and estimates for the works required at Beitkul, and submit them to Government.

Consultation 12th March 1858, Nos. 128, 129.

From Lieutenant A. D. Taylor, I. N. 13th September 1855.
From Lieutenant A. D. Taylor, I. N. 27th July 1857.
From Colonel A. T. Cotton, 4th March 1858.

3. As

3. As the map forwarded by Colonel Cotton should be attached to the printed report, the Government resolve to transmit it to the Chief Engineer, in order that copies may be prepared for that purpose.

4. Copies of the compilation now ordered will be forwarded to the Honourable Court of Directors and the Government of India, in continuation of the letters noted in the margin.

To Honourable Court of Directors, 16th April 1858, No. 9.
To Government of India, 11th March 1858, No. 435.

(A true extract.)

India Office,
14 April 1859.

(signed) *W. H. Bayley,*
Acting Secretary to Government.

(True copies.)

(signed) W. T. Thornton,
Secretary, Public Works Department.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

— No. 4. —

REPORTS on the Direct and Indirect Effects of the GODAVERY and KISTNAH ANNICUTS, in *Rajahmundry*, *Masulipatam*, *Guntoor*, &c., and the COLEROON ANNICUTS, in *Tanjore* and *South Arcot*.

(No. 493.)

(Revenue Department.)

EXTRACT Minutes Consultation, dated 29 May 1852.

Resolved, THAT the Board in the Revenue Department be requested to call upon the Collector of Rajahmundry for a statement, affording information upon the following points connected with the lands irrigated by the Godavery:

1. Extent of irrigated land watered by the Godavery for the five years prior to the construction of the annicut, the annual revenue derived therefrom, and the cost of channels or works for maintaining this irrigation.

2. The maximum extent of land in the most favourable years, irrigated during the last 20 years by the waters of the Godavery, prior to the construction of the annicut, and the revenue derived therefrom. (An estimate, where the land was zemindary and the collector has not the accounts, will suffice.)

3. The whole extent of land now irrigable (in 1851) by the Godavery with its annicut or otherwise, the amount of revenue derived therefrom, the annual increased extent of land irrigated each year since the annicut was brought into use, with the increase of annual revenue therefrom.

4. The quantity of the newly irrigated land under cane or other not ordinary produce, and the quantity of the same land under paddy or ordinary grains,

5. The prices of rice, cholum, &c., during the five years prior to the construction of the annicut, and the prices of the same articles during the subsequent years.

(True extract.)

(signed) *H. C. Montgomery*,
Chief Secretary.

(No. 498.)

(Revenue Department).

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 23 October 1854.

In Consultation, 11th September 1854.

READ again letter from the Sub-Collector in charge of Rajahmundry, dated 29th July 1854, transmitting a statement relative to the lands irrigated by the Godavery.

(Here enter No. 52.)

In Consultation, 23 October 1854.

Read also letter from the Sub-Collector in charge of Rajahmundry, dated 23d September 1854, furnishing reports on the effects of the Godavery annicut upon the general circumstances of the district.

(Here enter No. 90.)

Para. 1. Resolved that the above letters, with their enclosures, be submitted for the information of Government, with reference to Extract Minutes Consultation dated 29th May 1852.

2. In

2. In pursuance of the instructions of Government, the Board called upon the Sub-Collector in charge of Rajahmundry to furnish the information required upon certain points connected with the lands irrigated by the Godavery annicut.

3. In the first of the above letters that officer submitted a statement showing the irrigated extent of the whole district both above and below the annicut, the revenue derived from and the area of the lands under cultivation in the irrigated villages of the Bicavole and Caupavaram talooks only, both before and after the construction of the Tooliabaga and Samulcottah channels.

4. The Board, considering the information contained in this statement to be insufficient, requested the Sub-Collector to furnish a more detailed report on the subject.

5. Upon this requisition the Sub-Collector, in the second of the above letters, submits two elaborate reports on the effects of the several works of the annicut upon the revenues of the Talooks of the subdivision and the principal division, the former being a copy of a communication to the Civil Engineer whilst Mr. Taylor was Sub-Collector, and the latter a statement drawn up whilst Acting Collector.

(A true extract).

(signed) *B. Cunliffe*,
Sub-Secretary in Charge.

(No. 1592.)

(Revenue Department).

EXTRACT from the Minutes of Consultation under date the 7th December 1854.

READ the following Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.

(Here enter 23d October 1854, No. 498.)

The report of the effects of the Godavery works upon the district of Rajahmundry accompanying the foregoing letter, has been laid before Government without any opinion from the Board of Revenue. The Right Honourable the Governor in Council is desirous that the statements submitted by the Sub-Collector of Rajahmundry should be carefully tested by the Board, and that from them abstract statements should be prepared exhibiting the results in a clear and concise form. The Government take this opportunity of forwarding to the Board statements which have been received from the Collector of Tanjore, as also a memorandum with statement from Mr. Stokes, Collector of Guntoor, on the subject of the advantages derived from the annicuts in those districts. The Governor in Council proposes to publish all these reports for general information, and is therefore very desirous that they should exhibit, with the strictest accuracy possible, the utmost impartiality in the results of the outlay on the important works under notice. The Board are aware that the correctness of the accounts given by Colonel Cotton in his publication have been impugned, and other writers have argued that the large returns anticipated from the outlay on these works, have not been or cannot be realised. It is with a view of clearing up all doubts on this subject, so far as it is possible, that the Government have called for these reports, and it is therefore of the utmost importance that their accuracy should be rigidly tested by the Board both in the Revenue and Public Works Departments. The Board will give their earnest and early attention to the subject, and lay before Government their opinion.

2. Referring to the views which have been advanced in a recent printed pamphlet entitled "Modern Hydraulic Works in Tanjore and Rajahmundry Examined," the Government would further wish that before submitting their report, the Board will communicate to the author of those remarks, their views

and the result of their examination, for any further observations he may have to offer.

3. The Board should also obtain from the Collector of Masulipatam a statement of the effects of the Kistnah annicut on that district, as it will be observed that Mr. Stokes' memorandum and statements refer solely to Guntoor.

(A true extract.)

(signed) *H. C. Montgomery,*
Chief Secretary.

(No. 822.)

(Revenue Department.)

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 2 April 1855.

READ Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated 7 December 1854.

(Here enter No. 1592.

The Board are anxious to give the subject here brought before them the attention and close scrutiny which its great importance demands, but Government are aware that the districts benefited by the Godavery and Kistnah annicuts have been, for the last five years, under the separate control of the Commissioner for the Northern Circars; although, therefore, the Board can show from the records of their office the general revenues of those districts from the commencement of our rule to the present time, they find that they do not possess that detailed and connected information as to the progress and condition of the districts during the past five years, which is requisite for the full consideration of the subject under review.

2. The subsidiary works connected with these annicuts are still incomplete, and arrangements have yet to be made for remodelling the land assessment, or introducing a water-tax on, the lands newly brought under irrigation. Returns of the revenue hitherto collected would not, therefore, be a fair standard by which alone to judge these annicuts, and Lieutenant Colonel Cotton evidently includes in his estimation of their value the additional revenue which they may be expected to bring to Government, when the irrigating channels are completed and the assessment has been revised upon the lands which are converted by them from dry to wet cultivation.

3. The Board, therefore, think, that besides an account of the revenue previous to and after the construction of these works, information should be laid before Government, showing the time when their full benefit is likely to be felt, and the amount of the additional revenue which may hereafter be expected from them. The Board have necessarily only imperfect information regarding the circumstances which have delayed the remodelment of the assessment, and the taxation which it is expedient to place upon the newly irrigated lands; they have also no opportunity of testing by personal inquiries the opinions of the local officers on this point, or of observing the effects which the annicuts already show upon the people, by brightening their prospects and stimulating their commercial and manufacturing as well as agricultural industry.

4. They therefore request permission to transfer the papers regarding these two annicuts to the Commissioner for the Northern Circars, whose means of collecting accurate local information on all branches of the subject are so much superior. As the Commissioner is a member of the Board, this step might perhaps have been taken without requesting special permission, but the importance of the subject has led the Board to explain the grounds on which the proposal is made, and request the authority of Government for its adoption.

5. The Board are engaged in scrutinising the details of the Coleroon annicuts, and hope to submit their report on them at an early period.

(True extract.)

(signed) *B. Cunliffe,* Secretary.

(No. 423.)

(Revenue Department.)

EXTRACT from the Minutes of Consultation, under date 14 April 1855.

READ the following Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.

(Here enter 2 April 1855, No. 822.)

In forwarding to the Board of Revenue, in view to their accuracy being tested, the statements and memorandums received from the Collectors of Tanjore and Guntoor regarding the advantages derived from the annicuts in those districts, the Government commended them to the Board's "earnest and early attention," and they are now disappointed to find that as regards the districts in the Northern Circars at least, the consideration of those statements has yet to begin. The Board are requested to return the papers connected with the Godavery and Kistnah works to Government, and to submit their reply on the Coleroon annicuts at their earliest convenience.

(True extract.)

(signed) *J. D. Bourdillon*,
Secretary to Government.

(No. 914.)

From *B. Cunliffe*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, to *T. Pycroft*, Esq., Chief Secretary to Government.

Revenue Board Office, Fort St. George,
19 April 1855.

Sir,

WITH reference to Extract from Minutes of Consultation dated 14 April 1855, I am directed by the Board of Revenue to return herewith the papers connected with the Godavery and Kistnah works, called for therein.

From Rajahmun dry, 29th July, in consultation, 11th September 1854.
From ditto, 23d September, in consultation 23d October 1854. Memo. from Mr. Stokes, with one accompaniment on the Guntoor and Kistnah annicuts.

2. The Board regret that delay should have occurred in furnishing the information called for regarding these works, but Government are aware how the Board have been lately situated, and the subject sent for their scrutiny and opinion is of an extensive and difficult nature, and they found that the records of their office did not contain materials for its full investigation.

I have, &c.
(signed) *B. Cunliffe*,
Secretary.

Revenue Board Office, Fort St. George,
19 April 1855.

(No. 52.)

From *G. N. Taylor*, Esq., Sub-Collector in charge of Rajahmundry, to *W. H. Bayley*, Esq., Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Fort St. George.

Sir,

Rajahmundry District, Cocanada, 29 July 1854.

Para. 1. I HAVE the honour to forward a statement exhibiting the information called for in the Extract from the Minutes of Consultation dated 29 May 1852, No. 493, received with the Board's proceedings of the 10th June following, relative to the lands irrigated by the Godavery.

2. The lands under the Tooliabaga and Samulcottah channels alone are included in this statement. The other channels were incomplete, and their influence was not felt till Fusly 1261. Previously to that year, no lands underwent the change from dry to wet or from wet to garden cultivation.

3. There are no accounts exhibiting the extent of irrigated land, the statement therefore contains the whole area of the cultivated lands of the irrigated villages for the five years preceding the commencement of the construction of the annicut, with the revenue derived therefrom and the cost of the channels.

4. It is impossible to estimate the extent of land formerly irrigated, because no accounts are in existence; but the Bickavole mootah properly so called, consisting of 30 villages, which now yield an assessment of *Rs.* 88,345. 7. 10. appears to have formerly paid to the zemindar, *Rs.* 64,949. 6. 8.

	C. Rs. a. p.
Demand of Fusly 1251 (A. D. 1841-42.)	64,949 6 8
Collection	45,444 7 0

5. The statement now forwarded, and the foregoing paragraphs in explanation of its contents, were prepared and drafted by Mr. Prendergast before his departure from the district. I understand that it was his intention that the statement should be transmitted in its present form, but I fear that it conveys very little information which will be useful at the present time to enable the Board to judge of the value of the annicut.

6. The account does not profess to give the whole returns from the Thooliabaga and Samulcottah channels. It exhibits merely the revenue derived from the wet lands in a few villages of the talooks of Bickavole and Capaveram before and after the construction of the annicut; and this information, it appears to me, can be more simply exhibited in the following abstract Table :—

STATEMENT showing the Extent and Shist of Wet Land in the *Bickavole* and *Capaveram* Talooks, both before and after the Construction of the Annicut.

A. D.	Fuslies.	Irrigated Land.		Comparison with preceding Fusly.				Cost of Maramut Works.	Price per Madras Garce.	Remarks.
		Extent in Pootties of 8 acres.	Shist.	Increase.		Decrease.				
				Land.	Shist.	Land.	Shist.			
1	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.
			Rs.	*P.*	*Rs.*	*P.*	*Rs.*		*Rs.*	
1842-43	1252	1,896	58,443	–	- -	–	–	- -	57	
43-44	53	1,818	56,871	–	- -	78	1,572	- -	53	
44-45	54	1,744	52,717	–	- -	74	4,154	- -	58	
45-46	55	1,612	41,624	–	- -	132	1,193	21,381	85	The Maramut works entered in column 9, consist entirely of earth and masonry work, to the Samulcottah and Tooliabaga channels.
46-47	56	1,648	49,652	36	8,028	–	–	15,697	85	
47-48	57	1,858	55,108	210	5,456	–	–	14,326	78	
48-49	58	2,172	68,509	314	13,401	–	–	17,641	71	
49-50	59	2,335	75,777	163	7,268	–	–	8,448	67	
50-51	60	2,488	82,601	153	6,824	–	–	27,258	63	
51-52	61	2,528	86,182	40	3,581	–	–	22,683	58	
52-53	62	3,203	106,292	675	20,110	–	–	19,540	57	
53-54	63	3,638	117,935	435	11,643	–	–	56,616	99	
		26,940	851,711	2,026	76,311	284	6,919	203,590		

7. It will be seen, therefore, from the above statement, that both the extent and shist of the land irrigated in fusly 1263, are double the extent and shist of the whole cultivated land of those villages in fusly 1256, the year prior to the commencement of the annicut. The net increase of revenue for the whole period of 12 years is about 70,000 rupees, which at the rate of five per cent. per annum, is equivalent to the interest on 175,000 for eight years. The capital expended on the two channels, from which these lands are irrigated having been 203,590. But how much of this expenditure ought fairly to be debited to those talooks, I have no means of knowing, and as an account of profit and loss, this return is therefore of little value.

I have, &c.
(signed) *G. N. Taylor*,
Sub-Collector in Charge.

STATEMENT showing the LANDS under the THOOLIABAGA and SAMULCOTTAH CHANNELS and their CIST, as well as other Particulars called for in the Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, dated 29th May, received with the Board's Proceedings of the 10th June 1852.

Numbers.	NAMES of the TALOOKS.	Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	Extent of the whole Area of the Cultivated Lands of the Irrigated Villages by the Godavery, for the Five Years prior to the Construction of the Annicut, the Annual Revenue derived therefrom, and the Cost of Channels or Works for maintaining this Irrigation.					
				FUSLY 1255.		FUSLY 1256.		FUSLY 1257.	
				Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
				P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Bickavole Talook - -	1	Thooliabaga Channel -	1,088 4 $6\frac{5}{16}$	25,157 3 1	962 4 $8\frac{7}{16}$	28,596 4 1	1,134 8 $0\frac{3}{4}$	31,437 12 6
		2	Samulcottah Channel -	240 19 $15\frac{3}{4}$	6,092 2 6	403 1 12	13,199 2 5	465 0 $9\frac{3}{4}$	15,446 12 4
				1,329 4 $6\frac{1}{16}$	31,249 5 7	1,365 6 $4\frac{7}{16}$	41,795 6 6	1,599 8 $10\frac{1}{2}$	46,884 8 10
2	Capaveram Talook - -	1	Samulcottah Channel -	283 11 $15\frac{8}{16}$	10,375 4 10	283 11 $15\frac{8}{16}$	7,857 2 5	259 19 $10\frac{6}{16}$	8,224 6 6
			TOTAL - - -	1,612 16 $5\frac{9}{16}$	41,624 10 5	1,648 18 4	49,652 8 11	1,858 8 $4\frac{14}{16}$	55,108 15 4
			Particulars:						
		1	Thooliabaga Channel -	1,088 4 $6\frac{5}{16}$	25,157 3 1	962 4 $8\frac{7}{16}$	28,596 4 1	1,134 8 $0\frac{3}{4}$	31,437 12 6
		2	Samulcottah Channel -	524 11 $15\frac{4}{16}$	16,467 7 4	686 13 $11\frac{8}{16}$	21,056 4 10	724 0 $4\frac{2}{16}$	23,671 2 10
			TOTAL - - -	1,612 16 $5\frac{9}{16}$	41,624 10 5	1,648 18 4	49,652 8 11	1,858 8 $4\frac{14}{16}$	55,108 15 4

STATEMENT showing the Lands under the Thooliabagaand Samulcottah Channels, and their Cist, &c.—*continued.*

Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	Extent of the whole Area of the Cultivated Lands of the Irrigated Villages by the Godavery, for Five Years prior to the Construction of the Annicut, the Annual Revenue derived therefrom, and the Cost of Channels or Works for maintaining this Irrigation.								Cost of Channels from the Year 1846 to 1850.
		FUSLY 1258.		FUSLY 1259.		TOTAL.		AVERAGE.		
		Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	
		10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.
		P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Thooliabaga Channel -	1,342 7 4 1/16	37,906 7 9	1,400 2 4 2/16	39,314 5 11	5,927 6 7 1/16	1,62,412 1 4	1,185 9 4 1/2	32,482 6 9	—
2	Samulcottah Channel -	568 12 0	20,355 1 6	677 3 3 3/4	24,398 1 4 3/4	2,354 17 9 1/4	79,491 4 1 3/4	470 19 8 1/4	15,898 4 –	—
		1,910 19 4 1/16	58,261 9 3	2,077 5 7 14/16	63,712 7 3 3/4	8,282 4 0 15/16 1/2	2,41,903 5 5 3/4	1,656 8 12 3/4	48,380 10 9	—
1	Samulcottah Channel -	261 17 14 6/16	10,248 2 8	257 17 9	12,065 5 3	1,345 19 0 13/16	48,770 5 8	269 3 13	9,754 1 1 1/2	—
	TOTAL - - -	2,172 17 2 7/16	68,509 11 11	2,335 3 0 14/16	75,777 12 6 3/4	9,628 3 1 12/16 1/2	2,90,673 11 1 12/16	1,925 12 9 3/4	58,134 11 10 1/2	—
	Particulars :									
1	Thooliabaga Channel -	1,342 7 4 1/16	37,906 7 9	1,400 2 4 2/16	39,314 5 11	5,927 6 7 1/16 1/2	1,62,412 1 4	1,185 9 4 1/2	32,482 6 9	46,530 – –
2	Samulcottah Channel -	830 9 14 6/16	30,603 4 2	935 0 12 3/4	36,463 6 7 3/4	3,700 16 10 1/16	1,28,261 9 9 12/16	740 3 5 1/4	25,652 5 1 1/2	30,963 – –
	TOTAL - - -	2,172 17 2 7/16	68,509 11 11	2,335 3 0 14/16	75,777 12 6 3/4	9,628 3 1 12/16 1/2	2,90,673 11 1 3/4	1,925 12 9 3/4	58,134 11 10 1/2	77,493 – –

STATEMENT showing the Lands under the Thooliabaga and Samulcottah Channels, and their Cist, &c.—*continued.*

Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	Maximum Extent of Land in the most favourable Years, Irrigated during the last 20 Years by the Waters of the Godavery, prior to the Construction of the Annicut, and the Revenue derived therefrom.		The whole Extent of the Cultivated Lands of the Irrigated Villages by the Godavery, with its Annicut or otherwise, the Amount of Revenue derived therefrom, the Annual increased Extent of Land Irrigated each Year since the Annicut was brought into use, with the Increase of Annual Revenue therefrom.							
				FUSLY 1260.							
				LAND IRRIGATED.				NOT IRRIGATED.		TOTAL.	
		Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	Teerva Jasty.	Total.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.
		19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.
		P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Thooliabaga Channel	766 3 5	27,111 5 8	170 3 2	3,818 10 8	1,189 – 11	5,007 11 7	1,341 5 9 1/2	36,229 14 2	1,511 8 11 1/2	41,237 9 9
2	Samulcottah Channel	414 3 8	15,139 13 –	395 3 3	14,680 2 4	5,080 6 10	19,766 9 2	309 7 1 1/4	8,272 10 8	704 10 4 1/4	28,039 3 10
		1,180 6 13	42,251 2 8	565 6 5	18,504 13 –	6,269 7 9	24,774 4 9	1,650 12 10 3/4	44,502 8 10	2,215 18 15 3/4	69,276 13 7
1	Samulcottah Channel	283 11 15 8/16	11,449 4 1	257 11 1	7,296 3 9	5,704 9 6	13,000 13 3	14 14 8 14/16	323 11 2	272 5 9 14/16	13,324 8 5
	TOTAL - - -	1,463 18 12 8/16	53,700 6 9	822 17 6	25,801 – 9	11,974 1 3	37,775 2 –	1,665 7 3 10/16	44,826 4 –	2,488 4 9 10/16	82,601 6 –
	Particulars:										
1	Thooliabaga Channel	766 3 5	27,111 5 8	170 3 2	3,818 10 8	1,189 – 11	5,007 11 7	1,341 5 9 1/2	36,229 14 2	1,511 8 11 1/2	41,237 9 9
2	Samulcottah Channel	697 15 7 8/16	26,589 1 1	652 14 4	21,982 6 1	10,785 – 4	32,767 6 5	324 1 10 2/16	8,596 5 10	976 15 14 2/16	41,363 12 3
	TOTAL - - -	1,463 18 12 8/16	53,700 6 9	822 17 6	25,801 – 9	11,974 1 3	37,775 2 –	1,665 7 3 10/16	44,826 4 –	2,488 4 9 10/16	82,601 6 –

STATEMENT showing the Lands under the Thooliabaga and Samulcottah Channels, and their Cist, &c.—*continued.*

Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	The whole Extent of the Cultivated Lands of the Irrigated Villages by the Godavery, with its Annicut or otherwise, the Amount of Revenue derived therefrom, the Annual increased Extent of Land Irrigated each Year since the Annicut was brought into use, with the Increase of Annual Revenue therefrom.							
		FUSLY 1261.							
		LAND IRRIGATED.				NOT IRRIGATED.		TOTAL.	
		Land.	Cist.	Teerva Jasty.	Total.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.
		29.	30.	31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.
		P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	344 15 2	8,807 9 4	2,281 12 9	11,089 6 1	1,143 6 $7\frac{6}{16}$	31,814 2 6	1,488 1 $9\frac{6}{16}$	42,903 8 7
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	415 9 11	14,550 3 1	7,465 5 9	22,015 8 10	339 18 8	6,656 5 11	755 8 3	28,671 14 9
		760 4 13	23,357 12 5	9,747 2 6	33,104 14 11	1,483 4 $15\frac{6}{16}$	38,470 8 5	2,243 9 $12\frac{6}{16}$	71,575 7 4
1	Samulcottah Channel - -	284 11 14	8,176 - 10	6,431 6 8	14,607 7 6	- - -	- - -	284 11 14	14,607 7 6
	TOTAL - - -	1,044 16 11	31,533 13 3	16,178 9 2	47,712 6 5	1,483 4 $15\frac{6}{16}$	38,470 8 5	2,528 1 $10\frac{6}{16}$	86,182 14 10
	Particulars:								
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	344 15 2	8,807 9 4	2,281 12 9	11,089 6 1	1,143 6 $7\frac{6}{16}$	31,814 2 6	1,488 1 $9\frac{6}{16}$	42,903 8 7
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	700 1 9	22,726 3 11	13,896 12 5	36,623 - 4	339 18 8	6,656 5 11	1,040 0 1	43,279 6 3
	TOTAL - - -	1,044 16 11	31,533 13 3	16,178 9 2	47,712 6 5	1,483 4 $15\frac{6}{16}$	38,470 8 5	2,528 1 $10\frac{6}{16}$	86,182 14 10

STATEMENT *showing the Lands under the Thooliabaga and Samulcottah Channels, and their Cist, &c.—(continued.)*

Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	The whole Extent of the Cultivated Lands of the Irrigated Villages by the Godavery, with its Annicut or otherwise, the Amount of Revenue derived therefrom, the Annual increased Extent of Land Irrigated each Year since the Annicut was brought into use, with the Increase of Annual Revenue therefrom.							
		FUSLY 1262.							
		LAND IRRIGATED.				NOT IRRIGATED.		TOTAL.	
		Land.	Cist.	Teerva Jasty.	Total.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.
		37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.
		P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	1,132 1 2	29,752 6 7	6,058 5 $2\frac{3}{4}$	35,810 11 $9\frac{3}{4}$	712 17 $15\frac{9}{16}$	17,958 14 $2\frac{1}{4}$	1,844 19 $1\frac{9}{16}$	53,769 10 –
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	517 12 1	17,117 6 3	4,878 10 4	21,996 0 7	200 0 $12\frac{6}{16}$	4,307 10 5	717 12 $13\frac{6}{16}$	26,303 11 –
		1,649 13 3	46,869 12 10	10,936 15 $6\frac{3}{4}$	57,806 12 $4\frac{3}{4}$	912 18 $11\frac{15}{16}$	22,266 8 $7\frac{1}{4}$	2,562 11 $14\frac{15}{16}$	80,073 5 –
1	Samulcottah Channel - -	282 8 1	7,940 5 5	6,495 10 –	14,435 15 5	358 3 4	11,782 12 4	640 11 5	26,218 11 9
	TOTAL - - -	1,932 1 4	54,810 2 3	17,432 9 $6\frac{3}{4}$	72,242 11 $9\frac{3}{4}$	1,271 1 $15\frac{15}{16}$	34,049 4 $11\frac{1}{4}$	3,203 3 $3\frac{15}{16}$	106,292 – –
	Particulars:								
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	1,132 1 2	29,752 6 7	6,058 5 $2\frac{3}{4}$	35,810 11 $9\frac{3}{4}$	712 17 $15\frac{9}{16}$	17,958 14 $2\frac{1}{4}$	1,844 19 $1\frac{9}{16}$	53,769 10 –
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	800 0 2	25,057 11 8	11,374 4 4	36,432 – –	558 4 $0\frac{6}{16}$	16,090 6 9	1,358 4 $2\frac{6}{16}$	52,522 6 9
	TOTAL - - -	1,932 1 4	54,810 2 3	17,432 9 $6\frac{3}{4}$	72,242 11 $9\frac{3}{4}$	1,271 1 $15\frac{15}{16}$	34,049 4 $11\frac{1}{4}$	3,203 3 $3\frac{15}{16}$	106,292 – 9

STATEMENT showing the Lands under the Thooliabaga and Samulcottah Channels, and their Cist, &c.—*continued.*

Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	The whole Extent of the Cultivated Lands of the Irrigated Villages by the Godavery, with its Annicut or otherwise, the Amount of Revenue derived therefrom, the Annual increased Extent of Land irrigated each Year since the Annicut was brought into use, with the Increase of Annual Revenue therefrom.							
		FUSLY 1263.							
		LAND IRRIGATED.				NOT IRRIGATED.		TOTAL.	
		Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.
		45.	46.	47.	48.	49.	50.	51.	52.
		P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	1,546 16 12 2 1/16	38,311 4 10	7,406 – 10 3/4	45,717 5 8 3/4	739 15 4 10/16	19,932 15 2 1/4	2,286 12 1 3 1/16	65,650 4 11
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	534 3 13 4 5/16	17,422 9 4	4,953 10 7	22,376 3 11	116 12 10 10/16	3,274 1 2	650 16 7 4 5/16	25,650 5 1
		2,081 0 9 14 3/16	55,733 14 2	12,359 11 5 3/4	68,093 9 7 3/4	856 7 15 1/4	23,207 – 4 1/4	2,937 8 9 2 1/16	91,300 10 –
1	Samulcottah Channel - -	275 13 12 2 1/16	7,589 4 2	6,608 5 9	14,197 9 11	425 4 11 13 1/16	12,437 1 1	700 18 8 7/16	26,634 11 –
	TOTAL - - -	2,356 14 6 1/2	63,323 2 4	18,968 1 2 2/4	82,291 3 6 2/4	1,281 12 11 1 1/16	35,644 1 5 1/4	3,638 7 1 2 1/16	1,17,935 5 –
	Particulars:								
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	1,546 16 12 2 1/16	38,311 4 10	7,406 – 10 3/4	45,717 5 8 3/4	739 15 4 10/16	19,932 15 2 1/4	2,286 12 1 3 1/16	65,650 4 11
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	809 17 9 14 3/16	25,011 13 6	11,562 – 4	36,573 13 10	541 17 6 7 1/16	15,711 2 3	1,351 15 0 6/16	52,285 – 1
	TOTAL - - -	2,356 14 6 1/2	63,323 2 4	18,968 1 2 3/4	82,291 3 6 3/4	1,281 12 11 1/16	35,644 1 5 1/4	3,638 7 1 2 1/16	1,17,935 5 –

STATEMENT showing the Lands under the Thooliabaga and Samulcottah Channels, and their Cist, &c.—*continued*.

Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	The whole Extent of the Cultivated Lands of the Irrigated Villages by the Godavery, with its Annicut or otherwise, the Amount of Revenue derived therefrom, the Annual increased Extent of Land Irrigated each Year since the Annicut was brought into use, with the Increase of Annual Revenue therefrom.							
		TOTAL.							
		LAND IRRIGATED.				NOT IRRIGATED.		TOTAL.	
		Land.	Cist.	Teerva Jasty.	TOTAL.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.
		53.	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.	59.	60.
		P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	3,193 16 $2\frac{9}{16}$	80,689 15 5	16,935 3 $9\frac{1}{2}$	97,625 3 $2\frac{1}{2}$	3,937 5 $5\frac{1}{16}$	1,05,593 14 $-\frac{1}{2}$	7,131 1 $7\frac{10}{16}$	2,03,561 1 3
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	1,862 8 $12\frac{5}{16}$	63,776 5 –	22,378 1 6	86,154 6 6	965 19 $0\frac{1}{2}$	22,510 12 2	2,828 7 $12\frac{9}{16}$	1,08,665 2 8
		5,056 4 $14\frac{14}{16}$	1,44,466 4 5	39,313 5 $3\frac{1}{2}$	1,83,779 9 $8\frac{1}{2}$	4,903 4 $5\frac{5}{16}$	1,28,446 10 $2\frac{1}{2}$	9,959 9 $4\frac{3}{16}$	3,12,226 3 11
	Samulcottah Channel - -	1,100 4 $12\frac{9}{16}$	31,001 14 2	25,239 15 11	56,241 14 1	798 2 $8\frac{11}{16}$	24,543 8 7	1,898 7 $5\frac{5}{16}$	80,785 6 8
	TOTAL - - -	6,156 9 $11\frac{3}{16}$	1,75,468 2 7	64,553 5 $2\frac{1}{2}$	2,40,021 7 $9\frac{1}{2}$	5,701 6 $14\frac{1}{32}$	1,52,990 2 $9\frac{1}{2}$	11,857 16 $9\frac{1}{16}$	3,93,011 10 7
	Particulars;								
	Thooliabaga Channel - -	3,193 16 $2\frac{9}{16}$	80,689 15 5	16,935 3 $9\frac{1}{2}$	97,625 3 $2\frac{1}{2}$	3,937 5 $5\frac{1}{16}$	1,05,935 14 $-\frac{1}{2}$	7,131 1 $7\frac{10}{16}$	2,03,561 1 3
	Samulcottah Channel - -	2.962 13 $8\frac{4}{16}$	94,778 3 2	47,618 1 5	1,42,396 4 7	1,764 1 $8\frac{15}{16}$	47,054 4 9	4,726 15 $1\frac{14}{16}$	1,89,450 9 4
	TOTAL - - -	6,156 9 $11\frac{7}{16}$	1,75,468 2 7	64,553 5 $2\frac{1}{2}$	2,40,021 7 $9\frac{1}{2}$	5,701 6 $14\frac{1}{32}$	1,52,990 2 $9\frac{1}{2}$	11,857 16 $9\frac{1}{16}$	3,93,011 10 7

STATEMENT showing the Lands under the Thooliabaga and Samulcottah Channels, and their Cist, &c.—*continued.*

Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	The whole Extent of the Cultivated Lands of the Irrigated Villages by the Godavery, with its Annicut or otherwise, the Amount of Revenue derived therefrom, the Annual increased Extent of Land irrigated each Year since the Annicut was brought into use, with the Increase of Annual Revenue therefrom.							
		AVERAGE.							
		LAND IRRIGATED.				NOT IRRIGATED.		TOTAL.	
		Land.	Cist.	Teerva Jasty.	Total.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.
		61.	62.	63.	64.	65.	66.	67.	68.
		P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	798 9 $-\frac{10}{16}$	20,172 7 10¼	4,233 12 11½	24,406 4 9¾	984 6 $5\frac{4}{16}$	26,483 15 6	1,782 15 $5\frac{14}{16}$	50,890 4 3¾
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	465 12 $3\frac{1}{16}$	15,944 1 3	5,594 8 4½	21,538 9 7½	241 9 $12\frac{1}{16}$	5,627 11 $-\frac{1}{2}$	707 1 $15\frac{2}{16}$	27,166 4 8
		1,264 1 $3\frac{11}{16}$	36,116 9 1¼	9,828 5 4	45,944 14 5¼	1,225 16 $1\frac{5}{16}$	32,111 10 6½	2,489 17 $5\frac{3}{16}$	78,056 8 11¾
1	Samulcottah Channel - -	275 1 $3\frac{2}{16}$	7,750 7 6½	6,310 - -	14,060 7 6½	199 10 $10\frac{3}{16}$	6,135 14 2	474 11 $13\frac{5}{16}$	20,196 5 8½
	TOTAL - - -	1,539 2 $6\frac{14}{16}$	43,867 - 7¾	16,138 5 4	60,005 5 11¾	1,425 6 $11\frac{8}{16}$	38,247 8 8½	2,964 9 $2\frac{6}{16}$	98,252 14 8¼
	Particulars:								
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	798 9 $0\frac{10}{16}$	20,172 7 10¼	4,233 12 11½	24,406 4 9¾	984 6 $5\frac{4}{16}$	26,483 15 6	1,782 15 $5\frac{14}{16}$	50,890 4 3¾
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	740 13 $6\frac{3}{16}$	23,694 8 9¼	11,904 8 4½	35,599 1 2	441 - $6\frac{1}{4}$	11,763 9 2½	1,181 13 $12\frac{7}{16}$	47,362 10 4½
	TOTAL - - -	1,539 2 $6\frac{14}{16}$	43,867 - 7¾	16,138 5 4	60,005 5 11¾	1,425 6 $11\frac{8}{16}$	38,247 8 8½	2,964 9 $2\frac{6}{16}$	98,252 14 8¼

STATEMENT showing the Lands under the *Thooliabaga* and *Samulcottah* Channels, and their Cist, &c.—*continued.*

Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	COMPARISON BETWEEN COLUMNS 59, 60 AND 14, AND 15.				COMPARISON BETWEEN FUSLIES 1260 AND 1261.			
		INCREASE.		DECREASE.		INCREASE.		DECREASE.	
		Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.
		69.	70.	71.	72.	73.	74.	75.	76.
		P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*R. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	1,203 14 15 15/16	41,148 15 11	- - -	- - -	- - -	1,665 14 10	23 7 2 6/16	—
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	473 10 3 5/16	29,173 14 6 1/4	- - -	- - -	50 17 14 3/4	632 10 11	—	—
		1,677 5 3 1/4	70,322 14 5 1/4	- - -	- - -	50 17 14 3/4	2,298 9 9	23 7 2 2/16	—
1	Samulcottah Channel - -	552 8 4 1/2	32,015 1 —	- - -	- - -	12 6 4 2/16	1,282 15 1	—	—
	TOTAL - - -	2,229 13 7 3/4	1,02,337 15 5 1/4	- - -	- - -	63 4 2 14/16	3,581 8 10	23 7 2 2/16	—
	Particulars.								
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	1,203 14 15 15/16	41,148 15 11	- - -	- - -	- - -	1,665 14 10	23 7 2 6/16	—
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	1,025 18 7 13/16	61,188 15 6 1/4	- - -	- - -	63 4 2 14/16	1,915 10 —	—	—
	TOTAL - - -	2,229 13 7 3/4	1,02,337 15 5 1/4	- - -	- - -	63 4 2 14/16	3,581 8 10	23 7 2 2/16	—

STATEMENT showing the Lands under the *Thooliabaga* and *Samulcottah* Channels, and their Cist, &c.—*continued.*

Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	COMPARISON BETWEEN FUSLIES 1260 AND 1262.				COMPARISON BETWEEN FUSLIES 1260 AND 1263.			
		INCREASE.		DECREASE.		INCREASE.		DECREASE.	
		Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.
		77.	78.	79.	80.	81.	82.	83.	84.
		P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	333 10 $6\frac{1}{16}$	12,532 – 3	- - -	- - -	775 3 $5\frac{11}{16}$	24,412 11 2	—	—
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	13 2 $9\frac{2}{16}$	- - -	- - -	1,735 8 10	- - -	- - -	53 13 $12\frac{5}{16}$	2,388 14 9
		346 12 $15\frac{3}{16}$	12,532 – 3	- - -	1,735 8 10	775 3 $5\frac{11}{16}$	24,412 11 2	53 13 $12\frac{5}{16}$	2,388 14 9
1	Samulcottah Channel - -	368 5 $11\frac{2}{16}$	12,894 3 4	- - -	- - -	428 12 $14\frac{9}{16}$	13,310 2 7	—	—
	TOTAL - - -	714 18 $10\frac{5}{16}$	25,426 3 7	- - -	1,735 8 10	1,203 16 $4\frac{1}{16}$	37,722 13 9	53 13 $12\frac{5}{16}$	2,388 14 9
	Particulars:								
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	333 10 $6\frac{1}{16}$	12,532 – 3	- - -	- - -	775 3 $5\frac{11}{16}$	24,412 11 2	—	—
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	381 8 $4\frac{1}{4}$	12,894 3 4	- - -	1,735 8 10	428 12 $14\frac{9}{16}$	13,310 2 7	53 13 $12\frac{5}{16}$	2,388 14 9
	TOTAL - - -	714 18 $10\frac{5}{16}$	25,426 3 7	- - -	1,735 8 10	1,203 16 $4\frac{1}{16}$	37,722 13 9	53 13 $12\frac{5}{16}$	2,388 14 9

STATEMENT showing the Lands under the *Thooliabaga* and *Samulcottah* Channels, and their Cist, &c.—*continued*.

Numbers.	NAMES of CHANNELS.	TOTAL.				LAND IRRIGATED UNDER CANE CULTIVATION.		AVERAGE PRICES OF PADDY.	
		INCREASE.		DECREASE.		Land.	Cist.	During the five years prior to the construction of the Annicut, per Madras Garce.	During the subsequent years per Madras Garce.
		Land.	Cist.	Land.	Cist.				
		85.	86.	87.	88.	89.	90.	91.	92.
		P. t. m.	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*P. t. m.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	1,108 13 11 1 2/3	38,610 10 3	23 7 2 2/16	—	—	—	—	—
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	64 0 7 1/4	632 10 11	53 13 12 5/16	4,124 7 7	—	—	—	—
		1,172 14 3 10/16	39,243 5 2	77 0 14 7/16	4,124 7 7	—	—	—	—
1	Samulcottah Channel - -	809 4 13 1/16	27,487 5 —	—	—	—	—	—	—
	TOTAL - - -	1,981 19 1 1/16	66,730 10 2	77 0 14 7/16	4,124 7 7	- - -	- - -	77 - -	69 - -
	Particulars :								
1	Thooliabaga Channel - -	1,108 13 11 1 2/3	38,610 10 3	23 7 2 2/16	[illegible]	—	—	—	—
2	Samulcottah Channel - -	873 5 5 11/16	28,119 15 11	53 13 12 5/16	4,124 7 7	—	—	—	—
	TOTAL - - -	1,981 19 1 1/16	66,730 10 2	77 0 14 7/16	4,124 7 7	- - -	- - -	77 - -	69 - -

Rajahmundry District, Cocanada,
29 July 1854,

(E. E.) *G. N. Taylor,*
Sub-Collector in Charge.

No. 90.

FROM *G. N. Taylor*, Esq., Sub-Collector in charge, to *B. Cunliffe*, Esq., Sub-Secretary in charge Board of Revenue, Fort St. George.

Rajahmundry District, Dowlaiswarum,
Sir, 23 September 1854.

1. WITH reference to the extract from the proceedings of the Board of Revenue dated 11th instant, desiring me to furnish a more detailed report than has yet been drawn out on the effects of the annicut upon the general circumstances of this district, I have now the honour to submit for their consideration, transcript of a letter I addressed to the late chief engineer in May 1853, together with tables and statements regarding the subdivision; and a paper which I have drawn up from materials collected since I have had charge of the district, showing the improvement produced by the annicut on the talooks of the Collector's division.

2. The former paper was written at a time when considerable fear was entertained lest the estimates then before the Government should not receive their sanction, and that a portion of the project would in consequence be suspended—fears which were happily not realised. In the course of the remarks recorded in the paper more recently written, and which completes the subject as far as the whole district is concerned, enough has perhaps been said, in explanation of the reasons why I am unable to furnish the information in the exact form required by Government, with respect to the increase of wet cultivation, and in regard to the precise amount of benefit, direct and indirect, which has resulted from the annicut project, both to Government and to the population.

3. With my letter to the Board, in the Department of Public Works, I have forwarded statements of the entire expenditure on the annicut project, which with interest calculated at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum on all monies expended, is found to amount to *Rs.* 31,89,729. Interest ought not properly to have been charged on the cost of those works which are in full operation and bring a large profit to Government; but, as I am desirous of avoiding the least appearance of under-valuing the expenditure, I have included the whole.

Pl. -	27,56,832
Int. -	4,32,897
	31,89,729

Marked Z.

4. It will be seen from the large, comprehensive statement which accompanies this letter, and copy of which has already been forwarded to one of the members of the Board by the head sheristadar, that the net aggregate increase to the revenue of the whole district since the commencement of the annicut, has been eight lacs; and it will also be observed from the table annexed to paragraph 4 of the report on the Collector's talooks, and to paragraph 2 of the letter to Colonel Cotton, that the excess revenue actually realised during the seven years from 1257 to 1263, in the Delta talooks alone, is six lacs. The Government are able to judge, whether or not I have fairly attributed this increase to the operation of the annicut and its subsidiary works, and whether at the very lowest computation, the State has not been amply repaid for the entire outlay on the project, both in direct profit by increase of revenue, and by the incalculable and lasting benefit which has resulted to the people, and to the general circumstances of the district.

I have, &c.
(signed) *G. N. Taylor*,
Sub-Collector in charge.

No.

To Colonel *A. Cotton*, Chief Engineer, Madras.

Sir, Samuldini, 4 May 1853.

1. I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 4th April desiring information, which will enable you to judge of the effects of the annicut works, upon the several talooks of the subdivision. The statements and tables which I have now the pleasure to send you, have been prepared in my office, and will be forwarded officially to the Collector of Rajahmundry, in order to show in what manner the talooks under my charge have benefited by the annicut project generally, and I trust that the following remarks will afford a clear explanation of my own views, upon all the subjects regarding which you require information.

2. It

2. It is necessary to premise, that it has not yet been possible to impose on the land of the talooks of my division, teervajasty properly so called, because none of the cultivated lands have hitherto changed their class from dry to wet, or from wet to garden, in consequence of improved irrigation. In order therefore to show how the subdivision has benefited by the annicut project, it seemed to me necessary to frame such a return as should exhibit at one view a comparison between the revenue of these talooks, for the fusly 1256, year immediately preceding the commencement of the annicut, and that for the present year, fusly 1262; showing at the same time, the depressed state of this part of the district for 12 or 20 years anterior to fusly 1256, the gradual improvement of the revenue during the progress of the construction of the annicut, and the increase in every year since its completion. To make this table more comprehensive, I have also endeavoured to show in what manner the entire amount of this increase may fairly be attributed to the direct and indirect effects of the Government works, as distinguished from the amount to which the demand upon the ryots must have been restricted, if no such improvements had been undertaken for their benefit. The separate return forwarded with this letter, will be found to comprise complete information upon all the above points in regard to every village of the three talooks of Mogultoor, Woondy, and Tankoo.

3. A statement which should exhibit the extent and kist of those lands only which have been actually watered by the new annicut channels, would be comparatively of little use, because as I said before, there has been no change of crop, nor has an acre of land been reclaimed from waste; but the entire extent of these three talooks having been exposed more or less in former years to both the good and bad effects of the Godavery water, the whole of the land has benefited by the execution of these works, either by improved and certain irrigation, by protection from floods, or relief by drainage.

4. Before proceeding to notice individual villages, which I propose doing by-and-by, choosing for that purpose for the sake of example, a few villages from each talook, it will perhaps put the matter in a clearer light, if I show in the first place, what has been the increase of revenue derived from those lands which are under the influence of the Godavery, as distinguished from those which, from their high level, the water of the river will probably never reach.

5. It is possible that the above figures are not perfectly accurate, for, in order to save time, the calculations have been made from accounts in my cutcherry, and from my general knowledge of the particulars of each talook, but they cannot be materially incorrect. The land which is not affected by the Godavery, is chiefly in the Thademulla talook, the kist of high land in the other three talooks which the river has never yet reached, amounts to the insignificant sum of 12,000 or 14,000 rupees.

6. The following statement giving the actual collections of the three talooks of Mogultoor, Woondy, and Tankoo for the last 12 years, will show the aggregate results of the six years from the first commencement of the annicut, as compared with those of the corresponding period immediately preceding:—

STATEMENT showing the Increase of Kist on Lands capable of Irrigation by the *Godavery*, in the Subdivision of *Rajahmundry*; Comparison between Fusly 1256 and 1262.

Number.	TALOOKS. 1.	Beriz of 1262. 2.	Deduct Shist of High Land not Irrigated by the Godavery. 3.	Remainder Shist of Lands Irrigated by the Godavery. 4.	Average Collection of a Series of Years prior to Fusly 1255. 5.	Average Collections of Five Years from Fusly 1251 to 1255 on Land capable of Irrigation by the Godavery. 6.
1	Mogultoor - -	1,59,959 15 4	13,957 5 10	1,46,002 9 6	1,31,802 6 4	7,83,821 1 7
2	Woondy - -	1,42,369 11 6	490 - -	1,41,879 11 6	1,00,360 10 11	6,34,448 7 8
3	Tankoo - -	1,75,591 11 -	- - -	1,75,591 11 -	1,48,140 4 1	8,71,925 7
	TOTAL - -	4,77,921 5 10	14,447 5 10	4,63,474 - -	3,80,303 5 4	22,90,195 - 9
4	Todemulla - -	34,810 - -	34,810 - -	- - - -	- - - -	1,72,721 2 10

(*continued*)

Note to Column 5.—In the Tankoo talook, the average of 20 years is given. In Woondy, the accounts of some villages were procurable only for 10 or 15 years, and in Mogultoor from 5 to 14 years.

STATEMENT showing the Increase of Kist on Lands capable of Irrigation by the *Godavery—continued.*

Number.	TALOOKS.	Beriz of Fusly 1256. Shist of Lands capable of Irrigation by the Godavery. 7.	Shist of Lands not Irrigated by the Godavery. 8.	TOTAL. 9.	Increase of Shist, compare Columns 4 and 7. 10.	Increase of Shist, compare Columns 3 and 8. 11.	TOTAL. 12.
1	Mogultoor -	1,26,561 6 10	12,039 7 1	1,38,600 13 11	19,441 2 8	1,917 14 9	21,359 1 5
2	Woondy -	1,22,004 8 11	410 - -	1,22,414 8 11	10,875 2 7	80 - -	19,955 2 7
3	Tankoo -	1,52,275 11 7	- - -	1,52,275 11 7	23,315 15 5	- - -	23,315 15 5
	TOTAL - -	4,00,841 11 4	12,449 7 1	4,13,291 2 5	62,632 4 8	1,997 14 9	64,630 3 5
4	Todemulla -	- - - -	34,865 1 9	34,865 1 9	- - -	55 1 9	—

STATEMENT of the Gross LAND REVENUE of the Three Talooks of *Mogultoor*, *Woondy*, and *Tankoo*, from Fusly 1251 to 1262 inclusive.

A. D.	Fusly.	Collections.	Decrease.	Increase.	Prices for Madras Garce: White Paddy.	Prices for Madras Garce: Black Paddy.
			Comparison of each Year with Fusly 1251.			
		Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1841-42 - - -	1251 - -	3,82,728 4 10	- - -	- - -	93 5 -	54 9 -
1842-43 - - -	1252 - -	3,80,432 15 7	2,295 5 3	- - -	57 9 3	46 13 5
1843-44 - - -	1253 - -	3,26,232 3 4	56,496 1 6	- - -	53 10 8	45 10 3
			58,791 6 9			
1844-45 - - -	1254 - -	3,87,886 9 9	- - -	5,158 4 11	58 1 4	52 1 5
1845-46 - - -	1255 - -	3,99,623 12 3	- - -	16,895 7 5	85 3 2	73 8 8
1846-47 - - -	1256 - -	4,13,291 2 5	- - -	30,562 13 7	83 1 10	74 11 8
			58,791 6 9	52,616 9 11		
	Net Decrease - - - Rs.		6,174 12 10			
			Comparison with Fusly 1256.			
1847-48 - - -	1257 - -	4,23,475 4 2	- - -	10,184 1 9	76 4 -	67 2 -
1848-49 - - -	1258 - -	4,40,660 9 5	- - -	27,369 7 -	72 4 -	63 8 -
1849-50 - - -	1259 - -	4,31,927 - 3	- - -	18,635 13 10	75 14 -	60 4 -
				56,189 6 7		
1850-51 - - -	1260 - -	4,43,282 1 10	- - -	29,990 15 5	72 6 -	65 2 -
1851-52 - - -	1261 - -	4,62,789 8 8	- - -	49,498 6 3	59 4 8	52 9 4
1852-53 - - -	1262 - -	4,77,921 5 10	- - -	64,630 3 5	48 - -	42 - -
				200,308 15 8		
			Aggregate Increase - - - Rs.			

7. Hence it appears that, although the revenue of fusly 1256 was upwards of 30,000 rupees beyond that of fusly 1251, the net decrease for the period embraced by those two fuslies is *Rs.* 6,174. 12. 10, or, in other words, the Government would have been a gainer to that amount, if the revenue had remained stationary throughout that period; since the year 1256, the revenue, on the contrary, has been steadily increasing, and, while the collections of fusly

fusly 1262 are 64,000 rupees in excess of those of fusly 1256, the aggregate increase for this last period amounts to *Rs.* 200,308; that is to say, the Government are richer by two lacs of rupees than they would have been had the revenue made no advance after the commencement of the annicut.

8. This comparison, however, would not of itself be sufficient to show the value of these works, because the commencement of the annicut was not the turning point in the revenue. It had increased very considerably in fusly 1254–55, and 1256, although not sufficiently to compensate for the large diminution in fusly 1253. The cause of this latter decrease will enable us to appreciate the improvements which have been made since.

9. The loss in that fusly was occasioned by a heavy flood of the Godavery, when the entire face of the country was exposed to the unchecked ravages of the inundation; but in fusly 1259 there was a still higher flood, and the country being partially protected, although the annicut was not finished, the loss was considerably less.

It is proper to remark, however, that although the figures 4,31,927 represent the collections belonging to fusly 1259, *Rs.* 35,000 of that amount were postponed and actually collected in fusly 1260.

In fusly 1262, when the river rose higher than on either of the previous occasions, and the flood continued at its height for a most unusual period, the loss was so trifling that it has not been found necessary, except in a very few cases, to grant remissions. I have put down the collections of the three talooks for the current fusly at *Rs.* 4,77,921. 5. 10, which is *Rs.*6,800 less than the demand, and is the amount which I consider will be collected without any difficulty.

10. It is impossible to estimate with any approach to accuracy the amount of loss which those talooks would have suffered in the present fusly, had there been no embankments to protect the lands, no drainage to relieve them, and no irrigation channels to supply the after-crops when the first had perished. With the effects of previous floods before us, it is not too much to say that the inundation of the past year, which exceeded both the previous ones in volume, if not in duration, would have reduced the revenue 10 or 15 per cent., and caused an amount of damage which would have completely dispirited the people, and from the effects of which it would have taken them long years to recover.

11. It seems to me that the foregoing figures speak for themselves; it requires no argument to show, that, with two such visitations as the floods of 1849 and 1852, a clear return of 200,000 on those six years could not have been obtained by unaided revenue management, however able and vigorous. Knowing the result of the previous period, we may presume, on the contrary, that, without any improvement in the public works, there would have been a deficiency instead of a surplus. I think, therefore, that I am justified in ascribing the entire increase and security of the revenue during the last six years to the operation of the annicut works.

12. To put the matter in a yet stronger light, I here enter the following statement of the collections for the same two periods in the Todemulla talook, which is above the annicut, and not directly affected by it:—

STATEMENT showing the Annual LAND REVENUE of *Todemulla*, from Fusly 1251 to 1262 inclusive.

FUSLY.	COLLECTION.	DECREASE.	INCREASE.
		Comparison with Fusly 1251.	
	Rs. *a.* *p.*	*Rs.* *a.* *p.*	*Rs.* *a.* *p.*
1251	28,616 3 7	—	—
1252	26,683 – 10	1,933 2 9	—
1253	27,418 13 10	1,197 5 9	—
1254	29,572 12 4	- - - -	956 8 9
1255	25,565 – 6	3,051 3 1	—
1256	34,865 1 9	- - - -	6,248 14 2
		6,181 11 7	7,205 6 11
			1,023 11 4

STATEMENT showing the Annual Land Revenue of *Todemulla*, &c.—*continued.*

FUSLY.	COLLECTION.	DECREASE.	INCREASE.
		Comparison with Fusly 1256.	
	Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1257 - - - - -	29,297 15 -	5,567 2 9	—
1258 - - - - -	28,679 11 -	6,185 6 9	—
1259 - - - - -	27,745 11 10	7,119 5 11	—
1260 - - - - -	30,741 10 9	4,123 7 -	—
1261 - - - - -	32,569 2 -	2,295 15 9	—
1262 - - - - -	34,810 - -	55 1 9	—
		25,346 7 11	—

These figures exhibit a lamentable contrast to the results in the other three talooks of the division, and the remarkable fluctuation requires some explanation. The first material advance was made in fusly 1254, the year after Sir Henry Montgomery visited this district as Commissioner, and the first year of the subdivision, fusly 1255, was a year of dearth. Fusly 1256, a year of plenty; many of the villages were then settled under the sharing system, and the produce of the Assara land in the former year was only three candies, while in the latter it amounted to 400 candies. In fusly 1257 it fell again to 116, and in fusly 1258 to 48 candies. The same causes, viz. scanty, unseasonable, or excessive rains, produced similar results in the rented villages of the talook, and the revenue gradually declined until fusly 1259; since that year the village renting system has been established throughout the talook, and the revenue has steadily increased; but the Beriz even now is lower than it was six years ago, not from the total neglect of public works, but because it could not share to any extent in those grand improvements which have secured the other talooks from similar loss.

Direct and indirect effects of the annicut works.

13. I will now proceed to show more particularly in what manner I consider that the villages in the talooks under my charge, have profited by the annicut project. The benefits have been both direct and indirect, and vary of course according to different localities. The direct benefits are three-fold, and are defined in the first question of your letter: 1st. The preservation of the lands from floods by the new system of embankments; 2d. Their relief by the cutting of drainage channels; 3d. The supply of the lands with water throughout the year.

14. But I do not consider that any one of these three causes had begun to operate upon the revenue to any great extent, until the completion of the annicut in fusly 1260. It is true that the Godavery embankments were stronger and in better order than they had ever been before, but this improvement had not been found sufficient to avert the calamitous effects of the floods of fusly 1259. The increase which occurred previous to that year, fusly 1260, must be attributed almost entirely to the indirect effect produced by the large expenditure of money on the public works.

15. The employment of many thousands of people at seasons when they could not have found work elsewhere, opened out to the labouring class a new and profitable means of livelihood, and secured to the ryot, the tradesman, and the merchant, a large and certain market for agricultural products and merchandise of all kinds. No proof is wanting of the improved condition of the labouring class; many of them have risen from a state approaching to slavery, to be independent cultivators, that is to say, that instead of working as before for an inadequate daily hire, some of them now possess small holdings of their own, paying kist to Government, while others are content to sell their labour to Government for the ample pay they receive at the public works. It must be admitted that the change bears very hard upon individuals among the better and more wealthy class of ryots, accustomed and entitled by long prescriptive right to the services of their serfs or under labourers, who in return have enjoyed certain rights and immunities, and even the site upon which they live, at the will of their lord: those proprietors now find themselves deserted in favour of the Government works, and are frequently in want of hands for the tillage

tillage of their fields at the proper seasons. The natural effect has been a rise in the wages of labour, but, as compulsory attendance at the Government works is no longer enforced, the better class of ryot has no real grievance on that score. He admits that, after a temporary absence, his under-labourer returns to the village with a bag of money, but because the latter surrenders no portion of his gains, he finds it difficult to realise the principle, that the money does find its way to him in some shape or other, and that the servant's prosperity is undoubtedly conducive to the benefit of the master. It will take some little time, perhaps, to impress this truth upon the natives generally, but in some villages they are already beginning to understand it.

16. You are aware that the subsidiary works for the irrigation of that portion of the delta which lies to the west of the Vasista Godavery, were only commenced in the spring of 1851 (fusly 1261), but in fusly 1260, a considerable sum was expended in repairing and strengthening the river embankments; the two large mouths of the Boopyah and Jeggaraz Kalvas were effectually bunded, and various other improvements executed to prevent a repetition of the disastrous effects of the inundation of fusly 1259. But it was not until fuslies 1261 and 1262 that the country was relieved by the commencement of the drainage channels, or the people benefited by the certain supply of water, first in the Gosta Nuddee and Wyairoo, and afterwards in the other channels that are now in course of completion. In determining therefore what portion of this increase of revenue is owing to the several direct and indirect effects of the annicut works, I have been guided by those circumstances, and have attributed the profit of the three years from fusly 1257 to 1259 inclusive, to the general expenditure; that of fusly 1260 and 1261, to the effect of improved embankments and drainage; and the increase of fusly 1262, to the actual supply of water in all seasons.

Dates of the accomplishment of various works on the Godavery, western bank:—

May 1851. Wyair project commenced.

August 1851. Chettypetta Calingalah finished. Head of Gosta Nadee opened.

September 1851. First dhony passes through Vizzaseavram lock.

February 1852. Nundamoor lock opened.

April 1852. Kakarapurroo channel opened.

August 1852. Yellamunchally channel opened.

January 1853. Palacole channel finished. Parimella lock opened.*

February 1853. No. 1. Asunta irrigation channel opened.

March 1853. No. Assunta irrigation channel opened.

April 1853. Mookkamoolla lock opened.

17. The following is a statement, exhibiting the advantage derived from the Government works in a few villages selected from each delta talook of the subdivision; they will serve as an exemplification of the whole, for the separate table which accompanies this letter, is prepared in the same form, and contains the particulars of every village in the three talooks:—

STATEMENT showing the Effect of the several Works of the ANNICUT Project upon the Revenue of a few Villages of each of the three Delta Talooks in the Subdivision of *Rajahmundry*.

	Talooks.	Irrigating Channels.	Villages.	Permanent Beriz.	Highest Collection.		Lowest Collection.		Average Collection from Fusly 1251 to 1255.
					Fusly.	Amount.	Fusly.	Amount.	
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.
				Rs. a. p.		*Rs. a. p.*		*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1	Mogultoor	Nuckkala	1. Asunta	18,053 13 –	1236	21,665 1 2	1255	15,100 12 9	13,725 11 8
		Palacole	2. Padoor	4,345 5 2	1243	7,434 5 3	1255	3,300 – –	3,110 – –
		Yellamunchely	3. Codumunchely	5,553 12 –	1204	5,653 6 8	1247	3,376 10 9	4,454 14 4
		Nuckkala	4. Vamanarum	3,402 1 1	1261	6,500 – –	1298	2,459 1 9	3,469 7 2
				31,354 15 3		39,252 13 1		24,736 9 3	24,760 1 2
2	Woondy	Gosta	1. Sroongavroochum	7,233 11 2	1223	7,009 12 –	1225	3,229 4 9	4,966 – 2
		Ditto	2. Gollalakodair	3,259 8 2	1229	3,315 – 6	1232	150 8 6	2,139 12 4
		Ditto	3. Mahdepatam	6,422 5 8	1226	4,205 12 2	1231	1,059 15 –	1,796 13 10
		Ditto	4. Royakodair	4,696 8 9	1221	5,159 2 2	1222	2,326 1 11	3,478 5 10
				21,612 1 9		19,689 10 10		6,765 14 2	12,381 – 2
3	Tankoo	Gosta	1. Velpoor	5,795 2 1	1226	7,177 2 6	1256	5,000 – –	4,740 9 1
		Ditto	2. Ramasevarum	1,921 11 10	1222	2,725 8 5	1256	1,411 15 –	1,100 – –
		Ditto	3. Mortair	1,611 11 1	1222	2,359 10 5	1256	1,225 – –	1,100 – –
		Ditto	4. Pengonda	5,221 9 6	1224	6,665 8 9	1253	2,770 15 –	3,575 – –
				14,550 2 7		18,930 14 1		10,407 14 –	10,515 9 1
				67,517 3 7		77,873 6 –		41,910 5 5	47,656 10 5

STATEMENT showing the effect of the several Works of the Annicut Project upon the Revenue, &c.—*continued.*

Villages.	Beriz for Fusly 1256. 10.	Beriz for Fusly 1262. 11.	Aggregate Increase of Shist from Fuslies 1257 to 1262 over Fusly 1256. Increase in Fuslies 1257, 58 and 59, of Profit by General Expenditure. 12.	Increase in Fuslies 1260 and 61, of Profit by Embankments and Drainage. 13.	Increase in Fusly 1262, of Profit by actual Supply of Annicut Water. 14.	Total of Columns 13 and 14. 15.	Total of Columns 12 and 15. 16.
	Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*
1. Asunta	15,108 1 –	17,600 – –	2,110 13 –	3,389 14 –	2,494 15 –	5,884 13 –	7,995 10 –
2. Padoor	3,506 14 5	5,200 – –	1,232 13 9	2,386 3 7	1,693 1 7	4,079 4 9	5,312 2 6
3. Codumunchely	4,852 13 6	5,350 – –	423 8 –	459 5 6	497 2 6	956 7 6	1,379 15 6
4. Vamanarum	3,744 12 –	4,500 – –	235 12 –	1,635 12 –	– – –	1,635 12 –	1,871 8 –
	27,209 8 11	32,650 – –	4,002 14 9	7,871 2 2	4,685 3 1	12,556 5 3	16,559 4 –
1. Sroongavroochum	5,180 – –	6,150 – –	1,205 – –	1,450 – –	970 – –	2,420 – –	3,625 – –
2. Gollalakodair	2,618 5 6	3,463 12 6	842 12 9	1,277 1 6	845 7 –	2,122 8 6	2,965 5 3
3. Mahdepatam	2,450 – –	3,245 – –	710 – –	1,093 14 5	795 – –	1,893 14 5	2,663 14 5
4. Royakodair	4,071 – 3	5,130 – –	1,282 10 6	1,631 15 6	1,058 15 9	2,690 15 3	3,973 9 9
	14,319 5 9	17,988 12 6	4,040 7 3	5,457 15 5	3,669 6 9	6,127 6 2	13,167 13 5
1. Velpoor	5,000 – –	6,100 – –	1,516 13 11	1,500 – –	1,100 – –	2,600 – –	4,116 3 11
2. Ramasevarum	1,411 15 –	2,000 – –	827 10 –	816 1 –	588 1 –	1,404 2 –	2,231 12 –
3. Mortair	1,225 – –	1,865 – –	475 – –	571 – –	640 – –	1,211 – –	1,686 – –
4. Pengonda	3,650 – –	4,803 8 11	450 – –	708 7 –	853 8 11	1,561 15 11	2,011 15 11
	11,586 15 –	14,768 8 11	3,268 13 11	3,598 8 –	3,181 9 11	6,777 1 11	10,045 15 10
	53,115 13 8	65,407 5 5	11,312 3 11	16,924 9 7	11,536 3 9	28,460 13 4	39,773 1 3

* 755 rupees of this amount is the increase in fusly 1262, but as no water has yet been conducted to the village of Vamavarum, it is entered in Column 13.

18. The first village is Asunta, in the Mogultoor talook, which is now watered by a cut from the Yellamunchelly channel. In fusly 1257, 1258, and 59 during the construction of the annicut, the ryots profited largely by the increased demand for products of all descriptions occasioned by the wages received on the Government works by large masses of the people; the amount under this head is *Rs.* 2,110. 13., as entered in Column 12. The chief products are those of the most valuable kinds, requiring careful culture, and a considerable amount of artificial irrigation. Until fusly 1260, these lands had been exposed to the ravages of floods, and a large portion of the crop was annually destroyed; but by the repairs of bunds, and chiefly by the raising of an embankment across the mouth of the Jaggarazoo Codue, the crops in that and the following year were preserved, and the profit was very large. The increase of revenue for those two years, as entered in Column 13, was *Rs.* 3,389. 14.

19. In the current fusly (1262), not only was there one of the largest floods on record, but the whole of the dry crops, the principal produce in this part of the district, were almost completely destroyed by the excessive and unseasonable rain which fell in December; considerable doubts were entertained whether it would have been possible to collect the large kists of that and the following months, but fortunately for the ryots and for Government, in consequence of the constant supply of water from the two channels branching from the Nuckkala Calva, the pyra, or after-crops, were excellent; the ryots were indemnified for their previous loss, and the Government demand has been realised in full. I have no hesitation in saying, that but for this timely aid, the loss in this village alone would have amounted to 4,000 rupees.

20. The other villages in this talook were similarly watered by the Palacole, Yellamunchely and Nuckkala channels, and the above remarks apply generally to them all.

21. In Tankoo, the improvement is not less conspicuous. In the villages selected, the crops of Bengal gram, oil seeds, &c., have been brought forward or revived by water from the Gosta Nadee and Palacole channels.

22. The effect of these works upon the Woondy talook, has been still more remarkable. The almost constant supply of water in this and in last year, in the

the numerous old branch channels from the Gosta Nadee, has enabled the ryots to forestall by many weeks, the usual season for sowing, and afterwards transplanting their first paddy crop, a circumstance which ensures them a rich harvest. In many parts of the talook, they are now certain of water for the irrigation of the Dalwa crop, which being before dependent on precarious rains, they seldom or never reaped; and in many villages, grain, cotton, &c., have been grown upon land which was never known to produce a dry crop before.

23. Nor is this all; the relief of the lands by what has been already effected in the way of drainage is very striking. The value of the crops already grown on land so relieved, and which would have been nearly unproductive without drainage, is perhaps small, but when the large drain from Gollala Codaroo, following the old course of the Gosta Nadee, is completed, a very large extent of land will, I hope, be reclaimed for cultivation.

24. Where the improvement has been so general, and the increase in the revenue is owing to various direct and indirect causes, it is perhaps difficult to determine precisely, the proportion which is properly attributable to each particular part of the work. The division is necessarily arbitrary, but the arrangement which I have adopted in the separate return that accompanies this letter is borne out, as explained in the few instances selected, by the circumstances of each particular village. If it has been satisfactorily shown that those several effects have combined to produce this increase of revenue, it matters little that we have over-rated the benefit derived from any one part of the project.

25. I ought not to close this part of the subject without alluding to the very material effect which the annicut has produced upon the revenue derived from the sales of salt. The salt swamps in the Mogultoor talook may be calculated to contain at least 5,000 acres. The names of the villages with the extent of land entered under this head in the accounts of each village, is given in the margin. Ten years ago, the Government incurred considerable expense for the protection of the salt produced upon these plains, and in fusly 1251, realised *Rs.* 28,249. 13., by the sale of that portion which the vigilance of its officers had secured from illegal removal. The value of spontaneous salt formerly removed clandestinely, and consumed by the people, may be estimated at 40 or 50,000 rupees. Since the month of March 1852, the flow of fresh water from the Gosta Nuddee has entirely stopped the production of such salt except in one or two villages, and the sales at the Mogultoor depôt, from July 1852 up to April last, have already exceeded those of the previous fusly by 8,000 rupees, and the sales to the end of the fusly will probably amount to 20,000 rupees more. When the soil of these plains becomes thoroughly sweetened by the continued washing of Godavery water, not only will the salt revenue continue to increase, but a considerable tract will also be fit for cultivation.

Matchapuru	50
Mullavarum	–
Kumsalabathapudi	9
Losaregutta-paudu	150
Vempa	40
Dirsumurru	20
Tundurru	50
Kulnapaudi	20
Mamedipadi	15
Taderu	7-10
Yenamadurru	15
	376-10

26. With respect to the question, whether with this increase in the assessment, the ryots have improved in their circumstances, I think there can be but one opinion. There are, of course, individual exceptions, cases where taxation has pressed too heavily, and villages which it has been found necessary to relieve of part of their burden; but I can confidently point to those villages which have borne the highest increase of assessment, as being the richest and the most thriving of the subdivision. While, on the other hand, those villages that have not yet shared in the improvements, have become impoverished and partially depopulated, through continual neglect or exposure to hopeless inundations, from which there appeared no relief. I am happy to say that the inhabitants of these villages are no longer desponding; they have not been unmoved spectators of what has been doing around them, and they look forward with hope to a share of those benefits which others have already secured.

Have the circumstances of the ryots improved with the increase of revenue?

27. I trust that I have succeeded in showing clearly, that the extraordinary increase of revenue in these talooks is due mainly, if not entirely, to the annicut works; that this improvement has been gradual, and annually progressive in proportion as the project proceeded; and that the pressure of this enhanced assessment has not been too severely felt by the ryots in general, who, on the contrary,

If there be no delay in the prosecution of the works, will the revenue continue to increase for some time to come, but only to such an

amount as will admit of the steady increase of private property?

contrary, have improved in their circumstances. The benefit which has already been secured, is an earnest of what may yet be done; to stop short at the point when the real fruit of our labour is about to be gathered, when the whole mass of the people are eagerly anticipating the completion of the project, seems to me to be the very worst policy. The results which have followed the partial relief in the Woondy talook, testify to the importance of the immediate completion of the drainage of that part of the country; while the effects of the limited supply of water which has already reached the villages of Mogultoor, point to the expediency of extending the benefit to every other part of that and the Tankoo talook.

28. The ryots are not now, as heretofore, regardless of improvement; they are deeply interested in the progress of the works, and every village desires its own watercourse. It is no longer necessary to compel them to the adoption of measures for their own benefit, for they are not slow to recognise a personal advantage when it costs them nothing, and hence it may be confidently argued that there will be an extensive use of these irrigation channels when once they are completed. Some villages are, of course, more backward than others, and whether it arises from difference of soil or from other causes which have influenced the cultivation, it is remarkable that both in Mogultoor and Tankoo the ryots have been satisfied with using the water, to ensure good returns of their usual crops, rather than attempt the culture of rice or other more valuable products. It is partly a want of confidence in their own resources, and an uncertainty of what is to befal them, that, I am persuaded, prevents them in many instances from attempting improvements. It is not surprising that many are found to hesitate and hold back, when they know full well that the revenue officers of Government are on the watch to increase their assessment. Let them first understand that it is really for their benefit that these works are undertaken, that the Government are not anxious to tax them beyond their resources, its first object being the prosperity of the people, and there need be no apprehension regarding the increase of revenue. This, it appears to me, will prove the surest means of creating and confirming private property, and it must have a beneficial effect upon the revenues of Government.

29. I think that the assessment in some parts of the division is already too high, in others that it has been raised to a point which ought not to be exceeded, and that in general we ought to be satisfied with the improvement that has already taken place, without pressing the ryots at a period when all their spirit and energy requires support and encouragement. If we are in too great a hurry to claim extra payment for every drop of water which is carried to their fields, we shall but drain their resources and destroy that hope of the future which now pervades all classes, and ultimately fail to reap those benefits which a more liberal course would have undoubtedly secured.

30. In support of the truth of these remarks, I subjoin a table of the extent of cultivated, fallow, and waste land in each talook of the division:—

TABLE of the entire Extent of CULTIVATED and UNCULTURABLE LAND of all Descriptions in Three Talooks of the Subdivision.

No.	Talooks.	Jeroytee Land, included in Amarkum.			Immemorial Waste.	Enam.			Grand Total.	
		Cultivated.	Fallow.	Total.		Kattoobady.	Doombala.	Total.	Pooties, Columns 4, 5, and 8.	Acres.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
		Pooties.								
1	Mogultoor	4,571 0 0	744 14 13	5,315 14 13	190 18 8	659 8 5	1,609 12 4	2,269 0 9	7,775 13 14	62,205
2	Woondy	4,334 9 5	1,569 17 8	5,904 6 13	27 4 5	464 5 13	1,544 11 9	2,008 17 6	7,940 8 8	63,524
3	Tankoo	4,374 2 9	849 2 1	5,223 5 8	6 8 6	916 19 9	1,999 13 11	2,916 13 4	8,146 7 2	65,171
		13,279 11 14	3,163 15 4	16,443 7 2	224 11 3	2,040 13 11	5,153 17 8	7,194 11 3	23,862 9 8	1,90,900

31. It

31. It is seen from the above table, that the whole area of assessed jeroytee, or Government land in the three talooks, is, 16,443. 7. 2. pootties, or 1,31,547 acres; the assessment amounts to 4,71,957. 1. 10., and the average rent therefore paid to Government is, *Rs.* 3. 9. 5. per acre.

The following figures will be found to give the average in each talook:—

TALOOKS.	Area of Cultivated Land in Acres.			Kist.			Average per Acre.		
	Acres.	*r.*	*p.*						
Mogultoor - - - - - - -	42,526	0	0	1,56,432	6	3	3	10	10
Woondy - - - - - - - -	47,235	0	0	1,45,519	4	5	3	1	3½
Tankoo - - - - - - - -	41,786	0	0	1,70,005	7	2	4	1	1
TOTAL - - -	1,31,547	0	0	4,71,957	1	10	3	9	5

I am not at this moment aware of the rates which obtain in other districts of this Presidency, but the average of the talooks of Amalapoor and Nagarum on the other side of the river is also about four rupees. In an able and interesting article upon the land revenue of Madras, in the Calcutta Review for June 1852, I find it stated that the average rent paid to Government in the North West Provinces, on the acres actually cultivated, is, *Rs.* 1. 12. per acre; and that in the Salem district the average is *Rs.* 1. 14. 10. per acre. If, therefore, the above table can be depended upon, you will not be surprised at my doubting the possibility of materially increasing the land revenue for the next few years, without bearing too heavily upon the ryots. But the fact is, that the above figures do not represent the entire extent of cultivated and cultivable land in the subdivision, if they did, the villages could not have borne their present burden without a decline of prosperity. In the foregoing calculation, I have allowed eight acres to the pooty as being the general measurement of the country; but in many parts of the district the pooty is much larger. Dotiputtah, for instance, and other Lunka villages, where the puggum of 96 cubits is used, the pooty contains 11 acres; and then, again, no faith can be placed in a mode of measurement which varies in almost every village, so that I have little doubt we shall be under the mark, if we allow at least 50,000 acres in excess of the number entered as actually cultivated; but even with this increase the tax would still be very high.

32. The revenue payable on the Cuttoobady enam lands, the area of which is 16,320 acres, amounts to *Rs.* 22,016. 10. 4. If this sum be added to the assessment on jeroytee land, the taxation per head will be found to amount to *Rs.* 2. 12. 8. for the year. Continuing the comparison afforded by the paper above referred to, the taxation per head in the North-West is stated to be *Rs.* 1. 14., and in the Salem District, *Rs.* 2. 1. 2½.; and in those calculations, the revenue derived from the abkary and stamps has been taken into account, whereas in mine, every item but the land tax is excluded.

Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
4,74,957	1	10
22,016	10	4
49,673	12	2

The population of the three talooks by the census of 1851, was 2,01,504.

33. I have already alluded to the reluctance of the ryots to attempt a change of crop from dry to wet; it will not be uninteresting to compare the estimated return of five consecutive years, from dry crops, with a similar return from wet crops, both grown upon irrigated fallow land of the first class:—

Years.	CROP.	Dry Land. Nature of Cultivation.	Expenses.	Return.	Profit.	—
			R. *a.* *p.*	*R.* *a.* *p.*	*R.* *a.* *p.*	*R.* *a.* *p.*
1st	Poonasa, black paddy, red grain, cotton.	Turning with crowbar, ploughing.	32 – –	80 – –	—	—
	Pyra, cholum, lamp-oil seeds, Bengal and horse-gram, cotton, &c.	Labourers' hire for sowing, cutting, weeding, &c.	23 8 –	60 – –	—	—
			55 8 –	140 – –	84 8 –	—
2d	– – – – –	– – – –	20 – –	140 – –	120 – –	—
3d, 4th, and 5th years, at the same rate as the 2d			60 – –	420 – –	360 – –	—
				TOTAL – – *Rs.*		564 8 –
	Wet Land:					
1st	White paddy	Ploughing, seeds, labourers' hire for planting, watering, cutting, &c.	25 – –	90 – –	65 – –	—
2d	White small crop of gingily oil-seed.	– – – –	25 – –	120 8 –	95 8 –	—
3d	– – – –	– – – –	25 – –	169 – –	144 – –	—
4th and 5th years at the same rate as 3d – –			50 – –	338 – –	288 – –	—
				TOTAL – – *Rs.*		592 8 –

Note.—It may be thought that this comparison tells too favourably for dry cultivation, and it is proper to mention that in support of my argument, I have chosen the best light soil of Tankoo and Mogultoor, and have taken the highest return they have been known to yield in the very best seasons. Had the comparison extended to 10 years, the dry produce would probably have diminished one-half. It must be borne in mind, too, that the certain supply of water ensures a good crop of black paddy and of oil-seeds. An average of 10 rupees the pooty has been taken as the price of the poonasa crop, and 15 rupees for the pyra. The ordinary rates for black paddy is between 7 and 8 rupees, cotton 12, doll 15; and the average selling price of jomia is 12, of oil seeds above 30, and Bengal gram, 20 rupees the pooty.

In regard to the second statement, it is to be observed that the price of a pair of bullocks is included in the cost of production of the first year, and that the expenses of the second and following years on irrigated land, are larger than those in the former statement, because in the case of converting dry land into wet, the soil, which has been exhausted by the production of dry grains, requires to be well manured to strengthen it for the rice crop.

34. The above results have been obtained from various sources within my reach, and I have no reason to believe that they are materially incorrect. It will be observed that for the first two years the return from dry crops is higher than from wet; that the advantage of white paddy cultivation shows itself in the third year; and that after the lapse of five years, the profit in favour of the wet over the dry crop is less than 30 rupees. The above returns, however, presuppose good seasons, and it must be remembered that if one dry crop is abundant, another is scanty, and that the dry cultivation generally is subject to adverse influences of the weather, from which the wet is secure, and the returns are consequently more precarious.

35. The statement underneath will show the advantage of converting a pooty of unirrigated land into a rice field. Returns are given as above, for five years:—

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of Expenses and Returns from a Pooty of IRRIGATED and UNIRRIGATED LAND of the First Sort.

Years.	Unirrigated Land.			Remainder or Profit.	The same Land when Irrigated.				Comparison of Columns 4 and 8.	
	Pooties of Grain on a Pooty of Land.	Value.	Deduct Cost of Production.		Produce of White Paddy per Pooty.	Value at Nine Rupees.	Deduct Cost of Production.	Remainder or Profit.	Increase.	Decrease.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1	10	80	44	36	8	72	44	28	–	8
2	12	110	7	103	10	90	30	60	–	47
3	12	110	7	103	16	144	30	114	11	—
4	10	90	10	80	20	180	30	150	70	—
5	8	72	10	62	20	180	30	150	88	—
									169	55

It will be seen from the above results that although the dry cultivation deteriorates while the wet improves, the ryot loses by the change for the first two years. If it be admitted that the foregoing estimates approach the truth, it is evident that a too sudden rise in the assessment will press very heavily upon the ryots.

36. The following table shows the average assessment per acre of each description of land in the three talooks :—

TALOOKS.	AVERAGE, &c.			
	Dry.	Wet.	Garden.	Lunka.
Mogultoor - - - - - -	3 14 5	2 10 –	7 11 5	9 5 7
Woondy - - - - - - -	2 13 3	3 3 1	—	—
Tankoo - - - - - - -	3 14 –	5 1 8	- - -	10 10 7
	3 11 2	3 1 6	7 11 5	9 15 1

It will be observed that the average rent of the dry land in Mogultoor and Tankoo is higher than the average of wet land in Mogultoor and Woondy. This is explained by the fact that garden produce, chillies, turmeric, sugar-cane, &c., is grown upon what is entered in the accounts as dry land; cocoa-nuts, mangoes, and betel only being entered as gardens.

37. I wish it were in my power to frame accurate returns of the gross value of crops grown on the lands of each talook, or even of a few villages, but so long as it continues to be the interest of the cultivator to conceal the truth, and of the native Government officials to connive at the deception, so long will the estimates furnished to us be deficient, and our returns fictitious. Hence arises the difficulty of determining the true value of an acre of land, and until a new survey and assessment is set on foot, this inconvenience will continue.

38. It does seem to me that no better time than the present could be chosen for the commencement of this long-deferred survey. The country is in a state of transition, the lands require classification, re-arrangement, and fair

distribution; rights have to be confirmed and inequalities removed, and the people are eagerly looking forward to an improvement in the existing state of things; my own opinion is, that if the revenue from jeroyte land were allowed to remain stationary, or nearly so, for two or three years, the people would be stimulated to industry, and induced to attempt every sort of improvement to their lands by manuring and irrigation, which, at the close of that period, would be in a condition to bear a reasonable increase of assessment. On enam lands tirvajasty can be levied forthwith, for they have already participated in, and will continue to receive, the several benefits produced by these Government works. The assessment already fixed by the Collector is one rupee the pooty, and even at this moderate rate, there will be a considerable increase to the revenue from this item alone.

39. 'Meanwhile, let the survey proceed, let it commence with those villages which have been the first to benefit by the new supply of water, and be thus carried gradually throughout each talook. On the completion of the survey, the lands having been properly classified and their capabilities clearly ascertained, a just and moderate assessment might be imposed which should not be liable to fluctuation, and the ryots being no longer disheartened by the uncertainty of the Government demand, will regard their individual holdings as private property, and the Government revenue will increase as they advance in prosperity.

40. I cannot however, undertake to say that the revenue of the division can increase in the same ratio as heretofore, until the whole of the annicut project be carried through, but that the return will then be amply remunerative, I have not the smallest doubt. The Godavery water has but just reached the lands of Tankoo and Mogultoor, and yet the assessment has increased within the last six years at the rate of half a rupee an acre throughout the three delta talooks of the division.

Fusly.	Price per Madras Garce.					
	White Paddy.			Black Paddy.		
	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*
1251	93	5	–	54	9	–
1252	57	9	3	46	13	5
1253	53	10	8	45	10	3
1254	58	1	4	52	1	5
1255	55	3	2	73	8	8
1256	53	1	10	74	11	8
1257	76	4	–	67	2	–
1258	72	4	–	63	8	–
1259	75	14	–	64	–	–
1260	72	6	–	65	2	–
1261	59	4	8	52	9	4
1262	48	–	–	42	–	–

41. There is one point which I have not yet noticed, but which in all calculations affecting the revenue must be taken into account, and that is, the price of agricultural produce. You will see by the marginal statement, that the prices of paddy have very materially declined, and you will understand that this has been very severely felt, particularly in the talook of Woondy, where, until the last year or two, no other crop could be produced. As the ryot pays the same tax whether the selling price is 10 or 6 rupees, his difficulties are very severe when grain is cheap. This gradual decline of prices therefore must not be overlooked, when we are considering the probability of an increase in the revenue. Cheap food is no doubt a great blessing to the people, and the larger the quantity of rice grown, the cheaper it will be; but to the cultivator who has to meet the Government demand, it is absolutely necessary that the best market should be open to him, and that he should be put in a position to compete with farmers in other parts of the country; and this brings me to the consideration of the fourth question in your letter.

Navigation.

42. I have been favoured by the Collector with the perusal of your memorandum, dated 23d February 1853, referring to an extract from the Minutes of Consultation, dated 13th September 1852. On the subject of the Thooliabaga, the arguments you have used in favour of the completion of the navigation of that canal, are equally applicable to all the channels of the subdivision. I have not the means of showing by actual returns, the amount of traffic which has already sprung up on the incompleted canals on this side of the river, but there cannot be a question of the immense advantage to all classes of the community, from cheap and easy transport which will be afforded by these channels. The importance of the navigation is attested by the eagerness with which the people already avail themselves of the water carriage within their reach, and by the disappointment which they express at the obstacles they necessarily meet with in the present incomplete state of the channels. Many instances have come under my own observation, of the efforts made by the ryots,

ryots to carry their produce to the coast, and on several occasions they have applied to me for assistance which I heartily wish it had been in my power to give. That facility of communication creates traffic, is a principle which is universally recognised in civilised countries. Before any project of the kind is undertaken, it seems to me only necessary to inquire, whether the circumstances of a province, and the wants of the population, demand improved communications; and if a reply can be given in the affirmative, an abundant traffic will certainly follow the construction of roads or canals. If again the agricultural products, or the manufactures of any two places be considerably in excess of the demand for home consumption, it is manifestly of the highest importance to the welfare of those two communities, to secure the cheapest and readiest means of an interchange of commodities. To deny them all communication, would be to interpose an effectual barrier to their progress, to repress all enterprise and energy, and to withhold from them a most powerful stimulus to industry.

43. Now the majority of the towns and villages in the sub-division are precisely in this condition; they have long groaned, apathetically it may be, under the want of good communications, for there is scarcely a single road throughout the three Delta talooks that deserves the name, and which is not impassable for bandies for more than half the year; and when we add that the population is now rapidly increasing, that there is a large augmentation in the quantity of produce, the cost of which, as you have remarked, diminishes every year, and more than all that the agricultural community are fully alive to the value of improved communications, and are already making every effort to transport their produce to the best market; I think we have a very powerful argument in favour of the speedy completion of these channels, and at the same time, a guarantee that the traffic will exceed any estimate we could now form of its extent.

44. From a paper just furnished to me by Lieutenant Chambers, the executive engineer officer superintending the works on this side of the river, I find that the number of boats which passed through the Vizasevarum Lock in last month (March 1853) was 204, and that the value of rice, oilseeds, and other produce exported during the month, was about 9,000 rupees. Even at this rate the export would amount to 1,08,000 rupees annually, were the channels to remain in their present state, but, when every village is supplied with water carriage for the interchange of traffic, and the navigation is open throughout the district, it may reasonably be expected that these exports will increase to many times that amount.

Since writing this I have learnt that the value of the exports from the western Delta talooks for the month of April 1853, amounted to 40,000 rupees, of which 14,000 was the value of the grain, and 21,000 the value of the jaggery. In May, the value of exports was 56,000 rupees.

45. Cocanada must continue to offer the best market for rice, oilseeds, grain, &c., as from the demand by English merchants and the facility it offers to the shipping, there is no other port to compete with it; much of the produce of the sub-division, however, will find its way to Masulipatam, to Elloor and to Nursapoor, where the decline of trade may be greatly attributed to the want of proper communications. I cannot consider that Nursapoor has been fairly treated in this matter. Deprived by the construction of the annicut of the direct river communication to Rajahmundry, which was formerly open (at any rate) a great part of the year, this town has not yet been indemnified for so great a loss and inconvenience to its trade by the completion of a single navigation channel for the conveyance of exports and imports. The Nuckkala channel is now open, it is true, but the navigation is uncertain and imperfect, and I cannot too strongly urge the early completion of this and the Gosta Nuddee line.

46. The following is a statement showing in a clear point of view the advantages of water carriage from different parts of the sub-division.

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT of the Expense of LAND and WATER CARRIAGE for Short and Long Distances in the Sub-Division of Rajahmundry.

Number.	To and from what Place. VILLAGES. 1.	Distance in Miles. 2.	ARTICLES. 3.	Land. Hire Paid for Bullocks, &c. per Pooty. 4.	Water. Hire for Dhoonies at Present. 5.	Water. Probable Price when Channels are Full. 6.	Rate per Mile, Water. Land. 7.	Cost at Present. 8.	Probable Cost in Future. 9.	REMARKS.
1	From Woondy to Cocanada on Gosta Nuddee.	70	Paddy - - -	8 - -	3 - -	- 14 -	- 1 10	- - 8	- - 2⅖	
2	From Woondy to Elloor on Colair.	40	Ditto - - -	4 - -	1 - -	- 6 -	- 1 5	- - 4	- - 1½	
3	From Palaveram to Woondy on Gosta Nuddee.	60	1,000 bamboos, including the water carriage on the Godavery.	19 - -	9 - -	2 - -	- 5 1	- 2 5	- - 6½	The price of 1,000 bamboos at Palaveram is six rupees, the former selling price at Woondy was 25 rupees; and is now 15 rupees. The difference between the cost and selling price is put down as the hire for carriage.
4	From Samulcottah to Rajahmundry.	55	Per candy of 20 mds.	2 - -	1 - -	- 8 -	- - 7	- - 3½	- - 1¾	The great market for this article is Vizasevarum, where the price fluctuates from 40 to 50 rupees the candy; none but the richest ryots can afford the land carriage from Rajahmundry. Local purchases are made from the poorer class at from 15 to 20 rupees the candy, and the profit to the soucar is at least 50 per cent.
5	From Tankoo to Nursapoor on Palacole Channel.	25	Bengal and horse gram oil seeds, &c.	2 8 -	- -	- 8 -	- 1 7	- -	- - 4	Too high.
6	From Woondy to Nursapoor.	20	Paddy - - -	2 - -	- -	- 4 -	- 1 7	- -	- - 2½	
7	From Palacole to Nursapoor.	6	Bengal and horse gram oil seeds, &c.	- 12 -	- 4 -	- 2 -	- - 8	- -	- - 4	This estimate is probably too high.
8	From Nursapoor to Rajahmundry.	45	Bearers for two native palakees, 10; cavademen, two.	12 - -	3 - -	- -	- 4 3	- 1 1	- -	Small dingies, capable of holding six or eight persons, have been hired at this rate, to convey court-suitors, traders and their attendants, from Nursapoor to Rajy, on the Palacole Channel. This communication being now closed, the unkkala is used instead. The comparison includes two palakees only for the heads of the two families, and the expense by water is one-fourth. Large quantities of jaggery are sent to the Rajahmundry sugar works, and the demand for this article will probably increase very considerably. The superintendent of Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co.'s factory is so sensible of the value of water carriage, that he has already constructed a number of boats for the conveyance of the supply of this article to Rajahmundry, and of sugar, &c. to the coast.
9	From Nursapoor to Chettypett.	36	Jaggery - - -	- 12 -	- 3 -	- 3 -	- - 4	- -	- - 1	

47. I repeat with confidence that the people are all prepared to take immediate advantage of these improvements for their benefit, that they ask nothing better than that the means be afforded them of making their own terms with the purchasers of their produce, and many of them will build their own boats, as soon as they know that the navigation is certain. In many parts of the Woondy talook, when the price at Cocanada was 10, and at Bunder 11 rupees, the ryots were obliged to give their paddy to the soucar for six and seven rupees the pooty, to enable them to meet their heaviest kists, solely because there was no local demand, and they could not afford to send it to a distance; the same might be said of almost every description of produce; the ryot parts with it at a ruinous sacrifice, and the soucar is enriched at his expense.

48. It is in this way that prices affect the revenue; when the ryot can himself transport his produce at a trifling expense to the best market and feel himself independent of the soucar, his returns will be increased 50 per cent., and his kists paid with ease. It does appear to me to be very hard, that, after all other restrictions upon commerce have been removed, the ryot should be still compelled to deal with the local merchant, because we virtually deprive him of access to the best market, and of the means of obtaining the full price of the produce of his industry.

49. I have not yet alluded to the new and abundant supply of river water for men and cattle, which is now conveyed to villages where the want of it was before severely felt, and which has contributed so largely to the comfort and happiness of thousands of the people. This blessing can only be properly estimated by those who have benefited by the change, and I can testify that by them, at all events, it is fully and gratefully appreciated.

50. But the interest and importance of the whole subject have carried me on, and this letter has already far exceeded the limits I intended. I will, therefore, now close my remarks with the expression of a hope; that no further delay may occur in the prosecution of any of the works which form a part of your noble project.

I have, &c.
(signed) *G. N. Taylor*;
Sub-Collector.

Samuldive, 4 May 1853.

(True copy.)

(signed) G. N. Taylor,
Sub-Collector in Charge.

REPORT on the Direct and Indirect Effects of the Godavery Annicut, in the Talooks of the Collector's Division, in the District of Rajahmundry.

Para. 1. IN a former paper it was attempted to show that the increase of revenue in the sub-division was due mainly, if not entirely, to the Annicut works. It was not meant to be affirmed that no other causes whatever had contributed to produce the enhanced and still growing prosperity of the province. The introduction of a more healthy system of revenue management, the striking off of heavy balances of former years, hopeless of realisation, while they pressed a sore burden on the people; larger and more certain protection to life and property, by improvement in the police; all these measures have, without doubt, powerfully affected the happiness of the people; and while fostering the steady increase of private property, have enabled the whole population to pursue their ordinary occupations, whether of agriculture or of trade, with a

feeling of greater confidence, and with a surer knowledge that they will reap the fruits of their labour, than they ever possessed before. It was not contended that the labours of the revenue officers, the activity and vigilance of the magistrate, combining fiscal and police improvements, had accomplished nothing; it was simply stated, that, under the operation of certain natural causes, the most vigorous administrator of the most perfect revenue system could not have extracted from the soil the amount of produce, nor realised from the ryot the aggregate collections of the last six years, without the aid of the scientific public works projected by the engineers.

2. It was argued that if the floods of 1843 had caused a certain amount of damage to produce and property, and a consequent loss of revenue to Government, the probability was, that the higher floods of the subsequent years of 1849 and 1853, would have occasioned much greater loss, had no human means been employed to check or mitigate their ravages. The ability of the Collector, and his improved revenue management, were not called in question; the security of the revenue was attributed to the natural operation of cause and effect. It was shown that the annicut and its subsidiary works had averted destruction which could not otherwise have been prevented, and credit was fairly given to it for the gain to the Government exchequer. It was not pretended that the same results would have been obtained under inefficient management, nor even that the land revenue would have declined, if no public improvements had been effected; but it was argued that the successful efforts of the Collector for a series of years to raise the revenue and to further the prosperity of the country might have been rendered fertile, as they had been before, by disasters which were beyond his power to control, but which have been averted by the Godavery works.

3. This argument I now propose to apply to the talooks of the principal division, which are under the immediate management of the Collector. It must be observed, however, at starting, that in the Collector's division, there is a much larger proportion of Government territory above the influence of the Godavery annicut than in the sub-division; that the soil of those talooks is perhaps the richest in the district, and that a very considerable portion is irrigated by the unfailing water of the Yalairoo, and other hill streams, which in ordinary seasons copiously supply the tanks and natural reservoirs, so that the comparison will not tell so favourably for the tract irrigated by the annicut. For the sake of uniformity, I propose to take the same years and the same periods as were used for the purpose of comparison, in the paper regarding the effect of the annicut on the talooks of the sub-division.

4. The following statement shows the increase of kist in fusly 1262 over fusly 1256 in the lower talooks of the Collector's division, distinguishing the assessment of the lands within the influence of the annicut, and of those which are beyond its reach.

STATEMENT

STATEMENT showing the Increase of KIST in the Talooks of the Collector's Division of the *Rajahmundry* District, which are capable of Irrigation.

—	TALOOKS.	BERIZ OF FUSLY 1256.			Beriz of Fusly 1262.	Deduct Kist of Land, out of reach of Irrigation by Godavery.	Remainder Kist of Land, within influence of Annicut.	INCREASE.		TOTAL Income between 4 and 5.
		Kist of Land, within the influence of Annicut.	Kist of Land, beyond reach of Annicut.	TOTAL.				Comparison between 3 and 6.	Comparison between 2 and 7.	
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.
1	Amalapoor - -	1,28,860	- -	1,28,860	1,48,454	- -	1,48,454	- -	19,594	19,594
2	Nagarum - -	88,182	- -	88,182	1,06,395	- -	1,06,395	- -	18,212	18,212
3	Rally - - -	65,945	18,010	83,955	88,520	19,664	68,856	1,654	2,910	4,564
4	Kota Ramachendrapuram.	1,10,593	- -	1,10,593	1,50,764	- -	1,50,764	- -	40,171	40,171
5	Bickavole - -	84,969	- -	84,969	1,21,044	- -	1,21,044	- -	36,074	36,074
6	Kapaverum - -	73,454	63,976	1,37,430	1,70,125	82,759	87,365	18,783	13,911	32,695
7	Undrunghy, &c., in Cocanada division.	2,411	- -	2,411	2,710	- -	2,710	- -	298	298
		5,54,417	81,986	6,36,403	7,88,015	1,02,424	6,85,591	20,437	1,31,173	1,51,611

5. The comparative beriz in fusly 1256, and 1262 of the upper talooks, or those entirely out of reach of the annicut water, is shown below.

STATEMENT showing the Increase of KIST in those Talooks of the Collector's Division, which are not capable of Irrigation.

—	TALOOKS.	Beriz of Fuzly 1256.	Beriz of Fuzly 1262.	Increase.	——
1	Peddapoor - - - - - - -	37,874	44,003	6,129	
2	Rajahmundry - - - - - -	39,434	42,716	3,282	
3	Kottapilly - - - - - - -	39,981	57,840	17,859	
4	Lingumpurroo - - - - - -	18,469	26,753	8,285	
5	Wooppada, &c. - - - - - -	3,081	4,146	1,064	
6	Coringa - - - - - - - -	31	*31	- - -	* Quit rent.
		1,38,870	1,75,489	36,619	

6. The following is a statement of the actual land revenue collections of the same portions of the district respectively, for a period of 12 years, exhibiting a comparison between the six years preceding, and the six years subsequent, to the commencement of the annicut works.

DELTA TALOOKS.

—	TALOOKS.	BEFORE THE COMMENCEMENT OF ANNICUT.							AFTER THE COMMENCEMENT OF ANNICUT.						
		Fusly 1251.	Fusly 1252.	Fusly 1253.	Fusly 1254.	Fusly 1255.	Fusly 1256.	TOTAL.	Fusly 1257.	Fusly 1258.	Fusly 1259.	Fusly 1260.	Fusly 1261.	Fusly 1262.	TOTAL.
1	Amalapoor	1,10,338	1,09,045	1,09,082	1,17,777	1,28,276	1,30,211	6,97,729	1,34,478	1,36,522	1,29,364	1,37,603	1,43,181	1,44,266	8,25,414
2	Nagarum	82,650	81,472	67,019	80,112	84,438	86,368	4,82,059	90,873	95,043	93,611	99,056	1,02,464	1,01,616	5,83,563
3	Rally	67,776	67,339	50,375	74,637	78,092	83,956	4,31,175	86,866	88,500	83,786	89,644	88,372	85,949	5,23,117
4	Kota Ramachendrapurum	1,16,351	1,16,351	1,16,351	1,14,642	1,16,130	1,30,054	7,09,879	1,35,253	1,39,284	1,20,329	1,39,151	1,45,994	1,42,001	8,22,012
5	Bickavole	88,144	88,144	88,144	88,144	88,144	85,272	5,25,992	88,351	1,02,314	1,04,671	1,14,496	1,19,638	1,16,743	6,46,213
6	Kapaverum, 27 villages	60,678	60,678	60,678	62,178	58,955	68,045	3,71,212	76,806	80,158	82,085	84,131	86,704	87,366	4,97,250
7	Undrunghy	1,841	2,012	1,386	2,088	1,524	2,411	11,262	2,511	2,556	2,436	2,576	2,680	2,641	15,400
	TOTAL	5,27,778	5,25,041	5,02,035	5,39,578	5,48,559	5,86,317	32,29,308	6,15,138	6,44,377	6,16,282	6,67,557	6,89,033	6,80,582	39,12,969
							Average	5,38,218						Average	6,52,161

TALOOKS ABOVE THE ANNICUT.

—	TALOOKS.	BEFORE THE COMMENCEMENT OF ANNICUT.							AFTER THE COMMENCEMENT OF ANNICUT.						
		Fusly 1251.	Fusly 1252.	Fusly 1253.	Fusly 1254.	Fusl y 1255.	Fusly 1256.	TOTAL.	Fusly 1257.	Fusly 1258.	Fusly 1259.	Fusly 1260.	Fusly 1261.	Fusly 1262.	TOTAL.
1	Peddapoor	29,038	29,038	29,038	29,038	29,038	37,405	1,82,595	40,746	42,480	42,654	43,370	42,829	44,003	2,56,082
2	Kapaverum, 66 villages	61,435	59,263	61,029	56,145	53,217	63,885	3,54,944	66,569	69,910	71,544	74,362	76,708	82,759	4,41,852
3	Kottapilly	36,259	32,629	35,058	37,017	37,178	39,982	2,18,123	42,015	44,857	45,265	49,521	56,130	57,725	2,95,523
4	Lingumpurroo	17,696	17,696	17,696	17,696	17,696	14,210	1,02,690	15,882	16,871	17,585	20,391	20,822	21,089	1,12,640
5	Rajahmundry	35,699	35,699	35,699	35,699	36,099	39,223	2,17,025	41,205	41,478	38,353	43,426	42,109	30,940	2,37,511
6	Wooppada, &c.	405	1,403	1,796	1,796	3,000	3,082	12,532	3,165	3,250	3,487	3,650	4,071	4,138	21,761
	TOTAL	1,80,532	1,75,728	1,80,316	1,77,348	1,76,228	1,97,757	10,87,909	2,09,582	2,18,846	2,18,888	2,34,720	2,42,669	2,40,664	13,65,369
							Average	1,81,318						Average	2,27,561

ABSTRACT.

FUSLIES.	DELTA TALOOKS.			TALOOKS ABOVE THE ANNICUT.		
	Collection.	Increase.	Decrease.	Collection.	Increase.	Decrease.
		Comparison with Fusly 1251.				
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1251	5,27,778	- - -	- -	1,80,532	—	—
1252	5,25,041	- - -	2,737	1,75,728	- - -	4,804
1253	5,02,035	- - -	25,743	1,80,316	- - -	216
1254	5,39,578	11,800	- -	1,77,348	- - -	3,184
1255	5,48,559	20,781	- -	1,76,228	- - -	4,304
1256	5,86,317	58,539	- -	1,97,757	17,225	—
		91,220	28,480		17,225	12,508
		Comparison with Fusly 1256.				
1257	6,15,138	28,821	- -	2,09,582	11,825	—
1258	6,44,377	58,060	- -	2,18,846	21,089	—
1259	6,16,282	29,965	- -	2,18,888	21,131	—
1260	6,67,557	81,240	- -	2,34,720	36,963	—
1261	6,89,033	1,02,716	- -	2,42,669	44,912	—
1262	6,80,582	94,265	- -	2,40,664	42,907	—
		3,95,067			1,78,827	

7. The aggregate increase in the former is nearly 6 lacs, and in the latter a little more than 2 lacs of rupees; the per centage to the revenue of the two parts of the district being very nearly equal. From this it might be argued that as the increase in the one case is as conspicuous as in the other no credit can be taken for the annicut, similar results having been obtained without its influence. In order to a proper understanding of the subject, it will be better to give a brief explanation of the peculiar circumstances of each talook in support of the remark which was made in para. 3.

8. The talook of Cottapilly is lightly assessed, possesses a peculiarly rich soil, and in ordinary years the tanks are well supplied with water for irrigation. It came under Government management in fusly 1251; the revenue advanced only 3,000 rupees during the first period, but is now nearly 18,000 rupees higher than it was in fusly 1256. Formerly subject to the incursions and depredations of marauders and freebooters, its present prosperity may fairly be ascribed to the improved management and the successful efforts of the late Collector and Magistrate, by whom the successive outbreaks of the rebels were quelled, and the Revenue system put upon a better footing.

9. The same may be said of the adjoining talook of Lingumpunoo, which borders the hill country of Vizagapatam. It fell to Government in fusly 1256, and the collections of that year fell short of the peishcush by 3,000 rupees. The revenue has gradually advanced, as might have been expected after its lapse to our rule, and it now exceeds the permanent assessment by about the same amount. The most important villages in this talook are watered by the only large tank in the district, which is fed by streams from the hills.

10. Peddapoor, in like manner, came under Government management in fusly 1256, and the collections exceeded the peishcush in the first year by

8,000 rupees; and in the course of a further period of six years the annual revenue has increased from 37 to 44,000 rupees. This talook is irrigated from the Yalairoo, whose waters are distributed by various natural and artificial channels, and by means of dams and calingulas, and are made to fertilise the largest extent of sugar cultivation in the district. Under these circumstances the increase of revenue is not very remarkable.

11. The talook of Rajahmundry is very differently situated; without irrigation of any sort its produce is chiefly cholum and other dry grains. Its revenue, which in fusly 1252 was 35,000 rupees, and had amounted in fusly 1256 to 39,000 rupees, is now, in 1262, reduced to 31,000 rupees.

12. Capaveram is the only remaining talook requiring notice. A portion of this talook is irrigated from the Godavery, but the increase in the villages not irrigated amounts to nearly 20,000 rupees. This is without doubt one of the finest talooks in the district, but is comparatively lightly assessed, and the enhanced collections are in no small degree owing to the expenditure of public money, for, being conveniently situated, many thousands of its population were constantly employed.

13. It is seen, therefore, that the average collections from the talooks composing the tract beyond the reach of the annicut, which during the first period comprised in these statements amounted to 1,83,098, had increased during the second period to 2,35,000. It is admitted that this gradually progressive increase, though no doubt assisted by the life and energy infused into the people by public expenditure, and by the circulation of money produced by the large sugar works at Rajahmundry, is mainly and justly due to improved management, and better protection to life and property. It will be observed that, as each estate or talook lapsed to Government, the revenue recovered itself after the first year, and except in the case of Rajahmundry, progressively rose to the last year of the series, without break or check of any kind, until in almost every instance it far exceeds the permanent peishcush. This ought to be the natural result of an improved system of management in any portion of a province, favoured as this has been with a succession of propitious seasons, and exposed to no calamitous visitations impossible to control, or to the miseries of drought and famine.

14. Turning now to the statement of collections in the Delta talooks we shall be able to note the comparative progress of the revenue in that part of the district which is exposed to the inundations of the Godavery. In para. 6 of the foregoing paper, on the effects of the annicut in the subdivision, mention is made of the disastrous floods of fuslies 1253 and 1259; the losses occasioned by those inundations are no less conspicuous in the statement now before us. In the talooks of Ramachendrapoor, Bickavole, and Capavarem no check is discernible, because the peishcush was collected whatever the loss to the then proprietors may have been; but in Amlapoor, Nagarem, and Rally, it will be observed that the loss of revenue was considerable; and we find by the abstract statement following, that the collections fell short of fusly 1251 by 25,000 rupees. The talook of Nagarem, which suffered most from the uncontrolled floods of the river, did not retrieve its losses till the second year, and in fusly 1256 we find that its revenue is barely 4,000 rupees in advance of what it was in fusly 1251. The reaction upon two of the talooks which paid their full peishcush in 1253 is also worthy of remark. Cotaramachendrapoor did not recover itself for several years; although under Government management, even the peishcush was not realised in fusly 1254; the collections barely reached that amount in fusly 1255, and the estate escheated to Government in fusly 1256. In Biccavole, the revenue of fusly 1256 was 2,000 rupees below the peishcush in fusly 1251, and in 1255 the collections of 27 villages of Kapaveram (now watered) were 2,000 rupees below the same standard.

Fusly 1251	82,650
„ 1256	86,368
	3,718

15. Glancing through the above statement to fusly 1259, the same check and loss to the revenue is again remarkable. Instead of the progressive advance hitherto made it recedes nearly 30,000 rupees, as compared with the previous year; the diminution in the first four talooks being more than 33,000 rupees; while

Fusly 1258	6,44,377
„ 1259	6,16,282
	28,095

while Biccavole and the Delta portion of Kapaveram exhibit a small increase in consequence of direct irrigation derived from the annicut.

16. Looking further on, to the column of figures representing the collections for fusly 1262, we find the progress of the revenue arrested indeed, but to a comparatively trifling extent; the actual collections were only 8,000 rupees less than in the preceding fusly. Although the figures in the present instance do not present so strong a contrast as in the case of the talooks of the subdivision, which suffered more from inundation, still they are sufficiently significant, and the result is similar. It seems almost unnecessary to argue that if, out of a revenue of little more than 2¼* lacs, a deficit of 25,000 or ⅛th is caused by river floods, some credit is due to the works, which, in their incomplete state, enabled the realisation of more than 6 lacs, with a loss of only 30,000 (1/20th), and which, when nearer to completion, secured the collection of more than 6 ¾ lacs, with a loss of 8,500 (1/80th); notwithstanding that in the two latter years the inundations were as high, and if entirely uncontrolled would probably have been more destructive in their effects than they ever had been before.

	6,89,033
	6,80,582
	8,451

F. 1253.	
Amlapore,	1,09,082
Nagaram -	67,019
Rally -	59,375
	*2,35,476

17. It is not fair there to compare two parts of the same district which are so totally different, both in their natural position and with respect to the peculiar influences which are brought to bear upon them, and to say that the prosperity of the people and the security of the revenue are as little due to the annicut in the one case as in the other. It seems to me, on the contrary, that we ought in all honesty to confess that without the relief and assistance afforded by these works, in the way of circulation of money, protection from floods, and improved irrigation, we should have been utterly unable to realise the enhanced demand of the last six years in the lower talooks of the district, and to show an aggregate surplus of nearly 4 lacs of rupees within that period; to compare with 62,000, the increase of the six years preceding the commencement of the annicut, and most of which is due to the last year of the series, fusly 1256, in which the annicut was commenced.

18. It is of course quite impossible to say how much of this 4 lacs can be directly attributed to the effect of the annicut, because the value of produce saved, the loss and suffering averted from the population, could not be calculated, nor can I hazard a guess as to the amount which might have been realised if these works had not been executed. One assertion, however, can be made without the smallest reserve or hesitation, and that is, if no public works had been undertaken for the improvement of the Delta talooks of this district, the revenue officers would have had greater difficulty in realising during the last six years the average collections of the former series of years (5,38,000) than they have actually experienced in collecting an average revenue of 6 ½ lacs.

19. As in the case of the subdivision, therefore, I assume the whole of this increase as due to the annicut, and make the distribution of the amount as shown in the subjoined table, which is an abstract of a separate statement, containing the particulars of each village of every talook:—

Number.	TALOOKS.	Permanent Beriz.	Highest Collection.	Lowest Collection.	Average Collections from Fusly 1251 to 1255.	Collection of Fusly 1256.	Collection of Fusly 1262.	Comparison between Columns 6 and 7.	
								Increase.	Decrease.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.		9.
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1	Amlapoor - - - -	1,38,378	2,20,854	82,359	1,10,265	1,30,211	1,44,266	19,218	5,163
2	Nagaram - - - -	1,09,931	1,55,927	59,065	78,169	86,367	1,01,616	16,286	1,038
3	Rally - - - - -	69,410	1,19,527	57,159	71,817	83,956	85,949	6,103	4,109
4	Cota Ramachendrapooram -	1,16,741	2,03,884	95,046	88,567	1,30,054	1,42,001	19,180	7,233
5	Biccavole - - - -	88,165	1,57,684	64,488	64,407	85,272	1,16,743	36,058	4,587
6	Undranghy - - -	3,462	4,920	1,309	1,783	2,411	2,641	230	- -
7	Kapaveram, 27 villages -	60,678	1,07,339	56,632	64,324	68,045	87,366	19,551	230
	TOTAL - - -	5,86,765	9,70,135	4,16,058	4,79,332	5,86,316	6,80,582	1,16,626	22,360

Number.	TALOOKS.	INCREASE OF COLLECTION FROM FUSLY 1257 TO 1262 OVER 1256.								Average Collection previous to Fusly 1256.
		Increase.					Decrease.			
		Increase from Fusly 1257 to 1259, Profit by general Expenditure.	Profit from Irrigation from 1260 to 1262 inclusive.			TOTAL of Columns 10 and 13.	From Fusly 1257 to 1259.	From 1260 to 1262 Fusly.	TOTAL.	
			By Embankment, Drainage, and continued Expenditure of Money.	By Supply of Water.	TOTAL.					
		10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1	Amlapoor - - -	22,981	47,405	- -	47,405	70,386	13,239	14,324	27,563	1,05,384
2	Nagaram - - -	22,526	46,992	- -	46,992	69,518	2,009	2,042	4,051	73,904
	Rally - - - - -	11,624	21,243	- -	21,243	32,867	4,328	8,255	12,583	91,128
4	Cota Ramachendrapooram	41,630	53,563	- -	53,563	95,193	20,961	13,161	34,122	1,28,689
5	Biccavole - - -	60,419	1,01,163	32,637	1,33,800	1,94,219	18,176	11,650	29,826	64,407
6	Undranghy - - -	409	663	- -	663	1,072	- -	- -	- -	1,447
7	Kapaveram, 27 villages	34,916	30,867	24,628	55,525	90,441	1,253	973	1,926	60,939
	TOTAL - - -	1,94,505	3,01,926	57,265	1,61,653	5,53,696	59,966	50,105	1,10,071	5,25,897

Explanatory figures and remarks might here be added similar to those contained in para. 6 of the former paper on the subdivision; but it is unnecessary to exemplify by further facts what is already sufficiently palpable.

20. It will now be proper to show what has been the increase of revenue in that part of the district where extra assessment has actually been imposed, in consequence of improved irrigation from the annicut. This had only been the case, in fusly 1262, in 30 villages of Biccavole, and seven villages of Kapaveram, watered

watered by the Samulcotta and Thooliabhaga channels. Hitherto we have been considering the general effects produced upon the district by the annicut works. The revenue has been secured by the combined assistance of river embankments, drainage, expenditure of money, abundant and certain, instead of a precarious supply of water to rice crops (as in Woondy), and the timely irrigation of valuable dry grains; but now we have before us the effect of a change from dry to wet cultivation, in a part of the district which has benefited by annicut channels for several years.

STATEMENT showing the LAND REVENUE Collections, from Fusly 1251 to 1262, of the Villages in *Kapaveram* and *Biccavole*, which have been irrigated by the Annicut since 1257.

Fuslies.	Collection.	Increase.	Decrease.	Fuslies.	Collection.	Increase.	Decrease.
	Comparison with Fusly 1251.				Comparison with Fusly 1256.		
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*		*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1251	64,519	—	—	1257	80,620	8,268	—
1252	54,179	- -	10,340	1258	93,490	21,138	—
1253	63,112	- -	1,407	1259	1,00,589	28,237	—
1254	68,622	4,103	—	1260	1,09,557	37,205	—
1255	51,742	- -	12,777	1261	1,14,500	42,148	—
1256	72,352	7,833	—	1262	1,14,654	42,302	—
		11,936	24,524			1,79,298	

21. Compare with this the collections of the same period, in the remaining talooks of the district in the collector's division.

STATEMENT showing the gross LAND REVENUE Collections of the rest of the Collector's Division not perfectly irrigated by the Annicut, from Fusly 1251 to 1262.

Fuslies.	Collection.	Increase.	Decrease.	Fuslies.	Collection.	Increase.	Decrease.
	Comparison with Fusly 1251.				Comparison with Fusly 1256.		
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*		*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1251	6,43,791	—	—	1257	7,44,100	32,378	—
1252	6,46,590	2,799	—	1258	7,69,733	58,011	—
1253	6,19,239	- -	24,552	1259	7,34,581	22,859	—
1254	6,48,304	4,513	—	1260	7,92,721	80,999	—
1255	6,73,045	29,254	—	1261	8,17,202	1,05,480	—
1256	7,11,722	67,931	—	1262	8,06,592	94,870	—
		104,497	42,552			3,94,597	

22. In the former case a capital of 72,000 rupees* has been so improved, as to produce in the course of six years an accumulated interest or profit of 1,80,000; but in the latter, a capital of 7,12,000 has gained no more than 4 lacs; whereas put out to the same advantage it ought to have realised 18 lacs. Again, this 72,000 rupees, in the lapse of six years, has become 1,15,000; whereas the 7,12,000 of the second statement, has reached only 8 lacs, though, improved in the same proportion, it ought to have become 11¼ lacs. Once more: the capital in the one case has increased in a ratio more than four times greater than in the other; for, as 72,000 : 42,000 : : 7,12,000 : 4,15,000; but instead of being 4,15,000, the increase in the latter case is only 95,000. This

* Collections of Fusly 1256: 72,352.
Increase, 1,79,298.
Collection of Fusly 1256: 7,11,722.
Increase, 3,94,597–72,000 — 1,80,000—
7,12,000—17,80,000.
Collection in Fusly 1262: 114,654.
72,000: 1,15,000 : : 7,12,000 : 11,37,000.

F. 1262	- - - -	1,14,654
„ 1256	- - - -	72,352
		42,302
F. 1262	- - - -	8,06,592
„ 1256	- - - -	7,11,722
		94,870

This argument need not be carried further in order to prove the value of improved and certain irrigation.

23. It must not be expected that the assessment of every acre of land in the Delta will eventually rise in the same proportion as the revenue derived from the lands already irrigated by the Samulcotta and Tholiabhaga channels. The Delta has not been accurately surveyed and levelled in every part, so that nothing more would be required than to conduct the water to the land, in order to ascertain at once the degree of benefit which has accrued to the ryots, and the profit which ought to be returned to the State. Our information with respect to produce, area, and difference of soil is admitted to be still imperfect; and nothing has yet been done towards fixing a uniform higher rate of assessment upon lands which have benefited by annicut water. Therefore it is that we find it impossible to calculate, with any approach to accuracy, the money value of the improvements which have been effected. The benefits which have resulted to the population are, in point of fact, incalculable; while at the same time their hitherto uncertain and precarious nature has rendered it impossible to demand a direct return to Government in the shape of increased assessment. The Government right to a share of the profits obtained by the people has never been lost sight of, however, while the policy of moderation and liberality has been upheld; and the subject of the imposition of Teerwajasthi on all lands watered by annicut channels, has engaged the attention of the local revenue officers, and of the Commissioner for the Northern Circars. An extract from a letter, addressed by me to the late Collector in May last, will best explain my view of the matter:—

"In my letter to Colonel Cotton, late chief engineer, dated 4th May 1853, I endeavoured to show that the utmost caution would be necessary in raising the assessment in the talooks of the subdivision, in consequence of the improved means of irrigation; and I stated my opinion that, in order to stimulate the industry of the people, and induce them to attempt every sort of improvement to their land, it would be advisable to confirm the existing rates for a period of two or three years; to give them, in short, for the present at any rate, a permanent demand, sufficiently favourable to tempt them to take advantage of the water within their reach, and such a certainty of our moderation as would enable them to undertake the expense of superior culture, with immediate benefit to themselves and without apprehension for the future.

"Subsequent observation has not induced me to alter this opinion. It will cost the Government positively nothing to be generous at a time like this; on the contrary, it will be clear gain. The more we give up to the ryots now, the more we shall eventually receive. The State can well afford to forego for a time a direct return, in the shape of increased land tax, for expenditure in improving the resources of the soil. The interest for capital expended in the construction of the annicut and the distribution of water throughout the Delta, is amply realised in an increase of the indirect sources of taxation. Large exports, well-stocked markets, circulation of money, brisk trade, and a greater consumption of home products and foreign manufactures; these are indications of prosperity which may already be discerned, and which will be more striking as the means of easy transit are improved and extended; but we look in vain for that general, unmistakeable improvement in the condition of the ryots, which such a state of things might have been expected to produce. The Commissioner has truly described the causes which have hitherto operated to check the extensive use by the ryots of the means of irrigation placed within their reach. It is impossible to overrate the feeling of uncertainty which prevails throughout the district. In many parts they are already depressed by an assessment, which, compared with the average* rates obtaining in other provinces, is very high; and the necessity of continuing advances for cultivation would seem to indicate that, with a large body of the ryots at any rate, there can be nothing approaching to wealth or easy circumstances.

* *Vide* para. 31 of the previous paper on Subdivision.

"It should also be borne in mind that the operations of the engineer department have not been productive of unmixed good, event in the most improved villages. In carrying out a complete system of irrigation for the entire Delta, the

the interests of individual villages are sometimes unavoidably sacrificed to the general good. The arrangements are still incomplete and imperfect, and the benefits uncertain and precarious. Bunds, which have hitherto served to confine the water required by individual villages, are removed, because they intercept the natural drainage of the country; and a great portion of the Delta land is now deprived of the rich alluvial deposit brought by the floods of the Godavery, whose waters are confined within the high embankments which run along its sides. To many of the villages so situated it has not been possible to conduct the water of the annicut by newly-formed channels. The interference, too, with the ordinary habits and pursuits of the people, the various innovations to which they are not easily reconciled, the mere presence of an engineer encampment in every part of each talook; the various wants, wishes, and requirements which have to be met and satisfied, and the secret exactions by the tribe of native goomastahs and peons employed in all directions, to which, notwithstanding the vigilance of the European officers, the ryots are necessarily exposed; all these circumstances have contributed to cause the people to regard a change in their prospects with a feeling of distrust, and the proceedings of the engineer department often with fear and distaste. Happily for them, the efforts of the civil engineer, who has the general control of the works, have been constantly directed to ensure the kind and considerate treatment, by his subordinates, of the native inhabitants of all grades; but there is naturally a want of sympathy on the one hand, and an absence of that confidence on the other, which long and intimate intercourse can alone remove.

"I have wished to put these matters in the strongest possible light, because it appears to me that it is only with a most careful consideration of all the influences which have been brought to bear upon the ryots, that the subject of Teerwajasthi ought to be approached. Having had these difficulties to contend with, it seems to me that we ought most carefully to abstain from still further disheartening them by any measure calculated to increase those difficulties."

24. The arrangements recommended by myself have been approved, and active measures are now in operation for assessing with Teerwajasthi, at the ensuing jummabundy, lands of every description which have enjoyed annicut water for two years. A notification, issued to every village in the Delta, tells the people what they have to expect; and proprietors and enamdars will be called upon to pay for the benefits which they have received at the sole cost of Government.

25. The following statement will be found to contain some information of a useful nature, as explaining the inequalities which prevail in the assessment in different parts of the district, and showing that the remarks in the paper, regarding the subdivision, are equally applicable to the talooks of the Collector's division :— Para. 26.

	TALOOKS.	No. of Villages.	Permanent Beriz.	Population.	Total Extent of Amarkum Land in Fusly 1264. Dry. Land.	Dry. Kist.	Dry. Average rate per Acre.	Wet. Land.	Wet. Kist.	Wet. Average rate per Acre.	Garden. Land.	Garden. Kist.	Garden. Average rate per Acre.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
					Acres.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Acres.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Acres.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1	Amalapoor	80	1,43,378	72,162	17,102¾	64,224	3⅞	17,122¾	57,716	4	421¼	1,584	4⅜
2	Nagarum	48	1,09,381	52,104	17,203	65,311	4	8,066	32,353	4½	376	2,063	6⅝
3	Rally	40	69,871	43,979	12,726	53,910	4½	475	1,914	4⅜	250	710	3⅛
4	Kapaverum	93	1,32,769	56,562	52,707½	1,06,457	2¼	14,396½	59,556	4¾	-	-	-
5	Kota Ramachendrapuram	55	1,15,557	58,316	26,003	1,15,767	4¾	2,001	7,516	3¾	-	-	-
6	Kotapilly	57	44,468	18,709	35,843	17,990	2⅛	9,908	37,628	3½	-	-	-
7	Rajahmundry	18	35,569	29,348	7,376	34,024	4½	-	-	-	13	397	17
8	Bickavole	48	88,132	40,666	12,685	35,297	3⅛	20,717	80,719	4⅛	-	-	-
9	Peddapore	14	29,039	21,017	3,927	9,521	6	3,017	34,849	11½	177	905	6¼
10	Lingumpurroo	108	23,393	12,203	9,481	8,203	1¼	7,519	18,659	2¼	-	-	-
11	Wooppada, &c.	3	3,890	3,272	491	802	1½	946	3,410	2⅞	-	-	-
12	Andrunghy, &c.	3	3,462	6,685	554	1,743	6⅛	326	953	3	-	-	-
	TOTAL	567	7,98,909	4,15,023	1,96,099¼	5,13,249	2¾	84,494¼	3,35,273	4	1,237¼	5,659	4½
	Sub-Division:												
1	Mogultoor	69	1,76,127	86,549	28,068	1,07,530	4¼	12,841	33,095	3	207	1,740	7½
2	Woondy	91	1,64,095	44,955	14,661	41,853	2¾	32,596	1,04,436	3¼	24	3	⅛
3	Tankoo	65	1,59,323	61,745	39,260	1,53,260	4	1,506	7,281	4	-	-	-
4	Tademullah	49	33,601	21,220	19,365	22,599	1⅛	4,636	11,318	2½	-	-	-
		274	5,33,146	2,14,469	1,01,354	3,25,242	3¼	51,579	1,56,130	3	231	1,743	7½
	TOTAL of Government	841	13,32,055	6,29,492	2,97,453¼	8,34,491	2¾	1,36,073¼	1,91,403	3½	1,468¼	7,402	5
	Management:												
1	Cocanada	53	94,984	53,508	10,818	-	1½	27,510	-	4	34	-	1¼
2	Pittapoor	52	1,17,727	72,241	17,398	-	3¼	27,108	-	5¾	-	-	-
3	Chelloor	8	21,914	28,804	6,477	-	3¼	799	-	2	-	-	-
4	Chullapilly	5	14,824	22,734	2,915	-	4⅛	933	-	4¾	82	-	2¼
5	Kadiem	13	22,968	24,687	8,519	-	3¼	1,749	-	3½	-	-	-
		131	2,72,417	2,01,974	46,127	-	2½	58,099	-	4¾	116	-	2
6	Polaverum	16	11,977	10,214	4,830	11,012	2¼	1,226	7,889	5½	-	-	-
	TOTAL	147	2,84,394	2,12,188	50,957	-	-	59,325	-	-	116	-	-
	Other Zemindary and Proprietary Estates.	261	3,06,793	1,70,356	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	TOTAL	408	5,91,187	3,82,544	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GRAND TOTAL	1,249	19,23,242	10,12,036	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Total Extent of Amarkum Land in Fusly 1262.

Lands.			Total.			Deduct from amount in Column 18.			Remaining Beriz.	Ready Money Collections.	Total Jamabundy Dowle for Fusly 1262.	Collection.	Collection for Fusly 1265.
Land.	Kist.	Average rate per Acre.	Land.	Kist.	Average rate per Acre.	Village Allowance and usual Remissions.	Remissions.	Total.					
14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.
Acres.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Acres.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
3,857¼	16,536	–	38,504	1,40,060	4⅛	5,008	951	5,959	1,34,101	14,353	1,48,454	1,44,266	1,41,918
723	3,715	2¾	26,368	1,03,442	4½	2,875	829	3,704	99,738	6,658	1,06,396	1,01,616	99,408
3,205	29,182	5	16,656	85,716	5½	3,108	2,779	5,887	79,829	8,062	88,521	85,949	87,212
- -	- -	10⅞	67,104	1,66,013	2¾	4,947	- -	4,947	1,61,066	9,060	1,70,126	1,70,125	1,63,924
1,688	14,568	–	29,692	1,37,851	5	4,471	206	4,677	1,33,174	17,591	1,50,765	1,42,025	1,43,417
33	409	10	45,784	56,027	2¼	1,160	51	1,211	54,816	3,024	57,840	57,735	52,385
939	7,403	8	8,328	41,824	5	1,312	365	1,677	40,147	2,570	42,717	31,087	40,790
608	3,888	8¼	34,010	1,19,904	3½	2,858	145	3,003	1,16,901	4,142	1,21,043	1,16,750	1,21,119
- -	- -	6½	7,121	45,275	9⅜	1,349	- -	1,349	43,926	77	44,003	44,003	43,380
- -	- -	–	17,000	26,862	1⅝	728	- -	728	26,134	620	26,754	26,754	19,940
- -	- -	–	1,437	4,212	2⅔	71	- -	71	4,141	5	4,146	4,138	4,061
- -	- -	–	880	2,696	6	78	- -	78	2,618	92	2,710	2,641	2,485
11,053¼	75,701	6⅞	2,92,884	9,29,882	3¼	27,965	5,326	33,291	8,96,591	66,884	9,63,475	9,26,091	9,19,679
1,556	14,341	10¼	42,672	1,56,707	5½	5,659	2,185	7,844	1,48,862	10,668	1,59,530	1,58,128	1,55,526
- -	- -	–	47,281	1,46,292	3	3,628	3,818	7,446	1,38,846	4,890	1,43,736	1,40,661	1,42,446
961	9,982	10¾	41,727	1,70,523	4½	5,089	2,547	7,636	1,62,887	11,458	1,74,345	1,70,239	1,74,382
- -	- -	–	24,001	33,917	2	1,566	60	1,626	32,291	2,519	34,810	34,636	32,661
2,517	24,323	9½	1,55,681	5,07,438	3¼	15,942	8,610	24,552	4,82,886	29,535	5,12,421	5,03,644	5,05,015
13,570¼	1,00,024	7¾	4,48,565	14,37,320	3¼	43,907	13,936	57,843	13,79,477	96,419	14,75,896	14,29,735	14,24,694
- -	- -	–	38,362	- -	3¼	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,23,090	1,16,233	1,04,868
- -	- -	–	44,306	- -	3¾	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,65,533	1,41,105	1,38,811
- -	- -	–	7,276	- -	3⅛	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	24,806	21,473	23,289
38	- -	15½	3,968	- -	4¼	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	18,109	17,062	18,236
917	- -	5	11,185	- -	3½	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	38,929	31,299	34,343
955	- -	5½	1,05,297	- -	3¾	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	3,70,467	3,27,172	3,19,547
44	390	8¾	6,300	19,291	3	- -	- -	214	18,077	- -	19,026	17,981	16,442
999	- -	–	1,11,597	- -	–	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	3,89,493	3,45,153	3,35,989
- -	- -	–	- -	- -	–	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	3,06,793	3,06,793	2,79,000
- -	- -	–	- -	- -	–	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	6,96,286	6,51,946	6,14,989
- -	- -	–	- -	- -	–	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	21,72,182	20,81,681	20,39,683

26. Admitting that averages are most uncertain data to argue from, they are the only available criterion for comparison with other districts; and in contrasting the assessment of different classes of land in the same district, the average on the whole area is a fair exponent of their relative value and fertility. It will be observed how frequently the assessment upon the dry land is higher than that of the wet, and it will at once be understood how great will be the effect produced on the Delta talooks, when, protected from inundations, and the drainage completely under control, certain irrigation is supplied to the dry lands from which already the greatest returns are derived; and to the wet lands, which though sometimes producing, as in Woondy, a most luxuriant rice crop, are lowly assessed, because of the uncertainty to which they have hitherto been exposed.

Extract Minutes of Consultation, 10th July 1854, Revenue Board proceeding regarding a revenue survey, dated 26th May 1853.

27. Another observation will probably suggest itself on a perusal of the tables and papers now submitted, viz., the immediate necessity which seems to exist for a full and accurate survey of that part of the district which is directly under the influence of the annicut. The accompanying small outline map of the district will be of assistance in forming an opinion on this subject, and will be found useful for reference. Although, as observed by Government in a communication lately received, an accurate knowledge of the area may not be absolutely necessary in order to readjust the assessment, or to lower it where manifestly too high, I would respectfully urge that a scientific revenue and topographical survey of the Delta of the Godavery, which would have been of incalculable value if accomplished before the commencement of the excavation of the channels, will even now most materially assist the operations of the engineers, and simplify the proceedings of the revenue officers.

28. The Board will not have failed to remark in the several survey plans submitted to them, that the village boundaries in this district are invariably well defined, by broad cattle roads or poontas, distinctly separating the lands of adjacent villages. In the altered circumstances of the Delta, this large proportion of waste land will be no longer necessary; much of it will come under the plough, to compensate for the loss of cultivated land occupied by channels and banks; the boundary at the same time being preserved in its integrity. This could not be satisfactorily effected, it seems to me, without a survey. I am not disposed to think that the numerous channels already existing, and in course of excavation, will increase the difficulty of the survey operations; the two might proceed hand in hand together, and with a competent staff for the purpose, the latter might be speedily completed, and at a comparatively moderate cost. I will not, however, pursue this subject further, feeling certain that it will receive all the attention it merits. I forward a survey plan of a partially watered village, to exemplify what is said above. Taking only 10 acres as the average extent of the boundary poontas of each village, the land of this description which might eventually be brought into cultivation in the Delta, would not be less than from 4,000 to 5,000 acres in Tossipoody; it will be seen it amounts to more than 20.

29. The last column of the statement which follows para. 25, calls for particular remark. The tables and observations recorded in this paper do not refer to fusly 1263; they are brought up to fusly 1262 only; but in the year which has lately closed, the value of the annicut works has been most eminently conspicuous. In the letter above referred to, I wrote as follows:—

"Some of the villages in the Delta talooks of my division have now been watered for the last two or three years; others have been partially relieved by drainage, and in the present disastrous year there are very few which have not in some way or other benefited by the Godavery works. The produce has been abundant both on dry and wet lands; the dry lands hitherto dependent on the falling rain and periodical inundations of the Godavery, have produced abundantly wherever the channel water has reached them; and the wet lands, particularly in some villages of the Woondy talook, have yielded a crop which I believe has rarely been equalled, and never exceeded; while in other parts of the division, where the early crops were damaged and the seed beds destroyed by the unusual inundation of the Kristna, the ryots have retrieved their losses by realising a fine dalva crop, in consequence of the unfailing supply of Godavery water. In the present year, therefore, the channels have been of the greatest service

service both to wet and dry lands; the ryots have in general reaped the full benefit of the prevailing high prices; they have been saved from the distress to which others in this year of scarcity have been exposed, and their prospects are most cheering."

"But I regard this as the first dawn of hope; I look upon it as a matter for deep thankfulness and congratulation, not as a reason for increasing a tax which they have hitherto paid with difficulty. Anxious as I am to give all credit to the noble works which will yet be the means of regenerating this district, I am not the less desirous that the people should reap the whole benefit which these channels are calculated to confer upon them. I feel sure that we cannot err on the side of moderation."

30. These remarks are of general application to the whole district, and I would fain hope that the Government concur in their propriety, satisfied that the circumstances of the district are gradually and surely improving; we are willing to acknowledge that there are difficulties and drawbacks which time only can remove, and are content to forego for a season our claim to a direct and large enhancement of the revenue.

31. The Commissioner for the Northern Circars has drawn up a memorandum of the probable value of the produce saved in the passed year, showing by figured statements and arguments, the general result of the annicut project, both in fusly 1263, and in the previous years; and it seems almost a waste of words to add anything to what is therein advanced in support of the benefits this district has received from Godavery irrigation. He estimated the value of produce saved, at about 28 lacs; the actual increase of the revenue he put down at 3,70,806; and the advance of 16,32,978 in the export trade he likewise attributed to the annicut. The estimate of produce saved in this district alone, prepared by myself from the returns furnished by the tahsildars, of the extent of land watered from the Godavery, whether by channels, by natural inundation, or by timely breaching of banks, &c., amounted to about 36 lacs. These are admitted to be nothing more than simple guesses, though framed upon legitimate data. But facts, which are palpable to all, witness to the effects of the works in this disastrous year, and scarcely call for comment. A revenue realised very little short of the amount collected in the previous year, and higher than the average of any former period; exports valued at 18 lacs of rupees; imports at 2,64,546, man and beast supplied, throughout a scorching season of drought, with abundance of river water, the ryots saved from the depression caused by a complete failure of the harvest, as was the case in other less favoured districts; we may indeed say that if the annicut had done nothing more, it has in this one year realised one of the brightest predictions of its projector.

32. In page 80 of Colonel Cotton's report, written in April 1845, the following sentences occur: "Take the case of one single year of famine, and consider the dreadful amount of suffering which it involves, to say nothing of the lasting injury to the revenue, which is the certain consequence of it, and the incalculable blessing that an annicut would be to the district may be well imagined. That such a thing as a famine in any of the districts near the Godavery should ever take place is indeed the deepest reproach to us. The consideration that such a time has been, and that it will inevitably occur again within a few years, if an annicut is not built, ought alone to be sufficient to induce us to build one, even if there were no returns in ordinary years." No servant of Government, who, like myself, has witnessed the effect of the annicut in the past year, but will rejoice that he has lived to see the day when this reproach has been taken from us.

33. But we will examine more particularly the operations of trade, as revealed by the returns of exports and imports during the past, in comparison with former years. A separate statement in the Appendix gives the export and import trade for the last ten years. The following is a statement of the value of exports by sea for the last 19 years:—

STATEMENT showing the VALUE of GOODS Exported by Sea from the District of *Rajahmundry*, from the Official Year 1835-36 to 1853-54.

ITEMS.	1835-36.	1836-37.	1837-38.	1838-39.	1839-40.	1840-41.	1841-42.	1842-43.	1843-44.	1844-45.	1845-46.	1846-47.	1847-48.	1848-49.	1849-50.	1850-51.	1851-52.	1852-53.	1853-54.	Quantity Exported in last Two Years.	
																				1852-53.	1853-54.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Corges.*	*Corges.*
Piece goods	4,91,502	4,37,451	4,08,819	2,26,768	1,94,515	2,11,353	1,67,212	1,59,312	1,08,119	1,91,100	1,35,456	3,89,006	1,75,135	1,22,059	1,53,703	1,65,884	1,31,459	1,11,461	1,58,265	3,624	4,676
Sugar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7,280	16,414	26,281	721	46,295	74,273	2,17,695	1,35,289	2,98,734	2,85,652	*Cwt.* 23,683	*Cwt.* 22,698
																				Ben. Md.	*Ben. Md.*
Rice	40,604	6,094	46,599	27,706	27,278	1,374	17,237	87,142	1,19,440	1,90,518	3,55,950	3,78,422	2,58,825	2,14,655	1,02,041	2,50,410	3,33,747	4,20,711	3,33,809	3,25,541	2,14,617
Gingely seeds	-	-	1,018	12,156	4,533	2,459	7,593	1,509	9,500	796	8,215	27,035	1,54,959	97,944	1,48,676	2,52,300	1,21,047	1,48,811	2,92,036	79,019	1,31,202
Lamp oil ditto	1,318	-	1,656	2,319	1,390	-	3,067	4,725	5,942	2,205	14,725	10,950	16,795	25,923	10,741	4,711	4,038	38,511	6,365	43,752	4,923
Bengal gram	10,777	14,809	30,650	33,250	3,393	1,181	7,596	53,476	58,001	1,47,131	99,166	69,664	1,47,677	2,34,964	2,25,246	1,66,587	2,23,802	1,07,056	3,02,627	88,224	1,88,818
Other articles	1,59,133	2,28,014	1,57,372	1,19,942	1,33,730	90,279	2,56,657	2,58,241	3,32,989	2,81,468	2,77,848	4,54,978	3,48,126	3,10,216	2,54,037	3,41,390	3,57,232	5,07,695	4,54,779	—	—
TOTAL *Rs.*	7,03,334	6,86,368	6,46,114	4,22,141	3,64,839	3,06,646	4,59,362	5,61,375	6,33,991	7,39,498	9,07,774	13,56,336	10,97,238	10,52,056	9,68,717	13,99,067	13,06,614	16,32,979	18,33,533	—	—
Prices per Madras Garce in corresponding Fusly Year:																					
Rice	139	81	199	309	245	228	140	127	119	129	189	190	175	158	148	139	130	125	209	—	—
Gingely seeds	202	238	247	214	151	282	134	155	138	173	182	167	167	147	151	189	191	200	257	—	—
Bengal gram	129	92	110	177	254	179	123	114	101	90	146	163	119	73	60	122	128	132	200	—	—

34. The gradual decline in piece goods is fully compensated for by the increased exports of sugar, rice, and gingely seeds. The prices of the different articles of produce taken in connexion with the amount exported, is an indication of the character of the season. Although the value of rice exported in the past year is only one lac of rupees below the preceding year, the price being nearly double the quantity exported, was little more than two-thirds of that which left the district in 1852–53. Besides maintaining its own population, the delta had to supply food for the upper talooks of the district, where scarcely a wet crop reached maturity. But the increase in the more valuable products of gingely oil-seed and Bengal gram is very striking, and testifies to the value of the crop which was saved from perishing in Fusly 1263.

A large portion of this amount too was exported in May and June, before the drought was apprehended, and before prices rose.

35. The stimulus imparted to the industry and productive resources of the province, by large establishments like the Rajahmundry sugar factory, must not be overlooked. I understand that Messrs. Arbuthnot & Co 's average expenditure is not less than three lacs of rupees per annum, and the value of sugar exported by them annually is very little below two lacs. It is impossible to overrate the importance or value of the water communication commanded by the annicut to establishments of this character, and their success is in no slight degree attributable to the facility of communication, and the cheap transport of goods thus put within their reach; and I have no doubt that the managers of this, and of similar establishments, would be the first to admit that but for the main canals they must either have abandoned their undertakings or continued them at a disheartening loss. We may safely leave then to the mercantile community the calculation of the value in money of the benefits derived from the navigable canals dependent on the annicut.

Separate statement (F.) shows the extent and progressive increase of cane cultivation.

The statement of traffic (G.) on the main navigation lines during the last and the present year, will illustrate this part of the subject.

36. It has been tritely said, figures can be made to prove anything. Statements of the demand and collection of the revenue from land, and from extra items, may be framed, all too from authentic sources; but so put together, here taken and there left, as to suit the views of every writer who uses them. It has therefore occurred to me to compile a comprehensive table of the revenues of this district for the last 34 years,* containing, as it were, an abstract history of the province, which will be always useful for reference, and from which information can be derived in support of every argument it is desired to advance.

* Statement marked (K.) in Appendix.

37. The progressive increase of the Government estates, and the decline of the zemindaries, the steady enhancement and security of the current revenue in the last decade, compared with any previous corresponding term of years; the diminution of the annual collection of arrears, which in former fuslies reached two, three, and even four lacs of rupees; the steady collection of the extra sources of revenue, notwithstanding the abolition of the Sayer in 1843, and the subsequent reduction of the Sea Custom duties; the rise in the price of salt; all these points, and many more, will be noted, and may be attributed, as reason or fancy suggest, to efficiency or laxity of management, to propitious or adverse seasons, to fluctuations of price, to a liberal or limited expenditure in the district of public and private money, and lastly, to improvement in the public works, and a general and efficient system of irrigation. One thing, however, these figures cannot be made to reveal, namely, the improvement in the actual condition of the people. Much of the truth may doubtless be detected by an observant eye, but personal inquiry among those who have passed from one state to the other is necessary to a full understanding of the matter.

With this statement I close the present remarks.

(signed) *G. N. Taylor*,
Sub-Collector in Charge.

(C.)—STATEMENT showing the QUANTITY and VALUE of GOODS exported by Sea, from the District of *Rajahmundry*, from the Official Year 1835-36 to 1853-54.

ARTICLES.	1835-36.		1836-37.		1837-38.		1838-39.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Corges. p.	*Rs.*	*Corges. p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges. p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges. p.*	*Rs.*
Piece goods	5,547 14	4,91,502	5,361 13	4,37,451	5,793 0	4,08,819	3,314 10	2,26,768
Sugar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	M. g. m. s.		*M. g. m. s.*		*M. g. m. s.*		*M. g. m. s.*	
Rice	321 311	40,604	47 396	6,094	366 369	46,599	217 345	27,706
Gingily seeds	- - -	- -	- - -	- -	5 382	1,018	69 75	12,156
Lamp oil seeds	9 366	1,318	- - -	- -	12 62	1,656	17 137	2,319
Bengal gram	163 121	10,777	224 226	14,809	464 261	30,650	494 207	33,250
Other articles	- - -	1,59,133	- - -	2,28,014	- - -	- -	- - -	1,19,942
TOTAL	- - -	7,03,334	- - -	6,86,368	- - -	6,46,114	- - -	4,22,141

ARTICLES.	1839-40.		1840-41.		1841-42.		1842-43.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Corges. p.	*Rs.*	*Corges. p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges. p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges. p.*	*Rs.*
Piece goods	2,864 1	1,94,515	3,518 5	2,11,353	2,540 2	1,67,212	2,755 6	1,59,312
Sugar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	M. g. m. s		*M. g. m. s.*		*M. g. m. s.*		*M. g. m. s.*	
Rice	156 131	27,278	7 76	1,374	87 107	17,237	435 154	87,112
Gingily seeds	26 345	4,533	10 156	2,459	49 21	7,593	8 312	1,509
Lamp oil seeds	10 180	1,390	- - -	- -	25 225	3,067	37 319	4,725
Bengal gram	36 149	3,393	9 178	1,181	60 11	7,596	325 333	53,476
Other articles	- - -	1,33,730	- - -	90,279	- - -	2,56,657	- - -	2,58,241
TOTAL	- - -	3,64,839	- - -	3,06,646	- - -	4,59,362	- - -	5,64,375

ARTICLES.	1843-44.		1844-45.		1845-46.		1846-47.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Corges. p.	*Rs.*	*Corges. p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges. p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges. p.*	*Rs.*
Piece goods	2,045 0	1,08,119	1,898 9	1,01,100	2,494 10	1,35,456	7,520 15	3,89,006
			Candies. m. s.		*Candies. m. s.*		*Cwt. lbs.*	
Sugar	- - -	- -	485 7	7,280	900 15	16,414	6,631 64	26,281
	M. g. m. s.		*B. mds. lbs.*		*B. mds. lbs.*			
Rice	600 129	1,19,440	1,15,093 29	1,90,518	2,03,167 52	3,55,950	1,38,529 9	3,78,422
			M. g. mds.		*M. g. mds.*		*Parrahs. mds.*	
Gingily seeds	59 154	9,500	3 61	796	45 251	8,215	23,337 0	27,035
Lamp oil seeds	47 215	5,942	17 347	2,205	115 313	14,725	6,381 0	10,950
			B. mds. lbs.		*B. mds. lbs*			
Bengal gram	414 111	58,001	1,21,338 33	1,47,131	74,626 81	99,166	33,604 24	69,664
Other articles	- - -	3,32,989	- - -	2,81,468	- - -	2,77,848	- - -	4,54,978
TOTAL	- - -	6,33,991	- - -	7,30,498	- - -	9,07,774	- - -	13,56,336

STATEMENT showing the Quantity and Value of Goods exported by Sea, from the District of *Rajahmundry*—continued.

ARTICLES.	1847-48.		1848-49.		1849-50.		1850-51.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Corges. *p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges.* *p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges.* *p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges.* *p.*	*Rs.*
Piece goods - -	3,615 14	1,75,135	2,490 11	1,22,059	3,135 2	1,53,703	3,575 1	1,65,884
	Cwt. *lbs.*		*Cwt.* *lbs.*		*Cwt.* *lbs.*		*Cwt.* *lbs.*	
Sugar - - -	120 68	721	2,945 75	46,295	10,664 13	74,273	19,117 40	2,17,695
			B. mds. *lbs.*		*B. mds.* *lbs.*		*B. mds.* *lbs.*	
Rice - - -	97,542 74	2,53,825	1,33,775 71	2,14,655	67,304 23	1,02,041	1,79,066 68	2,50,410
	Parrahs. *mds.*							
Gingily seeds - -	62,111 3	1,54,959	41,090 23	97,944	93,270 15	1,48,676	1,56,423 30	2,52,390
Lamp oil seeds -	2,423 1	16,795	21,285 37	25,923	8,952 36	10,741	4,027 46	4,711
	Cwt. *lbs.*							
Bengal gram - -	70,168 6	1,47,677	1,59,193 57	2,34,964	1,51,279 23	2,25,246	1,13,304 60	1,66,587
Other articles - -	- - -	3,48,126	- - -	3,10,216	- - -	2,54,037	- - -	3,41,390
TOTAL - - -	- - -	10,97,238	- - -	10,52,056	- - -	9,68,717	- - -	13,99,067

ARTICLES.	1851-52.		1852-53.		1853-54.	
	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.	Quantity.	Value.
	Corges. *p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges.* *p.*	*Rs.*	*Corges.* *p.*	*Rs.*
Piece goods - - -	3,307 10	1,31,459	3,624 10	1,11,461	4,676 14	1,58,265
	Cwt. *lbs.*		*Cwt.* *lbs.*		*Cwt.* *lbs.*	
Sugar - - - -	13,853 55	1,35,289	23,683 4	2,98,734	22,698 100	2,85,652
	B. mds. *lbs.*		*B. mds.* *lbs.*		*B. mds.* *lbs.*	
Rice - - - -	2,29,183 61	3,33,747	3,25,541 0	4,20,711	2,14,617 25	3,33,809
Gingily seeds - -	64,511 53	1,21,047	79,019 24	1,48,811	1,31,202 69	2,92,036
Lamp oil seeds - -	4,594 76	4,038	43,752 14	38,511	4,923 51	6,365
Bengal gram - -	1,50,092 10	2,23,802	88,224 53	1,27,056	1,88,818 27	3,02,627
Other articles - -	- - -	3,57,232	- - -	5,07,695	- - -	4,54,779
TOTAL - - -	- - -	13,06,614	- - -	16,32,979	- - -	18,33,533

Rajahmundry District, Dowlaiswarm,
22 September 1854.

N. G. Taylor,
Sub-Collector in Charge.

(D.)—STATEMENT showing the Value of IMPORTS and EXPORTS by Sea in the *Rajahmundry* District during the last 10 Years.

OFFICIAL YEARS.	CORINGA.			COCANADA.			NURSAPOOR.			TOTAL.			PARTICULARS.				
	Value of British Goods.	Value of Foreign Goods.	TOTAL.	Value of British Goods.	Value of Foreign Goods.	TOTAL.	Value of British Goods.	Value of Foreign Goods.	TOTAL.	Value of British Goods.	Value of Foreign Goods.	TOTAL.	Paddy, Rice, Jonnalu, and Ragooloo.	Pulses.	Gingily and Lamp Oil Seeds.	Sugar.	Gruff Goods.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.
EXPORT:	*Rs.*																
1844-45 -	4,08,481	–	4,08,481	2,26,076	–	2,26,076	95,941	–	95,941	7,30,498	–	7,30,498	1,99,502	2,66,368	3,001	7,280	2,54,347
1845-46 -	4,27,475	2,728	4,30,203	3,85,178	–	3,85,178	92,393	–	92,393	9,05,046	2,728	9,07,774	3,78,969	2,01,739	22,940	16,414	2,87,712
1846-47 -	7,54,295	–	7,54,295	4,66,345	–	4,66,345	1,35,696	–	1,35,696	13,56,336	–	13,56,336	4,21,481	2,86,492	37,985	26,281	5,84,097
1847-48 -	6,99,679	–	6,99,679	3,05,819	360	3,06,179	91,380	–	91,380	10,96,878	360	10,97,238	2,59,705	2,22,885	1,71,754	721	4,42,173
1848-49 -	6,51,914	3,852	6,55,766	3,12,050	110	3,12,160	84,130	–	84,130	10,48,094	3,962	10,52,056	2,23,004	3,12,353	1,23,867	46,295	3,46,537
1849-50 -	6,27,939	4,129	6,32,068	2,59,630	54	2,59,684	76,965	–	76,965	9,64,534	4,183	9,68,717	1,07,593	2,74,414	1,59,417	74,273	3,53,110
1850-51 -	7,52,872	2,086	7,54,958	5,40,556	136	5,40,692	1,03,417	–	1,03,417	13,96,845	2,222	13,99,067	2,85,073	2,90,851	2,58,338	2,17,695	3,47,110
1851-52 -	6,30,972	405	6,31,377	5,64,497	100	5,64,597	1,10,640	–	1,10,640	13,06,109	505	13,06,614	4,36,266	3,04,538	1,28,870	1,35,289	3,01,651
1852-53 -	5,78,941	288	5,79,229	9,04,729	18	9,04,747	1,49,003	–	1,49,003	16,32,673	306	16,32,979	4,61,244	2,18,390	2,00,968	2,98,734	4,53,648
1853-54 -	6,98,891	–	6,98,891	9,53,300	3,511	9,56,811	1,77,831	–	1,77,831	18,30,022	3,511	18,33,533	3,75,248	4,53,749	2,99,999	2,85,652	4,18,885
IMPORT:																	
1844-45 -	2,91,079	605	2,91,684	11,868	316	12,184	27,774	–	27,774	3,30,721	921	3,31,642	1,87,661	841	696	- -	1,42.444
1845-46 -	3,55,943	439	3,56,382	9,865	2,097	11,962	20,405	–	20,405	3,86,213	2,536	3,88,749	2,48,384	4,764	- -	- -	1,35,601
1846-47 -	3,05,849	211	3,06,060	55,422	212	55,634	49,671	–	49,671	4,10,942	423	4,11,365	1,86,916	1,735	1,933	881	2,19,900
1847-48 -	5,62,263	665	5,62,928	32,836	688	33,524	40,133	–	40,133	6,35,232	1,353	6,36,585	3,37,656	2,261	- -	692	2,95,976
1848-49 -	3,89,491	60	3,89,551	14,513	1,586	16,099	38,252	–	38,252	4,42,256	1,646	4,43,902	2,34,362	- -	- -	- -	2,09,540
1849-50 -	2,80,583	4,549	2,85,132	27,939	2,378	30,317	15,678	–	15,687	3,24,200	6,927	3,31,127	1,74,085	- -	- -	- -	1,57,042
1850-51 -	2,24,773	–	2,24,773	21,463	4,457	25,920	51,101	–	51,101	2,97,337	4,457	3,01,794	1,20,445	56	- -	139	1,81,154
1851-52 -	2,58,931	883	2,59,814	35,124	2,212	37,336	51,253	–	51,253	3,45,308	3,095	3,48,403	91,583	8,975	23,064	1,939	2,22,842
1852-53 -	1,53,395	–	1,53,395	34,611	1,628	36,239	48,332	–	48,332	2,36,338	1,628	2,37,966	33,473	3,290	5,726	1,483	1,93,994
1853-54 -	1,68,172	557	1,68,729	50,374	6,672	57,046	38,771	–	38,771	2,57,317	7,229	2,64,546	43,193	2,038	3,073	1,397	2,14,845

Rajahmundry District, Dowlaiswaram,
22 September 1856.

G. N. Taylor,
Sub-Collector in Charge

(E.)—MEMORANDUM showing the Average Bazar Wholesale PRICES of Rice, Boot Gram, Gingely Oil Seeds, and Lamp Oil Seeds, in the District of *Rajahmundry*, from Fusly 1245 to 1263.

FUSLY YEARS.	Rice, per Madras Garce.	Bengal Gram, per Madras Garce.	Gingily Oil Seeds, per Madras Garce.	Lamp Oil Seeds, per Madras Garce.
1245	139 9 2	129 5 9	202 5 8	133 8 11
1246	181 1 –	92 5 9	238 8 8	137 13 1
1247	199 5 3	110 11 –	247 1 10	154 14 11
1248	309 11 9	177 14 3	214 8 10	73 2 3
1249	245 1 10	254 8 4	151 4 5	168 1 10
1250	228 6 1	179 7 9	282 1 10	147 1 –
1251	140 11 1	123 6 2	134 15 9	126 2 6
1252	127 15 3	114 11 1	135 3 9	114 12 9
1253	119 4 3	101 3 4	138 14 7	76 4 11
1254	129 1 9	90 8 4	173 – 5	83 14 2
1255	189 5 3	146 15 10	182 12 4	120 3 6
1256	190 9 5	163 14 –	167 14 8	146 9 8
1257	175 1 8	119 10 6	167 10 7	121 5 4
1258	158 11 3	73 6 5	147 15 –	116 14 3
1259	148 14 2	80 5 8	151 7 7	132 13 3
1260	139 14 4	122 12 9	189 8 1	157 14 11
1261	130 9 9	128 10 3	191 13 10	119 14 8
1262	125 8 2	131 11 4	200 14 10	111 15 8
1263	209 12 7	200 11 5	257 4 8	173 11 5

Rajahmundry District, Dowlaiswarum, 22 September 1854.

G. N. Taylor,
Sub-Collector in Charge.

(F.)—STATEMENT showing the Extent of LAND cultivated with Sugar Cane, from Fusly 1249 to 1263, in the *Rajahmundry* District.

No.	TALOOKS.	Fusly 1249.	Fusly 1250.	Fusly 1251.	Fusly 1252.	Fusly 1253.	Fusly 1254.	Fusly 1255.	Fusly 1256.	Fusly 1257.	Fusly 1258.	Fusly 1259.	Fusly 1260.	Fusly 1261.	Fusly 1262.	Fusly 1263.
		Ps.†	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*
1	Amalapore*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2	Nagarum	3	3 3/4	2 3/4	3 1/4	2	2 3/4	14 3/4	15 1/4	15	18	21 1/2	24 3/4	20 1/2	21 3/4	27 3/4
3	Rally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/8	1/4	1/2	1/2	1 1/4	2 1/8	4	6 1/8
4	Kota Ramachendrapooram	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3/4
5	Bickavole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/16	1/16
6	Mogultoor	–	4	2 1/2	1 1/2	1/16	1/2	4 3/4	9	8 3/4	11 1/8	12 1/4	11 1/8	10	16 1/4	21 1/16
7	Woondy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8	Tanuku	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/4
9	Peddapore	–	–	–	4 1/2	–	13 1/2	34 3/4	36 1/2	139	132 1/2	113 3/4	136 1/2	128 1/8	152 1/2	205 3/4
10	Rajahmundry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/4	1 3/4	1/2	–	–	–	–	–
11	Kotapilly	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/2
12	Lingumpurroo	8 1/2	8 1/2	9	7 3/4	8	12	18	12 1/2	17	19 1/4	20 1/4	21 1/2	23 1/4	31 3/4	27 1/2
13	Pittapoor*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	TOTAL	11 1/2	16	14 1/4	17	10 1/16	28 1/2	72 1/4	73 1/2	181 3/4	181 7/8	168 1/4	195 1/8	184	226 1/4	289 1/4

* Proper Accounts not received from Amalapore and Pittapore.

† Pooties of Eight Acres.

Rajahmundry District, Dowlaiswarum, 22 September 1854.

G. N. Taylor,
Sub-Collector in Charge.

(G.)—MEMORANDUM showing the Number of DHONIES, &c. passed and re-passed through the *Dhowlaiswarum* Lock, commencing from 1st January to 31st December 1853.

Nos.	Names of Articles.	Number of Dhonies.	Quantity of Goods.			Value of Goods.	Tonnage.	
			Measuring Candies.	Weighing Candies.	Number.			
1	Rice	90	448	—	—	9,856	319	at 64 maunds per candy.
2	Paddy	89	585	—	—	5,850	325	at 50 - - ditto.
3	Lamp-oil seeds	118	1,058	—	—	33,856	558	at 50 - - ditto.
4	Gingely oil seeds	154	1,736	—	—	69,440	964	at 50 - - ditto.
5	Horse gram	58	522	—	—	8,352	371	at 64 - - ditto.
6	Bengal gram	322	2,955	—	—	1,03,425	1,871 ½	at 57 - - ditto.
7	Bones	29	—	361	—	451	80	at 4½ candies per ton.
8	Tobacco	56	—	839	—	21,814	186	at 4½ - - ditto.
9	Green gram	22	175	—	—	2,800	135 ½	at 64 maunds per ton.
10	Red gram	19	189	—	—	2,646	135	at - - ditto.
11	Raggy	—	8	—	—	96	5	at 50 - - ditto.
12	Sand	1	6	—	—	6	5	at 70 - - ditto.
13	Wheat	1	10	—	—	320	6	at 57 - - ditto.
14	Tuntapoo seeds	5	37	—	—	222	26	at 64 - - ditto.
15	Black gram	7	64	—	—	896	46	at - - ditto.
16	Salt	173	1,561	—	—	34,342	1,110	at - - ditto.
17	Anoomooloo	12	94	—	—	1,128	63	at 60 - - ditto.
18	Hemp seeds	6	22	—	—	352	16	at 64 - - ditto.
19	Soap nuts	1	16	—	—	320	6	at 32 - - ditto.
20	Corraloo	1	39	—	—	468	25	at 75 - - ditto.
21	Cholum	5	11	—	—	176	8	at 64 - - ditto.
22	Shell chunam	58	610	—	—	3,812	339	at 50 - - ditto.
23	Chillies	24	—	60	—	1,800	13 ½	at 4½ candies per ton.
24	Saltpetre	10	—	146	—	5,840	32	at - - ditto.
25	Empty boxes	2	—	—	6	12	—	
26	Vine boxes	1	—	—	7	504	1	
27	Charcoal bales	—	—	—	30	150	6 ½	
28	Jaggery	140	—	5,398	—	37,786	1,199	at 4½ candies per ton.
29	Sugar	141	—	4,478	—	2,23,900	995	at - - ditto.
30	Gunners	11	—	—	16,650	5,550	66	at 3 gunnies per maund.
31	Vossums	7	—	—	5,281	4,222	59	at 1 vossum per maund.
32	Empty bags	3	—	—	6,625	993	7	at 10 bags per maund.
33	Hemp	3	—	37 ½	—	450	8 ½	at 4½ candies per ton.
34	Cotton	34	—	354	—	22,656	78 ½	at - - ditto.
35	Chayaroot	2	—	10	—	150	2	at - - ditto.
36	Empty casks	2	—	—	10	40	1	
37	Tiles	2	—	—	21,000	13	2	at 2 lbs. each.
38	Firewood	878	—	18,348	—	6,880	4,080	at 4½ candies per ton.
39	Rough stone	355	—	18,122	—	1,982	4,028	at - - ditto.
40	Mats	—	—	—	300	3	½	
41	Coarse cloth	2	—	—	91	318	½	
42	Palmira leaves	4	—	—	3,600	7	1	
43	Hides	5	—	—	889	445	2	
44	Casks with beer	2	—	—	23	920	23	
45	Ghee dubbers	2	—	—	648	10,368	33	at 4½ candies per ton.
46	Cumbalies	1	—	—	50	25	¼	
47	Oil dubbers	—	—	—	398	3,582	20	at 4½ candies per ton.
48	Turmeric	—	—	—	—	24	1	
49	Travellers, &c.	103	—	—	—	—	—	
50	Tufts	1	—	—	—	—	—	
51	Records, &c.	5	—	—	—	—	—	
52	Chunam	—	—	—	—	—	—	
53	Carpets	—	—	—	750	3,000	8	at ½ maund each.
54	Iron bars	9	—	—	1,068	3,204	24	at 2 maunds each.
55	Moulding sand	1	15	—	—	15	11	at 64 - ditto.
56	Cords	4	—	19	—	578	4	at 4½ candies per ton.
57	Pilescrew	2	—	—	6	96	1	
58	Boiler	1	—	—	—	1,000	10	
59	Cask	1	—	—	4,15,000	—	5	
60	Pots	1	—	—	2,000	40	2	
61	Palankeen	2	—	—	—	—	1	
62	Fish	11	—	39	—	975	9	at candies per ton.
63	Getherchecka	2	—	12	—	24	3	at - - ditto.
64	Tamarind	3	—	32	—	256	7	at - - ditto.
65	Stag horns	3	—	—	2,449	1,225	1	
66	Buffaloe horns	4	—	—	3,966	661	3	
67	Long cloths	1	—	—	4,000	16,000	22	at 1½ maunds each.
68	Monaties	—	—	—	80	60	¼	
69	Cocoa nuts	6	—	—	23,700	296	10	
70	Iron	12	—	78 ½	—	2,355	17 ½	at 4½ candies per ton.
71	Maurjaty beams	19	—	—	619	1,547	62	
72	Beer casks	1	—	—	—	—	—	
73	Pitch	—	—	2	—	40	½	at 4½ candies per ton.
74	Chalk	2	—	32 ½	—	487	7	at - - ditto.
75	Chairs	2	—	—	30	90	¼	
76	Bamboos	—	—	—	2,72,239	2,723	680	at 1¼ ton per 1,000.
77	Circar deep boats	255	—	—	—	—	—	
78	Paddle boat, &c.	77	—	—	—	—	—	
				TOTAL		6,63,920	18,148 ¾	

ABSTRACT STATEMENT showing the Number of BOATS passed through the *Dhowlaiswarum, Bobburlunka* and *Vizaiswarum* Locks, in the Year 1853.

MONTHS.	Thooliabaga Channel.		Samulcottah Channel.		Rallee Channel.		Apparow Channel.		TOTAL.	
	Boats.	Rafts.	Boats.	Rafts.	Boats.	Rafts.	Boats.	Rafts.	Boats.	Rafts.
January	99	69	-	-	-	-	-	-	99	69
February	120	291	-	-	-	-	-	-	120	291
March	154	247	-	-	-	-	-	-	154	247
April	258	310	-	-	100	30	350	145	708	485
May	302	129	25	2	136	36	365	351	828	518
June	373	314	25	4	115	68	125	97	630	483
July	360	55	79	17	38	3	21	-	498	75
August	386	174	62	15	16	-	21	-	485	189
September	292	13	56	1	25	-	107	11	480	25
October	792	15	35	-	45	-	196	4	978	19
November	631	39	64	1	44	2	294	24	1,033	66
December	1,137	144	66	13	205	23	318	74	1,726	254
TOTAL	4,814	1,800	432	53	724	168	1,797	706	7,767	2,727

ABSTRACT STATEMENT showing the Number of BOATS passed through the *Dhowlaiswarum, Bobaranlunka* and *Vezaiseram* Locks, &c., during the Year 1854.

MONTHS.	Thooliabaga Channel.		Samulcottah Channel.		Rallee Channel.		Apparow Channel.		TOTAL.	
	Boats.	Rafts.	Boats.	Rafts.	Boats.	Rafts.	Boats.	Rafts.	Boats.	Rafts.
January	750	125	59	16	274	54	296	70	1,379	273
February	1,034	171	99	7	267	7	162	147	1,562	332
March	600	234	90	45	198	64	255	125	1,143	468
April	307	29	56	-	58	21	425	53	846	103
May	651	141	-	-	195	42	539	165	1,385	348
June	393	76	-	-	212	96	346	139	951	311
July	629	67	66	11	155	3	398	123	1,248	204
August	533	7	-	-	96	-	347	1	976	8
TOTAL	4,897	850	370	79	1,455	287	2,768	831	9,490	2,047

Rajahmundry District, Dhowlaiswarum,
22 September 1854.

G. N. Taylor, Sub-Collector in Charge.

(H.)—STATEMENT showing the COLLECTIONS of Extra Sources in the District of *Rajahmundry*, from Fusly 1230 to 1263.

No.	ITEMS.	Fusly 1230.	Fusly 1231.	Fusly 1232.	Fusly 1233.	Fusly 1234.	Fusly 1235.	Fusly 1236.
1	Salt	94,033	2,08,834	1,88,589	2,32,856	2,49,582	2,00,325	2,08,660
2	Sayer	1,19,313	1,20,534	1,26,079	1,17,480	1,35,976	1,12,689	1,29,241
3	Sea Custom	-	10,834	12,823	11,497	18,792	16,078	15,712
4	Abkary	47,215	44,619	42,546	42,913	42,740	45,634	47,370
5	Sundry small farms	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	Moturpha	15,928	15,759	21,720	18,707	44,646	45,480	53,540
7	Stamp	26,412	24,048	19,054	21,491	19,566	13,868	15,531
	TOTAL Rupees	3,02,901	4,24,628	4,10,808	4,44,944	5,11,302	4,34,074	4,70,054

(H.)—Statement showing the Collections of Extra Sources in the District of *Rajahmundry*, &c.—*continued.*

No.	Items.	Fusly 1237.	Fusly 1238.	Fusly 1239.	Fusly 1240.	Fusly 1241.	Fusly 1242.	Fusly 1243.
1	Salt	3,05,458	2,49,891	2,70,729	3,18,974	3,13,372	2,58,042	3,63,738
2	Sayer	1,49,167	1,60,149	1,53,832	1,52,794	1,52,671	1,26,600	1,42,796
3	Sea Custom	9,150	16,243	15,614	13,994	12,452	12,879	11,383
4	Abkary	49,656	57,799	53,766	50,763	47,597	43,096	41,469
5	Sundry small farms	- -	- -	- -	6,499	6,313	4,105	3,562
6	Moturpha	48,300	50,107	43,085	40,875	39,018	35,694	33,836
7	Stamp	27,668	23,657	18,951	16,231	18,906	19,980	22,993
	Total Rupees	5,89,399	5,57,846	5,55,977	6,00,130	5,90,329	5,00,396	6,19,777

No.	Items.	Fusly 1244.	Fusly 1245.	Fusly 1246.	Fusly 1247.	Fusly 1248.	Fusly 1249.	Fusly 1250.
1	Salt	4,25,055	1,25,192	2,71,664	1,51,610	1,32,306	1,26,670	1,20,572
2	Sayer	1,21,112	1,25,515	1,23,235	95,912	91,497	91,358	90,609
3	Sea Custom	13,104	14,392	14,496	17,384	13,735	12,841	8,081
4	Abkary	42,969	44,960	44,090	44,599	51,220	46,230	47,299
5	Sundry small farms	3,848	3,808	5,302	3,723	5,539	4,416	5,609
6	Moturpha	35,706	38,030	45,743	46,296	40,421	38,506	38,505
7	Stamp	19,585	18,238	23,109	25,871	23,262	20,479	23,011
	Total Rupees	6,61,379	3,70,135	5,27,647	3,85,395	3,57,980	3,40,500	3,33,677

No.	Items.	Fusly 1251.	Fusly 1252.	Fusly 1253.	Fusly 1254.	Fusly 1255.	Fusly 1256.	Fusly 1257.
1	Salt	2,59,929	2,28,565	2,80,239	1,50,417	1,50,766	2,03,131	1,90,917
2	Sayer	91,394	91,605	64,761	4,276	5,820	5,276	4,544
3	Sea Custom	13,424	13,923	28,806	33,767	61,891	63,568	49,770
4	Abkary	43,579	48,118	49,175	51,383	58,052	64,330	75,888
5	Sundry small farms	5,766	5,809	6,990	7,492	7,702	8,270	8,892
6	Moturpha	40,274	41,495	46,388	47,331	48,890	52,563	57,877
7	Stamp	21,780	19,457	15,191	11,880	9,738	10,610	13,841
	Total Rupees	4,76,146	4,48,972	4,91,550	3,06,546	3,42,859	4,07,748	4,01,729

No.	Items.	Fusly 1258.	Fusly 1259.	Fusly 1260.	Fusly 1261.	Fusly 1262.	Fusly 1623.
1	Salt	1,86,822	2,00,160	1,78,496	2,13,945	2,56,692	2,24,461
2	Sayer	4,558	5,208	3,296	3,476	4,840	4,990
3	Sea Custom	35,645	35,424	34,534	35,577	42,736	35,365
4	Abkary	88,395	80,941	75,975	80,707	75,105	81,965
5	Sundry small farms	9,136	9,553	9,772	10,269	12,451	10,566
6	Moturpha	50,972	54,927	56,089	55,214	58,588	52,732
4	Stamp	15,966	14,872	16,562	16,517	14,835	16,016
	Total Rupees	3,91,494	4,01,085	3,74,724	4,15,705	4,65,247	4,26,095

Rajahmundry District, Dowlaïswarum,
22 September 1854.

G. N. Taylor,
Sub-Collector in Charge.

(J.)—STATEMENT showing the Extent of LAND irrigated by *Godavery* in Fusly 1263 from Amildar's Account of *Rajahmundry* District.

Number.	TALOOKS.	GOVERNMENT.									PROPRIETARY.		TOTAL.	
		TOTAL AMARKUM.		TOTAL WATERED IN FUSLY 1263.				VALUE OF ESTIMATED PRODUCE.						
		Extent of Jeroyti Land.	Shist.	JEROYTI. Extent of Land.	JEROYTI. Shist.	Enam Land.	Total Land of Columns 4 and 6.	Jeroyti.	Enam.	TOTAL.	Land Watered in Fusly 1263.	Value of Estimated Produce.	Land of Columns 7 and 11.	Value of Estimated Produce, 10 and 12 Columns.
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
		Pooties.	*Rs.*	*Ps.*	*Rs.*	*Ps.*	*Ps.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Ps.*	*Rs.*	*Ps.*	*Rs.*
1	Kota Ramachendrapurum	- -	- -	1,731	68,505	1,517	3,248	3,53,167	2,35,113	5,88,270	462	82,614	3,710	6,70,894
2	Nagarum	- -	- -	410	16,906	238	648	87,070	36,890	1,23,960	- -	- -	648	1,23,960
3	Kapaverum	- -	- -	774	33,105	443	1,217	1,75,890	68,753	2,44,643	- -	- -	1,217	2,44,643
4	Bickavole	- -	- -	1,937	67,026	767	2,704	5,11,133	1,18,877	6,30,010	- -	- -	2,704	6,30,015
5	Rally	- - -	- -	2	69	1	3	550	155	705	72	13,160	75	13,860
6	Amalapore	- -	- -	119	3,421	- -	119	32,753	- -	32,753	1 ½	413	120 ½	33,166
7	Gittapoor	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,791	4,13,438	1,791	41,343
8	Coringa	- - -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	31 ½	6,873	31 ½	6,873
	Total	- -	- -	4,973	1,89,032	2,966	7,939	11,60,563	4,59,788	16,20,351	2,358	5,16,498	10,297	21,36,849
	SUB-DIVISION:													
1	Mogultoor	- -	5,333	1,60,996	1,100	38,119	237	1,337	2,60,089	36,735	2,96,824	10	2,617	1,347	2,99,441
2	Wondy	- - -	5,904	1,43,995	3,922	1,06,004	1,044	4,966	9,45,415	1,61,886	11,07,301	- -	- -	4,966	11,07,301
3	Tanku	- - -	5,219	1,76,316	300	12,307	267	567	63,380	41,405	1,04,785	- -	- -	367	1,04,785
	Total	- -	16,456	4,81,307	5,322	1,56,430	1,548	6,870	12,68,884	2,49,026	15,08,910	10	2,617	6,880	15,11,527
	GRAND TOTAL	- -	- -	10,295	3,45,462	4,517	14,809	24,29,447	6,99,814	31,29,612	2,368	5,19,115	17,177	36,48,376

Rajahmundry District, Dowlaiswaram,
22 September 1854.

G. N. Taylor,
Sub-Collector in Charge.

(K.)—STATEMENT showing the Actual COLLECTIONS within each Fusly, both Cu

Fusly.	Land Revenue Demand.	LAND REVENUE COLLECTIONS.									EXTRA	
		ZEMINDARY.			GOVERNMENT.			TOTAL.			SALT,	
		Current.	Arrears.	Total.	Current.	Arrears.	Total.	Current.	Arrears.	Total.	Current.	
- 1230 - -	18,67,837	15,20,001	1,04,565	16,24,566	1,62,375	52,090	2,14,465	16,82,376	1,56,655	18,39,031	1,83,234	
- 1231 - -	18,87,741	14,82,963	1,47,788	16,30,751	1,94,872	31,995	2,26,867	16,77,836	1,79,783	18,57,619	3,01,753	
- 1232 - -	18,32,542	14,84,950	1,77,654	16,62,604	1,43,201	27,632	1,70,833	16,28,151	2,05,286	18,33,437	2,82,438	
- 1233 - -	18,62,585	14,22,492	1,67,900	15,90,392	1,50,058	9,149	1,59,207	15,72,550	1,77,049	*17,49,599	3,23,125	
- 1234 - -	19,08,953	15,69,015	2,36,630	18,05,645	2,38,427	25,207	2,63,634	18,07,442	2,61,837	20,69,279	3,74,837	
- 1235 - -	18,68,258	16,02,207	88,548	16,90,755	1,93,333	17,445	2,10,778	17,95,540	1,05,993	19,01,533	3,16,477	
- 1236 - -	19,17,415	16,29,793	1,34,226	17,64,019	2,53,556	11,588	2,65,144	18,83,349	1,45,814	20,29,163	3,46,893	
- 1237 - -	18,54,842	15,52,968	43,810	15,96,778	2,03,547	5,322	2,08,869	17,56,515	49,132	18,05,647	4,26,548	
- 1238 - -	18,95,209	15,80,116	1,05,430	16,85,546	2,40,221	2,536	2,42,757	18,20,337	1,07,966	19,28,303	3,97,123	
- 1239 - -	18,51,682	15,15,790	77,639	15,93,429	1,76,723	6,640	1,83,363	16,92,513	84,279	17,76,792	4,06,836	
- 1240 - -	18,79,826	14,43,532	1,05,111	15,48,643	1,93,144	15,692	2,08,836	16,36,676	1,20,803	17,57,479	4,46,301	
- 1241 - -	18,22,750	11,38,924	1,60,120	12,99,044	1,56,141	30,690	1,86,831	12,95,065	1,90,810	14,85,875	4,25,726	
- 1242 - -	17,17,017	9,17,338	3,70,892	12,88,230	1,13,443	7,068	1,20,511	10,30,781	3,77,960	*14,08,741	3,68,254	
- 1243 - -	18,05,172	12,82,713	3,83,029	16,65,742	3,61,233	29,894	3,91,127	16,43,946	4,12,923	20,56,869	4,84,928	
- 1244 - -	18,54,635	13,28,905	2,48,448	15,77,353	3,72,995	15,221	3,88,216	17,01,900	2,63,669	19,65,569	5,35,982	
- 1245 - -	17,69,137	11,90,491	64,634	12,55,125	3,15,116	18,320	3,33,436	15,05,607	82,954	15,88,561	2,36,483	
- 1246 - -	17,66,524	11,46,708	1,26,248	12,72,956	3,22,346	28,955	3,51,301	14,69,054	1,55,203	16,24,257	3,98,861	
- 1247 - -	17,85,083	11,43,526	2,53,188	13,96,714	3,35,897	13,396	3,49,293	14,79,423	2,66,584	17,46,007	2,89,034	
- 1248 - -	17,38,582	6,80,556	4,18,400	10,98,956	2,68,095	2,548	2,70,643	9,48,651	4,20,948	*13,69,599	2,62,433	
- 1249 - -	17,75,371	7,79,725	2,06,439	9,86,164	3,87,791	21,636	4,09,427	11,67,519	2,28,075	13,95,591	2,54,244	
- 1250 - -	17,41,289	7,68,574	2,25,725	9,94,299	3,99,455	11,123	4,10,578	11,68,029	2,36,848	14,04,877	2,35,819	
- 1251 - -	17,63,864	8,66,975	2,51,549	11,18,524	4,87,118	16,624	5,03,742	13,54,093	2,68,173	16,22,266	3,79,325	
- 1252 - -	17,53,802	9,44,281	1,01,281	10,45,562	4,54,605	10,598	4,65,203	13,98,886	1,11,879	15,10,765	3,54,416	
- 1253 - -	17,07,954	7,39,224	59,083	7,98,307	4,15,548	18,181	4,33,729	11,54,772	77,264	*12,32,036	4,25,497	
- 1254 - -	17,69,983	8,29,453	4,36,295	12,65,748	7,44,347	9,777	7,54,124	15,73,800	4,46,072	20,19,872	3,00,231	
- 1255 - -	17,68,138	7,06,283	79,405	7,85,688	8,03,182	60,330	8,63,512	15,09,465	1,39,735	16,49,200	3,35,677	
- 1256 - -	18,25,827	7,81,922	1,81,858	9,63,780	9,98,988	52,209	10,51,197	17,80,910	2,34,067	20,14,977	4,04,237	
- 1257 - -	18,75,525	5,88,850	2,36,086	8,24,936	12,52,276	7,073	12,59,349	18,41,126	2,43,159	20,84,285	4,05,617	
- 1258 - -	19,31,299	5,66,400	67,981	6,34,381	13,02,946	1,745	13,04,691	18,69,346	69,726	19,39,072	3,89,062	
- 1259 - -	19,44,806	5,27,617	76,104	6,03,721	12,34,970	5,578	12,40,548	17,62,587	81,682	*18,44,269	3,94,204	
- 1260 - -	19,91,485	5,72,687	93,515	6,66,202	13,33,507	39,198	13,72,705	19,06,194	1,32,713	20,38,907	3,72,880	
- 1261 - -	20,45,537	5,55,475	35,792	5,91,267	14,13,818	27,623	14,41,441	19,69,293	63,415	20,32,708	4,11,337	
- 1262 - -	20,67,116	5,58,391	41,403	5,99,794	14,16,444	19,025	14,35,469	19,74,835	60,428	*20,35,263	4,44,496	
- 1263 - -	20,55,261	5,47,242	32,003	5,79,245	14,24,726	15,134	14,39,860	19,71,968	47,137	20,19,105	4,10,023	

* Years marked thus were remarkable either as years of drought or of heavy inundations. The effect of each upon the revenue is worthy of note.

venue in the *Rajahmundry* District, from Fusly 1230 to 1263, inclusive.

XTRA SOURCES.				GRAND TOTAL.			Price of Paddy per Garce.	Total Amount of Money actually spent in the District.	Names of Collectors.	REMA
	TOTAL.			Current.	Arrears.	TOTAL.				On the State of
Total.	Current.	Arrears.	Total.							
,19,314	3,02,548	4,284	3,06,832	19,84,924	1,60,939	21,45,863	83	16,50,728		Ordinary years.
,20,533	4,22,286	4,417	4,26,703	21,00,122	1,84,200	22,84,322	94	14,77,623		
,26,079	4,08,517	2,931	4,11,448	20,36,668	2,08,217	22,44,885	100	13,20,341	Mr. Robertson - -	Sir Thomas Munro, vis and extra sources high.
,08,563	4,31,688	3,460	4,35,148	20,04,238	1,80,509	21,84,747	167	13,49,724		Famine.
,26,325	4,92,272	13,385	5,05,657	22,99,714	2,75,222	25,74,936	170	15,92,072	Mr. Kindersly - -	Good year; crops abunda
,20,935	4,21,585	18,609	4,40,194	22,17,125	1,24,602	23,41,727	147	16,04,674	Mr. Hanbury - -	Ordinary year; prices sti
,26,558	4,73,451	1,768	4,75,219	23,56,800	1,47,582	25,04,382	71	14,92,438	Messrs. Gardiner, Bayard, and Ansley.	Produce abundant.
,30,708	5,54,431	4,036	5,58,467	23,10,946	53,168	23,64,114	76	15,53,765	Mr. Ansley - -	Ordinary year; large bal
,62,212	5,38,052	22,384	5,60,436	23,58,389	1,30,350	24,88,739	71	12,57,670		Seasonable rains; facto eight lacs was the averag
,56,555	5,45,033	20,429	5,65,462	22,37,546	1,04,708	23,42,254	84	10,52,737	Mr. Ansley and Crawly -	Insufficient rain.
,47,706	5,83,629	18,986	6,02,615	22,20,305	1,39,789	23,60,094	78	1,320,212		Favourable year; produc
,60,897	5,69,436	23,458	5,92,894	18,64,501	2,14,268	20,78,769	64	12,33,368		Abundant rain and hurri
,26,975	4,85,762	16,963	5,02,725	15,16,543	3,94,923	19,11,466	111	9,10,074		Famine and high floods a
,34,750	6,13,828	21,022	6,34,850	22,57,774	4,33,945	26,91,719	168	11,08,357	Mr. Crawly - -	Continued dearth; pr realised by Asarah sy revenue ever collected.)
,30,506	6,52,841	15,124	6,77,965	23,54,741	2,88,793	26,43,534	94	12,90,040		Ordinary year.
,27,244	3,60,302	12,992	3,73,294	18,65,909	95,946	19,61,855	63	8,33,571	Messrs. Lewin and Grant	Insufficient rain.
,24,140	5,21,030	11,197	5,32,227	1,990,084	1,66,400	21,56,484	81	12,40,695	Mr. Grant - - -	Unseasonable ditto.
97,327	3,84,345	11,050	3,95,995	18,64,368	2,77,634	21,42,002	89	11,10,218		Collections included 1,1 surplus year in Pittapo mindary.
91,592	3,53,930	4,583	3,58,513	13,02,581	4,25,531	17,28,112	139	7,82,711		Hurricane and inunda sea, causing much damag treme distress prevailed
									Mr. G. A. Smith -	and following year.
89,100	3,43,324	5,172	3,48,496	15,10,840	2,33,247	17,44,087	110	7,37,131		Scanty rain.
90,621	3,26,418	4,810	3,31,228	14,94,447	2,41,658	17,36,105	102	7,38,754		
91,182	4,70,487	6,383	4,76,870	18,24,580	2,74,556	20,99,136	63	8,90,201		Seasonable weather; abundan but large imports of rice from A
91,608	4,45,998	6,427	4,52,425	18,44,884	1,18,306	19,63,190	57	9,54,497		Ordinary seasons.
64,667	4,90,157	3,648	4,93,805	16,44,929	80,912	17,25,841	53	10,63,361	Mr. Smith, Sir H. C. Montgomery, Bart., and Mr. Prendergast.	Sayer abolished; grea struction from several flo the Godavery.
4,222	3,04,453	6,182	3,10,635	18,78,253	4,52,254	23,30,507	58	12,73,676	Mr. C. J. Bird (acting) -	Favourable year.
5,820	3,41,497	4,342	3,45,839	18,50,962	1,44,077	19,95,639	85	10,62,228		Scanty rain, several esta
5,194	4,09,431	3,090	4,12,521	21,90,341	2,37,157	24,27,498	85	15,41,057		Abundant produce; j Annicut commenced.
4,330	4,09,947	2,417	4,12,364	22,51,073	2,45,576	24,96,649	79	15,95,300		Ditto. Bicavole and K
4,548	3,93,610	389	3,93,999	22,62,956	70,115	23,33,071	71	13,20,575		Indifferent year. Mess
5,706	3,99,411	1,789	4,01,199	21,61,997	83,471	22,45,468	67	15,65,137	Mr. T. Prendergast -	factory established. Heavy floods and inund
3,283	3,76,163	4,686	3,80,849	22,82,357	1,37,399	24,19,756	63	14,79,152		High floods; poonasa fa
3,476	4,14,813	2,885	4,17,698	23,84,106	66,300	24,50,406	58	15,85,812		Ordinary year; rain abu
4,559	4,49,055	17,645	4,66,700	24,23,890	78,073	25,01,963	57	23,33,018		Very high floods; dama
4,989	4,14,881	11,213	4,26,094	23,86,849	58,350	24,45,199	114	24,71,544		Drought, and consequen

The Accountant General's Bills, drawn on the Treasury in each of these two years, amounted to nearly 10 lacs of rupees, and the annicut expenditure was very la

G. N. Taylor, Sub

(Z.)—STATEMENT showing the DEMAND, COLLECTION, and BALANCE of the GOVERNMENT ESTATES in the District

Description.	Names of the Channels.	Number.	ITEMS.	FUSLY 1257. Kist of Fusly preceding the Construction of the Annicut, or Fusly 1256. Land. 2.	Kist. 3.	Kist of Fusly 1257, on the Lands on which the Channel Water availed. 4.	Comparison between Columns 3 and 4. Increase. 5.	Decrease. 6.
				P. t. m.	C. Rs. a. p.	C. Rs. a. p.	C. Rs. a. p.	C. Rs. p.
Lands Irrigated by the Channels.	Thooliabaga Channel.	1	Dry land, converted into wet - - -	- -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water -	- -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
			Total - - -	- -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
	Samulcottah Channel.	1	Dry land, converted into wet - - -	- -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water -	42 19 8	1,862 6 -	2,662 3 4	799 13 4	- - -
			Total - - -	42 19 8	1,862 6 -	2,662 3 4	799 13 4	- - -
	TOTAL.	1	Dry land, converted into wet - - -	- -	- - -	- - -	- - -	- - -
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water -	42 19 8	1,862 6 -	2,662 3 4	799 13 4	- - -
			Total - - -	42 19 8	1,862 6 -	2,662 3 4	799 13 4	- - -
	Teervahjasty on the Enams.	1	Thooliabaga Channel - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—
		2	Samulcottah ditto - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—
			Total - - -	—	—	—	—	—
			GRAND TOTAL - - -	- -	1,862 6 -	2,662 3 4	799 13 4	- - -
	Deduct Jeeroytee and Enam lands occupied under the channel.	1	Amount of remission allowed on account of the lands of Jeroytee and Enam, occupied under channels - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—
		2	Enams for fusly 1255 to 1261 - - -	—	—	—	—	—
			Total - - -	—	—	—	—	—
			Remainder - - -	—	—	—	—	—
Revenue of the whole District.	On account of the old estates.	1	Lands not under the influence of the channels	- -	12,01,192 4 4	12,52,472 3 2	51,279 14 10	- - -
		2	Lands under the influence of the channels -	- -	1,862 6 -	2,662 3 4	799 13 4	- - -
			Total - - -	- -	12,03,054 10 4	12,55,134 6 6	52,079 12 2	- - -
	On account of the estates since reverted from Fusly 1257.	1	Lands not under the influence of the channels	—	—	—	—	—
		2	Lands under the influence of the channels -	—	—	—	—	—
			Total - - -	—	—	—	—	—
			GRAND TOTAL - - -	- -	12,03,054 10 4	12,55,134 6 6	52,079 12 2	- - -
			Deduct the amount paid to the proprietors, as well as the sum given credit to the Peishcush, being the collections made prior to the sale of the estate - - - -	—	—	—	—	—
			Remainder:					
			Government estates - - - - - -	- -	12,03,054 10 4	12,55,134 6 6	52,079 12 2	- - -
			Proprietary estates - - - - - -	- -	6,20,391 6 2	6,20,521 6 2	- - -	- - -
			Total - - -	- -	18,23,446 - 6	18,75,525 12 8	52,079 12 2	- - -
Collection and Balance of the District.			Balance:					
			Government estates - - - - - -	- -	- - -	24 - -	- - -	- - -
			Remissions - - - - - - -	- -	- - -	2,052 2 3	- - -	- - -
			Total - - -	- -	- - -	2,076 2 3	- - -	- - -
			Proprietary estates - - - - -	—	—	—	—	—
			GRAND TOTAL - - -	- -	- - -	2,076 2 3	- - -	- - -
			Collections:					
			Government estates - - - - - -	- -	- - -	12,52,085 4 3	- - -	- - -
			Proprietary estates - - - - - -	- -	- - -	6,20,391 6 2	- - -	- - -
			Total - - -	- -	- - -	18,73,449 10 5	- - -	- - -
			Centage - - -	- -	- - -	99 14 3	- - -	- - -

of *Rajahmundry*, as well as the Increase of the Kist of the Lands Irrigated by the Channels from Fusly 1257 to 1262.

	FUSLY 1258.					
Centage.	Kist of the Fusly preceding the Construction of the Annicut, or Fusly 1256.		Kist of Fusly 1258, on the Lands on which the Channel Water availed.	Comparison between Columns 9 and 10.		Centage
	Land.	Kist.		Increase.	Decrease.	
7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.
C. Rs. a. p.	*P. t. m.*	*C. Rs. a. p.*	*C. Rs. a. p.*	*C. Rs. a. p.*	*C. Rs. a. p.*	*C. Rs. a. p.*
- - -	190 10 4	4,221 - 4	5,360 5 7	1,139 5 3	- - - -	26 15 6
- -	190 10 4	4,221 - 4	5,360 5 7	1,139 5 3	- - - -	26 15 6
- - -	20 6 4	588 5 2	907 5 -	318 15 10	- - - -	52 9 7
42 14 6	130 1 4	5,525 6 10	6,468 15 11	943 9 1	- - - -	17 1 1
42 14 6	150 7 8	6,113 12 -	7,376 4 11	1,262 8 11	- - - -	20 11 6
- - -	20 6 4	588 5 2	907 5 -	318 15 10	- - - -	52 9 7
42 14 6	320 11 8	9,746 7 2	11,829 5 6	2,082 14 4	- - - -	21 5 6
42 14 6	340 17 12	10,334 12 4	12,736 10 6	2,401 14 2	- - - -	23 3 9
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
42 14 6	340 17 12	10,334 12 4	12,736 10 6	2,401 14 2	- - - -	23 3 9
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 4 4	- - -	12,01,192 4 4	12,98,170 11 11	96,978 7 7	- - - -	8 1 2
42 15 1	- - -	10,334 12 4	12,736 10 6	2,401 14 2	- - - -	23 3 10
4 5 3	- - -	12,11,527 - 8	13,10,907 6 5	99,380 5 9	- - - -	8 3 4
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 5 3	- - -	12,11,527 - 8	13,10,907 6 5	99,380 5 9	- - - -	8 3 4
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 5 3	- - -	12,11,527 - 8	13,10,907 6 5	99,380 5 9	- - - -	8 3 4
- - -	- - -	6,20,391 6 2	6,20,391 6 2	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	18,31,918 6 10	19,31,298 12 7	99,380 5 9	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	24 - -	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	2,371 14 1	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	2,395 14 1	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	2,395 14 1	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	13,08,511 8 4	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	6,20,391 6 2	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	19,28,902 14 6	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	99 14 -	—	—	—

(Z.)—STATEMENT showing the Demand, Collection, and Balance of the Government Estates in the District of *Rajahmundry*,

Description.	Names of the Channels.	Number.	ITEMS.	FUSLY 1259. Kist of the Fusly preceding the construction of the Annicut, or Fusly 1256. Land. 14.	Kist. 15.	Kist of Fusly 1259, on the Lands on which the Channel Water availed. 16.	Comparison between Columns 15 and 16. Increase. 17.	Decrease. 18.
				P. t. m.	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*
Lands irrigated by the Channels.	Thooliabaga Channel.	1	Dry land converted into wet	97 16 1	2,050 11 5	2,634 – 7	583 5 2	- - -
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water	20 15 10	284 7 10	460 10 7	176 2 9	- - -
			Total	118 11 11	2,335 3 3	3,094 11 2	759 7 11	- - -
	Samulcottah Channel.	1	Dry land converted into wet	81 18 11	1,115 5 7	2,493 7 8	1,378 2 1	- - -
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water	505 5 15	18,762 14 9	25,103 1 –	6,340 2 3	- - -
			Total	587 4 10	19,878 4 4	27,596 8 8	7,718 4 4	- - -
	TOTAL.	1	Dry land converted into wet	179 14 12	3,166 1 –	5,127 8 3	1,961 7 3	- - -
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water	526 1 9	19,047 6 7	25,563 11 7	6,516 5 –	- - -
			Total	705 16 5	22,213 7 7	30,691 3 10	8,477 12 3	- - -
	Teervahjasty on the Enams.	1	Thooliabaga Channel	—	—	—	—	—
		2	Samulcottah ditto	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	—	—	—	—	—
			GRAND TOTAL	705 16 5	22,213 7 7	30,691 3 10	8,477 12 3	—
	Deduct Jeeroytee and Enam lands occupied under the channel.	1	Amount of remission allowed on account of the lands of Jeroytee and Enam, occupied under channels	—	—	—	—	—
		2	Enams for fusly 1255 to 1261	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	—	—	—	—	—
			Remainder	—	—	—	—	—
Revenue of the whole District.	On account of the old estates.	1	Lands not under the influence of the channels	- -	12,01,192 4 4	12,95,114 12 10	93,922 8 6	- - -
		2	Lands under the influence of the channels	- -	22,213 7 7	30,691 3 10	8,477 12 3	- - -
			Total	- -	12,23,405 11 11	13,25,806 – 8	1,02,400 4 9	- - -
	On account of the estates since reverted from Fusly 1257.	1	Lands not under the influence of the channels	- -	- - -	3,491 7 3	3,491 7 3	- - -
		2	Lands under the influence of the channels	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	- -	- - -	3,491 7 3	3,491 7 3	- - -
			GRAND TOTAL	- -	12,23,405 11 11	13,29,297 7 11	1,05,891 7 –	- - -
			Deduct the amount paid to the proprietors, as well as the sum given credit to the Peishcush, being the collections made prior to the sale of the estate	- -	- - 2	310 - -	310 - -	—
			Remainder:					
			Government estates	- -	12,23,405 11 11	13,28,987 7 11	1,05,581 12 –	- - -
			Proprietary estates	- -	6,20,391 6 2	6,15,819 3 2	- - -	4,572 3 –
			Total	- -	18,43,797 2 1	19,44,806 11 1	1,05,581 12 –	4,572 3 –
Collection and Balance of the District.			Balance:					
			Government estates	- -	- - -	23 1 7	- - -	- - -
			Remissions	- -	- - -	53,529 10 10	- - -	- - -
			Total	- -	- - -	53,552 12 5	- - -	- - -
			Proprietary estates	—	—	—	—	—
			GRAND TOTAL	- -	- - -	53,552 12 5	- - -	- - -
			Collections:					
			Government estates	- -	- - -	12,75,434 11 6	- - -	- - -
			Proprietary estates	- -	- - -	6,15,819 3 2	- - -	- - -
			Total	- -	- - -	18,91,253 14 8	- - -	- - -
			Centage	- -	- - -	97 3 11	- - -	- - -

as well as the increase of the Kist of the Lands irrigated by the Channels from Fusly 1257 to 1262—*continued.*

	FUSLY 1260.					
Centage.	Kist of the Fusly preceding the Construction of the Annicut, or Fusly 1256.		Kist of Fusly 1260, on the Lands on which the Channel Water availed.	Comparison between Columns 21 and 22.		Centage.
	Land.	Kist.		Increase.	Decrease.	
19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.
C.Rs. a. p.	*P. t. m.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*
28 7 –	—	—	—	—	—	—
61 13 6	170 3 2	3,818 10 8	5,007 11 7	1,189 – 11	- - - -	31 10 11
32 7 6	170 3 2	3,818 10 8	5,007 11 7	1,189 – 11	- - - -	31 10 11
123 10 6	67 8 6	983 3 9	2,096 15 1	1,113 11 4	- - - -	113 4 6
32 3 1	585 5 14	20,999 2 4	30,670 7 4	9,671 5 –	- - - -	46 – 10
38 8 6	652 14 4	21,982 6 1	32,767 6 5	10,785 – 4	- - - -	49 – 6
61 15 6	67 8 6	983 3 9	2,096 15 1	1,113 11 4	- - - -	113 4 6
34 3 6	755 9 0	24,817 13 –	35,678 2 11	10,860 5 11	- - - -	43 12 7
33 10 6	822 17 6	25,801 – 9	37,775 2 –	11,974 1 3	- - - -	46 6 8
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
33 10 6	822 17 6	25,801 – 9	37,775 2 –	11,974 1 3	- - - -	46 6 8
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
7 13 1	- - -	12,01,192 4 4	13,33,583 15 2	1,32,391 10 10	- - - -	11 – 4
38 2 8	- - -	25,801 – 9	37,775 2 –	11,974 1 3	- - - -	46 6 6
8 5 11	- - -	12,26,993 5 1	13,71,359 1 2	1,44,365 12 1	- - - -	11 12 3
- - -	- - -	- - - -	7,425 15 7	7,425 15 7	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	7,425 15 7	7,425 15 7	—	—
8 – 6	- - -	12,26,993 5 1	13,78,785 – 9	1,51,791 11 8	- - - -	12 6 –
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8 10 6	- - -	12,26,993 5 1	13,78,785 – 9	1,51,791 11 8	- - - -	12 6 –
– 11 9	- - -	6,20,391 6 2	6,12,700 3 2	- - - -	7,691 3 –	1 3 10
- - -	- - -	18,47,384 11 3	19,91,485 3 11	1,51,791 11 8	7,691 3 –	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	23 1 7	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	18,581 – 2	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	18,604 1 9	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	18,604 1 9	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	13,60,180 15 –	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	6,12,700 3 2	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	19,72,881 2 2	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	99 1 1	—	—	—

STATEMENT showing the Demand, Collection, and Balance of the Government Estates in the District of *Rajahmundry*,

Description.	Names of the Channels.	Number.	ITEMS.	FUSLY 1261. Kist of the Fusly preceding the Construction of the Annicut, or Fusly 1256. Land. 26.	Kist. 27.	Kist of Fusly 1261, on the Lands on which the Channel Water availed. 28.	Comparison between Columns 27 and 28. Increase. 29.	Decrease. 30.
				P. t. m.	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*
Lands irrigated by the Channels.	Thooliabaga Channel.	1	Dry land, converted into wet	26 15 5	488 12 –	655 8 10	166 12 10	– – –
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water	317 19 13	8,318 13 4	10,433 13 3	2,114 15 11	– – –
			Total	344 15 2	8,807 9 4	11,089 6 1	2,281 12 9	– – –
	Samulcottah Channel.	1	Dry land, converted into wet	88 12 14	1,442 1 5	2,688 4 –	1,246 2 7	– – –
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water	611 8 11	21,284 2 6	33,934 12 4	12,650 9 10	– – –
			Total	700 1 9	22,726 3 11	36,623 – 4	13,896 12 5	– – –
	TOTAL	1	Dry land, converted into wet	115 8 2	1,930 13 5	3,343 12 10	1,412 15 5	– – –
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water	929 8 8	29,602 15 10	44,368 9 7	14,765 9 9	– – –
			Total	1,044 16 10	31,533 13 3	47,712 6 5	16,178 9 2	– – –
	Teervahjasty on the Enams.	1	Tooliabaga channel	– –	– – –	435 14 8	435 14 8	– – –
		2	Samulcottah ditto	– –	– – –	205 2 3	205 2 3	– – –
			Total	– –	– – –	641 – 11	641 – 11	– – –
			GRAND TOTAL	1,044 16 10	31,533 13 3	48,353 7 4	16,819 10 1	– – –
	Deduct Jeeroytee and Enam Lands occupied under the Channels.	1	Amount of remissions allowed on account of the lands of Jeroytee and Enam, occupied under channels	—	—	—	—	—
		2	Enams from Fusly 1255 to 1261	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	—	—	—	—	—
			Remainder	—	—	—	—	—
Revenue of the whole District.	On account of the old Estates.	1	Lands not under the influence of the channels	– –	12,01,192 4 4	13,70,513 14 10	1,69,321 10 6	– – –
		2	Lands under the influence of the channels	– –	30,933 15 1	47,512 – 2	16,578 1 1	– – –
			Total	– –	12,32,126 3 5	14,18,025 15 –	1,85,899 11 7	– – –
	On account of the Estates since reverted from Fusly 1257.	1	Lands not under the influence of the channels	– –	– – –	36,437 9 10	36,437 9 10	– – –
		2	Lands under the influence of the channels	– –	599 14 2	841 7 2	241 9 –	– – –
			Total	– –	599 14 2	37,279 1 –	36,679 2 10	– – –
			GRAND TOTAL	– –	12,32,726 1 7	14,55,305 – –	2,22,578 14 5	– – –
			Deduct the amount paid to the proprietors, as well as the sum given credit to the Peishcush, being the collections made prior to the sale of the estate	– –	– – –	2,425 10 9	2,425 10 9	– – –
			Remainder:					
			Government estates	– –	12,32,726 1 7	14,52,879 5 3	2,20,153 3 8	– – –
			Proprietary estates	– –	620,391 6 2	592,657 11 4	– – –	27,733 10 10
			Total	– –	18,53,117 7 9	20,45,537 – 7	2,20,153 3 8	27,733 10 10
Collection and Balance of the District.			Balance:					
			Government estates	– –	– – –	20,249 11 11	– – –	– – –
			Remissions	—	—	—	—	—
			Total	– –	– – –	20,249 11 11	– – –	– – –
			Proprietary estates	– –	– – –	– – –	– – –	– – –
			GRAND TOTAL	– –	– – –	20,249 11 11	– – –	– – –
			Collections:					
			Government estates	– –	– – –	14,32,629 9 4	– – –	– – –
			Proprietary estates	– –	– – –	5,92,657 11 4	– – –	– – –
			Total	– –	– – –	20,25,287 4 8	– – –	– – –
			Centage	– –	– – –	99 – 2	– – –	– – –

as well as the Increase of the Kist of the Lands irrigated by the Channels from Fusly 1257 to 1262—*continued.*

	FUSLY 1262.					
Centage.	Kist of the Fusly preceding the Construction of the Annicut, or Fusly 1256.		Kist of Fusly 1262, on the Lands on which the Channel Water availed.	Comparison between Columns 33 and 34.		Centage.
	Land.	Kist.		Increase.	Decrease.	
31.	32.	33.	34.	35.	36.	37.
C.Rs. a. p.	*P. t. m.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*
32 – –	288 19 8	6,543 14 4	9,038 14 8	2,495 – 4	- - - -	38 2 2
25 6 7	843 1 10	23,208 8 3	26,771 13 2	3,563 5 11	- - - -	15 5 8
25 14 6	1,132 1 2	29,752 6 7	35,810 11 10	6,058 5 3	- - - -	20 5 10
86 – 9	141 8 10	2,338 – 3	4,945 3 3	2,607 3 –	- - - -	111 7 6
59 5 7	658 11 8	22,719 11 5	31,486 12 9	8,767 1 4	- - - -	38 9 6
61 2 5	800 0 2	25,057 11 8	36,432 – –	11,374 4 4	- - - -	45 6 1
83 8 2	430 8 2	8,881 14 7	13,984 1 11	5,102 3 4	- - - -	57 7 4
49 14 2	1,501 13 2	45,928 3 8	58,258 9 11	12,330 6 3	- - - -	26 3 3
50 5 11	1,932 1 4	54,810 2 3	72,242 11 10	17,432 9 7	- - - -	31 9 2
- - -	- - -	- - - -	568 11 3	568 11 3	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	222 7 4	222 7 4	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	791 2 7	791 2 7	—	—
53 5 4	- - -	54,810 2 3	73,033 14 5	18,223 12 2	- - - -	33 4 –
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
14 1 6	- - -	12,01,192 4 4	13,65,580 1 1	1,64,387 12 9	- - - -	13 10 11
53 9 5	- - -	54,211 5 11	72,210 1 9	17,998 11 10	- - - -	33 3 2
15 1 5	- - -	12,55,403 10 3	14,37,790 2 10	1,82,386 8 7	—	14 8 5
- - -	- - -	- - - -	37,314 8 2	37,314 8 2	—	—
40 4 2	- - -	598 12 4	823 12 8	225 – 4	- - - -	37 9 4
- - -	- - -	598 12 4	38,138 4 10	37,539 8 6	—	—
18 11 11	- - -	12,56,002 6 7	14,75,928 7 8	2,19,926 1 1	- - - -	17 8 3
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17 13 9	- - -	12,56,002 6 7	14,75,928 7 8	2,19,926 1 1	- - - -	17 8 3
4 7 6	- - -	6,20,391 6 2	5,91,187 11 4	- - - -	29,203 10 10	4 11 4
- - -	- - -	18,76,393 12 9	20,67,116 3 –	2,19,926 1 1	29,203 10 10	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	45,700 13 2	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	45,700 13. 2	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	793 14 4	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	46,494 11 6	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	14,30,227 10 6	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	5,90,393 13 –	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	20,20,621 7 6	—	—	—
- - -	- - -	- - - -	97 12 –	—	—	—

STATEMENT showing the Demand, Collection, and Balance of the Government Estates in the District of *Rajahmundry*,

Description.	Names of the Channels.	Number.	ITEMS.	Total Kist of the Fusly preceding the Construction of the Annicut, or Total of Columns 3, 9, 15, 21, 27, and 33. Land. 38.	Total Kist of the Fusly preceding the Construction of the Annicut, or Total of Columns 3, 9, 15, 21, 27, and 33. Kist. 39.	TOTAL. Total Kist of the Six Fuslies. 40.	TOTAL. Comparison between Columns 39 and 40. Increase. 41.	TOTAL. Comparison between Columns 39 and 40. Decrease. 42.
				P. t. m.	C.Rs. a. p.	C.Rs. a. p.	C.Rs. a. p.	C.Rs. a. p.
Lands irrigated by the Channels.	Thooliabaga Channel.	1	Dry land, converted into wet	413 10 14	9,083 5 9	12,328 8 1	3,245 2 4	- - -
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water	1,542 10 7	39,851 8 5	48,034 6 2	8,182 13 9	- - -
			Total	1,956 1 5	48,934 14 2	60,362 14 3	11,428 - 1	- - -
	Samulcottah Channel.	1	Dry land, converted into wet	399 14 13	6,467 - 2	13,131 3 -	6,664 2 10	- - -
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water	2,533 12 12	91,153 11 10	1,30,326 4 8	39,172 8 10	- - -
			Total	2,933 7 9	97,620 12 -	1,43,457 7 8	45,836 11 8	- - -
	TOTAL	1	Dry land, converted into wet	813 5 10	15,550 5 11	25,459 11 1	9,909 5 2	- - -
		2	Usual wet, irrigated by the channel water	4,076 3 4	1,31,005 4 3	1,78,360 10 10	47,355 6 7	- - -
			Total	4,889 8 14	1,46,555 10 2	2,03,820 5 11	57,264 11 9	- - -
	Teervahjasty on the Enams.	1	Thooliabaga Channel	- -	- - -	1,004 9 11	1,004 9 11	—
		2	Samulcottah ditto	- -	- - -	427 9 7	427 9 7	—
			Total	- -	- - -	1,432 3 6	1,432 3 6	—
			GRAND TOTAL	- -	1,46,555 10 2	2,05,252 9 5	†58,696 15 3	- - -
	Deduct Jeroytee and Enam Lands occupied under the Channels.	1	Amount of remission allowed on account of the lands of Jeroytee and Enam, occupied under channels	- -	- - -	2,493 11 2	2,493 11 2	—
		2	Enams from Fusly 1255 to 1261	- -	- - -	13,579 1 5	13,579 1 5	—
			Total	- -	- - -	*16,072 12 7	16,072 12 7	—
			Remainder	- -	- - -	- - -	42,624 2 8	—
Revenue of the whole District.	On account of the old Estates.	1	Lands not under the influence of the channels	- -	72,07,153 10 -	79,15,435 11 -	7,08,282 1 -	- - -
		2	Lands under the influence of the channels	- -	1,45,356 15 8	2,03,587 5 7	‡58,230 5 11	- - -
			Total	- -	73,52,510 9 8	81,19,023 - 7	7,66,512 6 11	- - -
	On account of the Estates since reverted from Fusly 1257.	1	Lands not under the influence of the channels	- -	- - -	84,669 8 10	84,669 8 10	- - -
		2	Lands under the influence of the channels	- -	1,198 10 6	1,665 3 10	§466 9 4	- - -
			Total	- -	1,198 10 6	86,334 12 8	85,136 2 2	- - -
			GRAND TOTAL	- -	73,53,709 4 2	8,205,357 13 3	8,51,648 9 1	- - -
			Deduct the amount paid to the proprietors, as well as the sum given credit to the Peishcush, being the collections made prior to the sale of the estate	- -	- - -	2,735 10 9	2,735 10 9	—
			Remainder:					
			Government estates	- -	73,53,709 4 2	82,02,622 2 6	8,48,912 14 4	- - -
			Proprietary estates	- -	37,22,348 5 -	36,53,147 9 4	- - -	69,200 11 8
			Total	- -	1,10,76,057 9 2	11,855,769 11 10	8,48,912 14 4	69,200 11 8
Collection and Balance of the District.						Deduct Decrease	69,200 11 8	—
						Net	7,79,712 2 8	
			Balance:					
			Government estates	- -	- - -	66,044 12 3	—	—
			Remissions	- -	- - -	76,534 11 4	—	—
			Total	- -	- - -	1,42,579 7 7	—	—
			Proprietary estates	- -	- - -	793 14 4	—	—
			GRAND TOTAL	- -	- - -	1,43,373 5 11	—	—
			Collections:					
			Government estates	- -	- - -	80,60,042 10 11	—	—
			Proprietary estates	- -	- - -	36,52,353 11 -	—	—
			Total	- -	- - -	11,712,396 5 11	—	—
			Centage	- -	- - -	98 12 8	—	—

Rajahmundry District, Cocanada, 22 September 1854.

as well as the Increase of the Kist of the Lands irrigated by the Channels, from Fusly 1257 to 1262—*continued.*

Centage. 43.	Deduct the Amount of Increase at the Per-centage derived on the Lands of the whole District not under the Influence of the Chan-nels from that derived on the Lands under their Influence. 44.	Net Increase, after deducting the Amount in Column 44 from that of 41. 45.	Per-centage of the Increase between Columns 39 and 45. 46.
C.Rs. a. p.	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*	*C.Rs. a. p.*
35 11 7	—	—	—
20 8 11	—	—	—
23 5 11	—	—	—
103 9 –	—	—	—
42 14 6	—	—	—
46 15 6	—	—	—
63 11 9	—	—	—
36 2 5	—	—	—
39 1 3	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
40 – –	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
9 13 3	– – – –	7,08,282 1 –	9 13 1
40 – 11	5,722 15 2	52,507 6 9	36 2 –
10 6 9	5,722 15 2	7,60,789 7 9	10 5 7
38 15 –	– – – –	84,669 8 10	—
– – –	45 13 8	420 11 8	35 1 7
11 9 4	45 13 8	85,090 4 6	—
– – –	5,768 12 10	8,45,879 12 3	11 8 –
—	—	—	—
11 8 8	—	—	—
1 13 9	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—

	C.Rs. a. p.	*C.Rs. a. p.*
Of the old estates – – – –	‡58,230 5 11	
Estates since reverted to Government –	§466 9 4	
	†58,696 15 3	
Remissions allowed in each Fusly out of the demand –	2,493 11 2	
Compensation to be paid to the enamdars, viz.: of the Collector's Division, for sanction of Government, which has already been received – – –	12,423 – 7	
Ditto, Sub-collector's Division, ditto, not been received – – – –	1,156 – 10	
		13,579 1 5
		*16,072 12 7

G. N. Taylor, Sub-Collector in Charge.

MEMORANDUM on GUNTOOR and the KRISHNA WATER WORKS, by Mr. *Stokes*.

Design of this paper.

1. THE important hydraulic works recently undertaken on the Godavery and Krishna rivers, have attracted a considerable share of public attention. In a pamphlet by a member of the civil service of high standing, professing a full acquaintance with the subject, the value of these works has been disputed, and the wisdom of Government in sanctioning them impugned. It has, therefore, been thought well to draw up some account of them, from authentic sources, for the information of those who have not access to official records.

2. It is scarcely necessary to explain, that on both rivers the works consist of a solid masonry dam or wear, called in these parts, Annicut, thrown across the stream to turn its waters over the subjacent country, for agricultural purposes and navigable canals.

To give information about Guntoor and the Krishna works.

3. The design of the following paper is to supply this information, so far as relates to the district of Guntoor.

Too late to stop the outlay.

4. True it is, that if Government have been misled, it is too late now to retrieve the error. The money has been spent, and the works so far completed, that in the Godavery Delta their incipient results are patent to public observation, and in that of the Krishna they are beginning to take effect.

Objections.

5. The objections raised to the Krishna works may be thus stated:

That the project was hastily adopted; that the over-sanguine recommendations of the engineers, especially Colonel Cotton, were too implicitly accepted; that the calculations by which it was supported were loose and fallacious, the preliminary inquiries not having been duly substantiated on the spot by revenue officers of local experience; that the Delta consists of black soil, unsuited to irrigation, to which the people are consequently believed to be indifferent; and that the proved failure of certain such works in that locality forbids the anticipation of more favourable results from these costlier schemes; while another line of argument proceeds upon the position that, without these works, the rental of the Guntoor district, at no distant period, exceeded its present average by a sum at least equal to their probable net profits, and that, as its depression has resulted mainly from bad management, a vigorous executive will suffice for its restoration without this vast and hazardous outlay, which, under such circumstances, is a gratuitous waste of the public funds. This assumption is represented to be borne out by the financial improvement which did actually follow the reforms introduced in Guntoor by the Commissioner in 1845, before these works were commenced. The objector indeed seems to say, further, that no profit is to be claimed from the works until the rental shall exceed its former standard.

Topography, history, works.

6. To furnish the means of testing these objections, and at the same time to throw light on some important questions connected with the author's argument, and with our Madras revenue administration, of late so much canvassed, it may be found convenient to notice in their order, first, the local features of the province, more especially as they influence the revenue; second, the history of its more recent administration; and, lastly, the works themselves. For the purpose of illustration, there are appended a sketch map of Guntoor, showing its revenue divisions, with the position of the new channels, a drawing of the wear, and tables of such available statistics of the district as serve to show its annual condition for a series of years, with explanatory remarks and deductions.

Topography. North-western tracts.

7. The topographical features of Guntoor may be traced as follows: in the north-western tracts, which include the Palnad, and what are called the Payacutta, on the highlands of Kurapad, Nursarowpett, and Innaconda, a large space is occupied by rugged hills, from which extend rocky or gravelly slopes, rarely fit for the plough, yet affording fine pasture for flocks, while the woody hills, with the dates that intersect them, serve as a valuable retreat for cattle during several months in the year, when they cannot be kept in the Delta. About a fifth of the

the revenue is derived from grass-rents, and an equal proportion from irrigated lands under small tanks. The average rate of assessment on dry land is very moderate. The population, except in the Palnad, is thin. The crops sown in the early rains in May or June are early millet and spiked millet (*holcus spicatum*), Indian hemp, sesamum, and cucumbers; and with the later rain cotton, pulse, a kind of dwarf millet, called verega, and oil-seeds, but only a small proportion of land bears two crops on the same season. The Palnad cotton is in great repute among native weavers, and it is the staple export from that quarter.

Central tracts.

8. Between the hill districts and the Delta the country is of an intermediate character, interspersed with several chains of hills, yet containing fine tracts of rich arable plains, flat, but not exposed to floods. The irrigation tanks are few and inconsiderable.

Productions.

9. In the plains nearest the Delta in Pretepaud and Martur, tobacco and chillies are grown extensively, and, being in demand for export, prove very remunerating. The soil here is also favourable for wheat and linseed, but the cultivation of both is far more limited than might be expected for products so much in request. These plants are easily killed by unseasonable rain, and hence probably are disliked by the poorer ryots, who shrink from risk.

Pasture.

10. In the central talooks and the upper Delta are several patches of low, moist ground, which yields grass of the finest quality, and Guntoor, like Nellore, has been long celebrated for its fine short-horned cattle. In the Delta itself the pasture is superior, and whenever land is kept from the plough, the tumma-tree (*acacia Arabica*) of spontaneous growth, quickly springs up, and supplies by its pods nourishing aliment for the cattle, while its gum and wood are in great request for various purposes. Fallow land thus kept for pasture and tumma wood is currently looked upon among the natives as equally remunerative with land under crop, and under the zemindars was paid for on the same terms.

Delta.

11. The Delta itself may be seen on the map as lying between the high level channel, the Krishna and the sea. From the river bank on one side, and the Condaveed Hills on the other, the land falls towards the south east. The Tungabhadra brook, which first shows itself not far from Mangalagerry, winds through the lowest level of the plain to Nizampatam, supplying a natural drain to the lands intersected by it; and between Chinnaganjam and Bapetta there is a basin, little if at all above the mean sea-level. The inland streams, of which several cross the northern road between Guntoor and Incole, where that road enters the district from the south after filling the Delta tanks, empty themselves into this basin, converting it into a large lake till it is drained by evaporation. In the central Delta all the land may be said to be under occupation.

Production.

12. The favourite crops here are great millet on the higher levels, and coarse or red paddy on the flats; and as a second crop, pulse of all varieties and oil-seeds, chiefly the dwarf castor-plant, ricinus. But besides these staples, a variety of valuable products are grown in smaller quantities, as Indian corn, coriander, fencegreek, chillies, garlic, mustard, turmeric and tobacco. In the tract between the river and the Tungabhadra the water lies near the surface, and being raised by bullocks for garden cultivation, shows what can be effected by irrigation in the dry season. The yield of the land thus cultivated with betel, plantains, turmeric, ginger, yams, Indian corn, and raggy, is enormous.

Coast.

13. Lastly, a belt of sand, from three to 10 miles in breadth, separates the alluvial soil of the Delta from the sea, and confines the drainage of the plain to the two small outlets at Nizampatam and Chinnaganjam. In this section of the Delta, the water lies a few feet from the surface, and by its unfailing abundance more than compensates for the poverty of the soil. Near Nizampatam and Bapetta are extensive tracts covered with palmyras, and everywhere valuable crops of rice, raggy, cheyroot, or tobacco are cultivated in little patches of garden, watered by the hand from small ponds. Indeed this is among the most populous and least fluctuating parts of the district. It contains many large villages of weavers, and the proportion of the non-agricultural to the agricultural classes is greater on these talooks than in others, except Guntoor itself. The drawback unhappily is that the teeming population, chiefly of the lower

Productions.

For the relative value of land in each section, *see* Appendix, No.

lower castes, shepherds, fishermen, toddydrawers and pariahs, are inveterately addicted to the use of toddy and arrack.

Exposure to floods.

14. From its conformation as now described, it has resulted that the Delta is peculiarly exposed to floods. Whether from the Krishna or the more southern streams, these inundations are of frequent occurrence in August or October, sweeping the whole flat country, and leaving the roads impassable for weeks.

Also to drought.

15. At the same time the country has been no less exposed to the opposite extreme, from the absence of irrigation. The whole district has contained less irrigated land than any other in the Presidency. The chief reservoirs in the Delta lie towards the coast. They are shallow, and the banks, formed of the loose alluvial soil, unprotected by stone, which has to be brought from a distance, are easily breached or melted away by the floods.

Uncertain crops.

16. But in addition to these causes, there is another less inherent. Until of late years the ryots have tenaciously clung to jorma, great millet, as their favourite crop. This plant is most uncertain. If healthy to the last, its yield is enormous; but it is so liable to blights of various kinds, and so easily injured by too much or too little rain, or by any rain at all when in blossom, that failures may be looked for in four seasons out of five. Indeed the climate, soil, and landed tenures, have concurred to encourage indolent and timid farming. Attention has only been directed to raising the almost spontaneous growth of the soil from year to year at the least cost or trouble.

Liability to famine.

17. Whether the causes explained be sufficient or not to account for the fact, certain it is that the famines which at times have visited all South India, except the western coast, have had their focus of severity in Guntoor.

Need of public works.

18. On the whole, it may be assumed that, notwithstanding the great advantage of its rich alluvial plain, none of our districts has stood more in need than Guntoor of the artificial appliances of reservoirs, channels, embankments, drainage and roads; yet none has been left so destitute of them.

Later history of Guntoor.

19. A cursory review of the later history of the province which has now to be given will partly account for this neglect of improvements.

The Circar and Palnad.

20. The Guntoor collectorate consists of the circar so called, and the district of Palnad, which was acquired in 1800, and has since been managed under ryotwar tenure.

Nature of Palnad ryotwary.

21. The term ryotwary, however familiarly it has of late been used, is still frequently misunderstood. It may be safe therefore to explain its essential characteristics as it prevails in the Palnad. The land has been classified, and rates of assessment fixed for each class; the fields measured and numbered. No distinctions of rate are recognised with reference to the crop grown, or the caste of the cultivator. Every ryot has the liberty of taking up or relinquishing any field he chooses at the proper season. He cannot be ousted of land so long as he pays for it, nor is any property recognised in land not occupied and paid for. Land that has been five or more years fallow, is allowed on reduced terms. Shepherds pay for their cattle at so much a head. All other farmers are exempt.

Farm tax on cattle.

Zemindary estates.

22. The circar comprised several estates which came under British rule in 1778, but continued to be managed, as previously, by zemindars. In 1802, by the Permanent Settlement, they were consolidated into two large and three smaller zemindaries, as noted in the margin. These zemindars, though all calling themselves rajahs, were not the hereditary chiefs or rulers of the country, but descendants of local officers under the Mahomedan government, by whom they had been allowed to farm the revenues, while administering the affairs of the province.

Zemindaries..	Families.	Peshcush.
1. Vassereddy -	Vassereddy	5,40,737
2. Malraz - -	Malraz -	3,38,792
3. Chilkalurpaud	Manoor -	1,26,700
4. Satanpully -	Ditto -	1,26,700
5. Reypilly -	Maniccarom	92,528

Origin of zemindary divisions.

23. It may be well here to explain that this allocation was made with no regard to territorial limits, or convenience of management. The Malraz family had acquired the Rachoor division of the Reypilly estates, and had parted with a portion of the Innaconda district to the Vassereddywar, while the latter had purchased the Colloor villages, and Nizampatam. The Manoor family had obtained

obtained as official endowment the richest villages picked out of the Condaveed country, and these had been equally partitioned between two brothers forming the Chilkaloorpaud and Satanpully estates. Under this arrangement not only were villages of different estates intermingled, but many were split into halves belonging to different zemindars, and one village was actually shared by four different proprietors.

Powers of zemindars.

24. Practically, they exercised absolute power, with the exception of police and judicial functions. By the Permanent Settlement, the sum to be annually paid to Government was fixed in perpetuity, under the term of "Peishcush;" default of payment rendering the estates liable to sequestration, and eventually, if necessary, to sale.

Mode of settling with their ryots.

25. The zemindars varied their terms with the ryots. On wet lands everywhere their rent was taken in kind, and on some dry lands also, where local circumstances made the produce uncertain. The most usual practice was a progressively increasing village lease for a term of three or five years. Balances were never cancelled, but were allowed in bad years to lie over. The great check against abuse of their power was the liberty of the ryot to move off with his stock to another zemindary; on the other hand, the policy of the zemindar was to keep a claim for arrears against him, and to threaten him, should he quit, with its legal enforcement.

Thirty years' prosperity.

26. For nearly 30 years after the settlement things went on smoothly. The first zemindars were men of ability and energy. The peishcush was punctually paid, and the Collector had little to do but look after the palnad, which continued to thrive. Mr. Oakes and Mr. Whish were each of them about 10 years in charge, and even after the death of the first zemindars no difficulty was found in managing their property when, under orders of the Court, it became necessary to do so.

Consequent inattention to works.

27. Under such circumstances it is no wonder that the importance of public works was lost sight of. The advantage of banking the Krishna was indeed forced upon Mr. Whish by a destructive inundation of that river, and he at once had a bank constructed from Bezwada nearly to the sea. He also paid some attention to roads, and the planting of groves and avenues.

Incipient decline.

28. In 1831, however, the elements of weakness began to appear; the Vassereddy family were engrossed in an endless litigation; the rental began to decline, and in 1832 came the failure of rain, followed by the famine of 1833, and the fever of 1834. The ravages of these fearful visitations are described at length, from authentic sources, in the Report of the Public Works Commissioners. (Para. 289, &c.)

Results of famine.

29. As the statistics given in the Appendix contain all the recorded information on the subject, the Commissioners' remarks need not be transcribed here. Suffice it to say, that they show the population to have diminished in two years by more than one half (2,56,000), of which they suppose 20,000 must have actually perished.

30. By an elaborate calculation, through which it is unnecessary here to follow them, they compute the whole loss, as far as it can be expressed in monetary value, at 2 crores and 27 lacs of rupees, or two and a quarter millions sterling.

Decrease of rental.

31. With the aid of the rental of the district, which the Commissioners had not before them, the loss may be calculated by a simpler process.

	Rs.
The average for the five years preceding the famine was	19,09,897
The average of the next 18 years - - - -	12,38,873
Difference - - - - - - - - - -	6,71,024
which, being multiplied by 18, gives - - -	1,20,78,432
Taking this as representing half the gross produce, the total loss of produce on the 18 years will be - -	2,41,56,864

Loss of produce indicated.

Other losses.

32. The Commissioners set down the loss to Government on other branches of revenue as 15 lacks and 37,000, and the value of agricultural live stock that perished as 18 lacks.

[illegible]orks still neglected.

33. After such a calamitous experience, it might have been expected that no measures within the compass of human skill, and our financial capabilities would have been spared to guard against its recurrence. Yet though the value of artificial irrigation, as a precaution against famine, had been demonstrated 40 years before, eight more passed away before attention was again directed to it.

From constant change of Collectors.

34. So great indeed was the dread of the district after the reported horrors of which it had been the scene, that whoever was sent there seems to have made it his first care to get away. From the 21st July 1831, when Mr. Whish's management ceased, till 20th July 1837, when Mr. Goldingham's began, the district changed hands no less than 17 times. With such a transitory executive, any well-considered remedial measures must have been impossible.

Insolvent proprietors, management of their estates.

35. The only important measure of this period, though conceived in a liberal and benevolent spirit, utterly failed of its object. The insolvent estates had, as a matter of course, been attached and placed under the Collector's management. On his recommendation, the zemindars, with the exception of the Malraz proprietrix, a widow, and the Reypilly zemindar, a minor, were replaced in charge as managing proprietors on behalf of Government, to account professedly for all the revenues after charging their establishments and their own maintenance.

Abuse of their trust.

36. The zemindars, however, losing sight of their reversionary interests, deemed it their policy to make the most of present opportunities. For private considerations they granted villages on favourable leases, and allowed partial and arbitrary reduction of rates. Division of the crop came to be the tenure of most of the best dry lands, as it had always been of the wet. They furnished imperfect or falsified accounts, and so greatly did they abuse their trust, that the Commissioner, Mr. W. Elliot, considered, from information collected by him in his inquiries in 1845, that they must have misappropriated about one-third of the revenues.

Universal corruption.

37. The universal corruption fostered under such a state of things, and the expertness acquired by the head ryots and revenue servants at combination and intrigues, to enrich themselves at the cost of Government, have ever since presented a formidable obstacle to the Collector's authority.

Gradual recovery of revenues.

38. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, however, the district, from its inherent fertility and returning population, slowly yet steadily improved during this period.

Mr. Goldingham's management.

39. With Mr. Goldingham's appointment a new era commenced.

40. His attention was quickly turned to public works, and, with the aid of Captain Buckle, the Vellatoor channel was opened to admit the Krishna freshes to a line of tanks lying near the seaward limits of the Delta. Tanks were repaired, the Moonaugy Channel planned and commenced, the Emany Tank constructed. The Tungabhadra Channel planned, and an extensive improvement of the Madras Road, with several bridges, undertaken. Meantime he was actively engaged in revising the rates and measurements of the Malraz villages; lastly, and as opening the door for all the subsequent improvement, he fully exposed the vices of the zemindary management, pointed to the Palnad system as the only remedy, and suggested as the legitimate and safest mode of attaining this object, the sale of the estates for the arrears due to Government.

Sale of estates to facilitate works.

41. And this recommendation was based not simply on the fiscal abuses inseparable from zemindary tenure, but also on the impracticability of any comprehensive scheme for irrigation, so long as the Delta lands were parcelled out among so many proprietors, whose conflicting claims and liabilities it seemed impossible to adjust. This consideration, as will afterwards be noticed, led Captain Buckle in 1839, while recalling attention to the annicut, to despair of its execution under existing circumstances.

1840–42, resumption of two zemindaries.

42. The Malraz estate had, as noticed above, remained under the Collector's management. To this was added Chilkaloorpaud, on the death of the zeminda[illegible] in 1840, and in the beginning of 1842 Mr. Goldingham was so satisfied of t[illegible] malversation of Vassreddy Ramnatha Baboo, that he then resumed this est[illegible] also. The crops were abundant, and there was a prospect of a large increa[illegible]

ons from the newly resumed estate, while the rest of the district ng and in good order.

his crisis the district was suddenly taken aback. Mr. Goldingham ted to another charge; and during the short interregnum, and a few re the arrival of the new Collector nearly all his establishment were . This change took place in the month of April, when the crops of ereddy estate, on which the Government dues for the most part had to in kind, were still in the field and unmeasured. At this time they had nsferred from one set of temporary servants employed for the season to r. The Collector was fully occupied in trying the principal servants who been suspended under charges of malversation, and his difficulties were eatly complicated by the extensive and well organised combination among he establishment to maintain their own position, secure their illicit spoils, and prevent, as long as they could, the success of every measure which would facilitate justice, check corruption, or transfer power from their own hands to those where it ought to reside.

Mr. Goldingham's removal, check to the district.

44. Upon these disadvantages supervened a depression of prices of grain extending through three years, 1842 to 1844, such as has never been on record in that province before or since.

Effect of low prices.

45. In the close of 1842, the decision of the Court of Directors was received upon Mr. Goldingham's recommendations. Instead of alienating the estates in perpetuity by selling them for arrears, they desired that the proprietors should be asked to surrender them on the understanding of receiving them back again when all requisite reforms had been introduced. The zemindars evaded these orders in every possible way, and months had elapsed before they were all in the hands of the Collector. So soon as this was effected, the necessity was felt of re-mapping the district in compact portions called talooks, each capable of management by a single tahsildar. The project was recommended to the Board, but was deferred. In May, 1843, occurred a disastrous hurricane, which swept away much of the harvest, and supplied the servants and ryots with a pretext for misappropriating much of what was left. The management dragged heavily along, until, in 1844, the Collector's health broke down, and he had to proceed to sea. The decrease of the settlement, the large balances, and the slow progress of the ordered reforms at this juncture, led to the appointment of a Member of the Board of Revenue to investigate the state of the district.

Court's orders.

Estates to be surrendered.

Note.—A subordinate with revenue and police power.

Gale of May 1843.

46. The result of his inquiries was to charge the depression of the revenue chiefly upon the corruption of the establishment. Nearly all the principal servants were dismissed, and the way was made plain for the introduction of the measures previously recommended by Mr. Goldingham, which were now ordered to be vigorously carried out. It had been considered that a field-survey, conducted by a special establishment entertained for that purpose, was an indispensable preliminary in all such reform; consequently the Commissioner sketched out a plan for this operation, and commenced work by way of a normal experiment. But owing, as is supposed, to the great difference of opinion on the subject of surveys giving rise to discussions which have only now come to a close, no orders were passed to go on with it. Meantime the Collector, acting on his own judgment, ventured to try what could be done with the means at his disposal. How far he succeeded will be seen in the sequel.

Mr. Elliot's inquiry.

47. The year 1845–46 was marked by one of the most sudden and striking augmentations of revenue recorded in any of our provinces. The increase in the collections of land revenue alone amounted to four lacs of rupees upon 9,67,000 rupees, while the revenue from all sources collectively rose from 12,82,000 to 17,83,000, or one-third more. The causes of this startling improvement are thus explained in the Settlement Report for that year.

1845–46, sudden rise of revenue.

48. "It will thus be seen that in the year under review, all those influences which tended to produce the depression of the revenue in the three preceding years were simultaneously replaced by others of an exactly opposite tendency. Instead of a combination for purposes of peculation under an unprincipled and unfit Head Serishtadar, there has been an active, able, and experienced servant,

Collector's explanation.

Concurrence of heavy crops and scarcity prices.

trained in a good school at the head of the native establishme[illegible] ameens, whose hands were tied by corruption, several very effi[illegible] have been obtained unconnected with the district; and while th[illegible] unusually good, the ryots participated in the profits of scarcity pr[illegible] consequence has been that the rise of the revenue was even more st[illegible] its fall. "The increase," it was remarked, extended to every part o[illegible] trict, comprehending both current and arrears. It would be as unre[illegible] to ascribe the increase entirely to alterations in the establishment or[illegible] stration as it would be to limit to those causes the previous depressi[illegible] revenue; for though combinations of the kind which are found to hav[illegible] may succeed in concealing the true extent of cultivation and the true a[illegible] of collections, I do not see how they could tamper with the market. I[illegible] price currents are true, and there is as great disproportion between the pri[illegible] of Fusly 1253 (1843-44) and 1255 (1845-46) as these indicate, to deny the[illegible] corresponding influences on the revenue in both years, would seem to be alike contrary to reason and experience. As an instance of the fluctuations in the revenue, depending on prices, the account of three villages were adduced, for which *see* Appendix, No. 7.

Guntoor assimilated to Palnad.

49. From the beginning of 1846, the several changes necessary to assimilate the Guntoor Circar to the Palnad in its revenue practice were carried out, for the most part, in the following order:

Zemindaries purchased.

50. The five zemindaries were put up to auction, and bought in on account of Government.

Re-division of Guntoor.

51. The territorial division shown in the map, which included an exchange of villages with Nellore, as they lay within or without the boundary, and the transfer of the village of Kytapilly on the right bank of the Krishna, from Masulipatam to Guntoor, with a corresponding re-arrangement of the establishment, was sanctioned and took effect from the 1st September 1846.

Advantages thus secured.

52. Under this arrangement, the villages of the five zemindaries which had before, with great difficulty, been managed by 14 revenue officers (called ameens), some of them having to look after villages 80 miles apart, fell conveniently into 12 talooks, the central office in each being only an easy walk from most of the villages, and in scarcely any instance 20 miles from the remotest point.

Later collections.

53. The commencement of the collections in each year, in accordance with a previous recommendation, was fixed later, so as not to fall till the crops were available, and all restrictions on the crops, whether cut or standing, removed, unless where payments had still to be taken in kind, a practice which by the end of 1849, had ceased through the district.

Improved village accounts.

54. Village accounts of an improved form, substituting books for loose papers, and providing additional checks against exaction or misappropriation of the ryots' payments, with receipt books for the latter, were adopted in 1845, and brought into general operation.

Revision of Palnad assessment.

55. The revision of the Palnad field-measurements was completed, and the wet lands for the first time classed and brought under a field assessment. All fields were defined by boundary stones, and the registered number was proposed to have been cut on one stone for each field. In about a third of the Palnad this was done, and the whole might have been finished for the trifling cost of 400 rupees, but the suggestion was not approved by the Board, and the attempt was dropped.

Field registers.

56. Field registers were commenced, numbering each field consecutively in the order of its site. All lands under share, first the dry and then the irrigated of Guntoor, were brought under field assessment. With the abolition of the division of the crop, were for ever swept away hosts of petty extortioners, who, under the name of temporary establishment, entertained yearly to watch, appraise, measure, and sell the grain, had been in the habit of fattening on the ryots.

Adoption of acre standard.

57. The English acre was adopted as the recognised land measure in all public accounts for Guntoor, as it had long been for Palnad. In many villages, the assessment was revised and simplified, and the lands measured.

It

supposed that these measurements or registers lay claim to ofessional nicety, but they answered effectually the great end arbitrary alterations by the village accountants. Each ryot has to pay for his field, and that unless he encroaches the demand eased. Moreover, it may be assumed that the falsity where it e ryot's favour.

r was any technical exactness attempted in the classification and rating land. It was chiefly done under the inspection of the tahsildars by the villagers themselves. The existing arrangements everywhere supplied a safe and satisfactory basis. The relative value of land has already practically found its level.

Lands rated by villagers themselves.

59. Distinctions of rate founded on the nature of the crop or on the caste of the cultivator, were abrogated, except the abatement of 25 per cent. on lands held by Brahmans,* and this was restricted within the narrowest possible limits and withheld on all land newly acquired. The coast villages of the Nizampatam circar were brought under an improved system. The village establishments were completed; and a scheme was drawn up for their remuneration. But it was only carried out so far as regards the village mohtauds or lowest grade of paid revenue servant. Pains were taken to restore the heads of villages to their proper place, and use them for their proper duties.

Distinction varying with crop or caste, abolished.

* *Note.*—This is called "Vundra." The exemption from tax on cattle enjoyed by farmers in the Palnad, was recommended for Guntoor more recently. It is under consideration.

60. These various measures except the Guntoor wet land assessment which was not completed till 1850, were prosecuted to completion in the course of the three years 1846, 1847 and 1848, with scarcely any extra establishment or additional cost. It is remarkable that though no special selection of agency had been made for the occasion, all seemed to be ready to the Collector's hands. The head assistant, Mr. Newill, was indefatigable not only in managing his own charge, but in relieving the Collector of all details connected with the public works, and other able and zealous young officers had each a full share of the current duties of revenue and police. The native servants were found able and ready for every part of the work to be done. Indeed without the assistance of the two Serishtadars, the reforms could not have been effected.

Reforms effected by ordinary establishment.

61. Side by side with reforms of management, the extension of public works had proceeded. For the first time, an officer of the line but qualified in surveying, was under the civil engineer of the division, Captain Lake, employed exclusively for Guntoor. No permission could be procured to do anything for the roads, but every tank, channel, or public building that stood in need of attention, received it.

Revised attention to works.

62. But in the close of 1848, a reaction began to appear. The harvest in the Delta and Krishna lands was a failure, and several of the tahsildars had apparently ceased to sweep like new brooms. Wistful reminiscences were indulged after the laxity of the sharing tenure, and both ryots and servants manifested a feeling of discontent.

Re-action in 1848.

63. In Mangalagery, Tenally and Reypilly, a determined combination not to pay, rendered it necessary to issue stringent orders for enforcing the collections. These orders were not carried out in good faith, and made to appear of no avail, except to harass the ryots by process of distraint, which were not carried out to the extent of sale of property.

Combination.

64. In 1849 and 1850, the Krishna again overflowed its banks, and a determined effort was made on the approach of the Commissioner to represent the management as oppressive and make a golden harvest of remission, and this was successful.

65. Still it is found that the Palnad and inland talooks continued steadily to advance, while the two nearest the coast did not retrograde. The depression indeed seemed limited to the villages exposed to floods in the centre of the district or skirts of the Delta.

Inland talooks advancing.

66. Additional and more detailed information as to the internal condition of Guntoor, and the working of the various modes in which it has been managed, will be found in the figured statements and notes given in the Appendix.

Appendix tables.

History of works.

67. Having brought down the revenue history of Guntoor [illegible] now enter on that of the works.

Krishna works projected in 1792.

68. The advantages and feasibility of a wear at Bezwada, we[illegible] before the Government of Madras by Major Beatson in Decem[illegible] 18th January 1793. After pointing out the benefits to the counti[illegible] means for raising two crops of rice where only one was raised b[illegible] the production of several important articles such as sugar and ind[illegible] up by saying that the expense, whatever it be, must not be put in[illegible]petition with the great advantages that would accrue from the accomplishi[illegible]nt of such a work.

Advocacy of Mr. Topping's report in 1792.

69. The project was then submitted for examination to Mr. Topping, the Company's astronomer, who reported upon it in 1794. His view of its advantages seems to have in no wise fallen short of Major Beatson's.

Execution deferred.

70. It does not appear what prevented Government from acting on such favourable recommendations. Most likely their attention and resources were fully occupied in the wars which intervened between that time and the permanent settlement, after which, as already shown, the difficulties in the way of execution were greatly increased, and the inducement at the same time diminished.

In 1839 again recommended by Captain Buckle;

71. In 1839, the undertaking was again brought forward by Captain Buckle, who, for many years had been civil engineer in the division and was well acquainted with Guntoor. He recommended it strongly as Major Beatson, on the ground of humanity, no less than of revenue, at the same time pointing out the impediments that existed under the zemindary tenure in the way of its success. His report was submitted to Government with the Board's opinion, dated 30th May 1840. By the Bezwada Annicut, they observed, Masulipatam (and they might have added Guntoor also) might, like Tanjore, be converted into a garden or granary for adjacent districts, but, from certain causes, they

And by the Board of Revenue, Department of Public Works.

By Captain Shaw.

considered it at that time inpracticable. In 1845, Captain Shaw took up the subject again, and in consequence of his report, Colonel, then Major Cotton, was requested to investigate it further and report the result to the Board. From this time, until the estimate was finally sanctioned, the matter in all its bearings was under inquiry and discussion, both by the Revenue Authorities and the Public Works Department.

Colonel Cotton examines on the spot.

Captain Lake reports August 1847.

72. Colonel Cotton met the two Collectors on the spot in November 1846, with Captain Lake, and the latter officer with his subordinates continued the investigation until he forwarded his report upon the work on the 9th August 1847. In this report, he estimated the cost of the annicut at four, and of subsidiary works for both districts, including a bridge over the annicut, at thirteen,—total, 17 lacs of rupees. The annual increase of revenue was loosely estimated at 40 lacks of rupees. He had calculated that the Delta contained on both sides of the river about 1,000,000 acres which the annicut could command, and that most of this would eventually be watered. But as regarded such revenue details, Captain Lake suggested that his report should be submitted for examination to the two Collectors, both of whom fully concurred with him as to the general advantages of the works.

Guntoor 22,40,000. Masulipatam, 17,50,000.

73. This report with others, including voluminous statements from the revenue authorities, was referred by the Board, Department of Public Works, on the 7th August 1848, to Government,* who, in accordance with their recommendation, nominated a Committee to investigate the project on the spot, composed as follows:—

Captain E. Buckle, late Civil Engineer in the Division.
Captain J. H. Bell, Secretary to the Board of Revenue D. P. W.
Captain C. A. Orr, Civil Engineer of the Division.
H. Stokes, Esq., Collector of Guntoor.
H. Forbes, Esq., Sub-Collector of Rajahmundry.

74. The

* Submitted to Government August 1848. Report from Collector, Masulipatam, 5th February 1848. Report from Collector, Guntoor, 4th November 1847. Civil Engineer, 1st division, 14th March 1848. Committee of Examination, December 1848.

nmittee were engaged from the middle of December first at the n on the Krishna project, till they sent in their report on the 26th 9. They had prolonged personal conferences with the other cers, and the principal native servants of both districts. From the at had meantime been made in detailed field accounts, they had now more trustworthy data than had been afforded to Captain Lake. eir examination was directed to these three points, 1st. The probable turns,—2d. The selection of the site,—and 3d. The plan and cost of the ork itself.

Project recommended.

75. The estimate of returns appended to the Committee's report, shows for both sides of the river, an annual increase of revenue from irrigation, of seven lacks of rupees. How cautiously their calculations were framed will now be seen.

Estimate of returns reduced.

76. Keeping to round numbers and presenting the Committee's deductions in a simplified form, we find the estimate for Guntoor to stand thus:

The available area (Ayacut) classed as irrigated land in the talooks of Ponnoor, Bapetta and Reypilly, was returned as 36,000 acres.* This at the medium rate per acre in that locality of six rupees, gives - - - - - - - - - -	*Rs.* 2,16,000	*Rs.*
But the annual return under present sources of irrigation, cannot be taken at more than - -	80,000	
Difference, being profits expected, is -		1,36,000
Again in the talooks of Tenally, Pooncor and Pretepaud, there are computed to be 76,000 acres of flat land commanded by the annicut, usually cropped with coarse paddy depending on the rains, assessed at - - - - - -	1,25,000	
This being irrigated and assessed accordingly, will bear at least three times this amount (less than five rupees an acre) or - - - - - -	3,75,000	
Difference or profit - - - -		2,50,000
Lastly, there is in Reypilly a computed area of waste land, capable under irrigation, of yielding a revenue of - -		79,000
	Rs.	4,64,000†

From this aggregate, they reserved 64,000 rupees as doubtful.

Now, as regards the two first items, no doubt can be started as to suitability of soil, nor as to the willingness of ryots, to avail themselves of water. It is not a question of raising wet instead of dry crops, but of providing a full, instead of a partial, supply to lands where rice is already grown. The last item, is only uncertain as regards the extent of land that may be taken up, as the Reypilly ryots already use water for their crops wherever they can get it. All these items together, only contain about 1,25,000 acres, or a fourth of the area computed to be under the command of the new Guntoor channels.

77. In these estimates, no account is taken of the advantages of inland navigation, nor of the stimulus to industry and intelligence, which will assuredly be given by the works. These are benefits which cannot be expressed in money, yet it is scarcely too much to say that they would alone suffice to justify the undertaking.

Canal navigation not to be overlooked.

78. Bezwada had been preferred as a site by Major Cotton and Captain Lake, but as the river is here confined by two hills to a channel of only 1,300 yards wide, with a velocity of four miles an hour, with nothing but sand for a foundation, its suitableness had been questioned. The Committee decided however, in its favour.

Bezwada decided on as the site.

79. In

* *Note.*—This appears much in excess of the land actually laid out in beds as paddy fields, as subsequently returned in the Wet Land Assessment Report.

† So in original.

Increase of three lacks in estimates.

79. In the plan and estimates, the chief alteration made by th[illegible] was to raise the crown of the wear four feet higher than proposed Lake. They also allowed for higher rates under some items, raised the charge for the works on the river from a little more th[illegible] seven and a half lacks. With the details of subsidiary works, th[illegible] occupy themselves.

Specification of wear.

80. As finally settled, the annicut occupies 2,990 feet of the river chann[illegible] and the sluices and bridge-abutments the remaining 870 feet, which complet[illegible] the width of the river. The height above summer-level being 16 feet, the width of the crest 12 feet, and that of the slope 48 feet.

Committee's report adopted.

81. Government expressed their satisfaction with the Committee's report and adopted their recommendations. They allowed, however, eight instead of 13 lacks for the details of irrigation works, and calculating that this total of fifteen and half lacks would be distributed over seven years, recommended it for the sanction of the Government of India on the 20th July 1849, with an intimation that the execution would not be commenced, till the Godavery work had been completed, and stood the test of one year's freshes.

Sanction applied for July 1849.

Sanction announced 30th March 1851.

Preparation began in 1851.

Annicut began end of 1853.

82. But a further delay took place; by the Government of India the project was referred to the Home Government. Their sanction was given on the 5th January, and announced by the Government of Madras on the 30th March 1851. But from the want of executive officers, no preparations were made for another year. About the end of 1852, under the superintendence of Captain Orr, the sluices and locks were commenced, and finished by the middle of the year following. After the rains of 1853, the annicut was itself begun, and by the 25th of March last, it had spanned the river, being raised to the height of 10½ feet above the summer-level, or 15½ feet above the deep bed.

Channels, &c.

83. Meantime the outline of the other works had been planned. On the Guntoor side, the main channel being led round the Seetanagram hill by the head of the Tungabhadra for about four miles, branches out into three canals, all of which are to answer the double purpose of navigation and irrigation.

Three main channels.

84. The high level channel leads nearly due south towards Incole, and is intended to meet the coast canal from Madras. Another is carried along the river's bank, and a third takes the line to Nizampatam, which port it will thus connect with the river and the canals on its left bank.

Progress to end of September 1854.

85. The progress report of the undertaking to the end of September last, shows an expenditure as follows:

	Rs.
On the river works comprising wear, sluices, and locks	5,88,398
On works beyond the river on both sides	2,08,440
Total expended	7,96,838
To complete the wear, will probably take a further sum of	17,800
To complete other works, already sanctioned	46,000
Estimates now under submission	3,73,000
All which are expected to be finished in two years; and about 10 lacks more may eventually be required. Thus, the total cost may be stated as, river works	7,66,000
Channel and river works already estimated for	10,41,000
To be estimated	1,00,000
Rs.	28,07,000

7,96,838 expended.

Summary.

86. The result of the whole inquiry may be thus summed up:

That agriculture in Guntoor, with singular fertility of soil, has been specially obnoxious to damage, from either extreme of season; that being destitute of artificial protection, either from floods or from drought, and possessing less watered

watered land than any other in this Presidency, this district has suffered the most in the famines. That so far from being rashly adopted, sixty years passed between the first projection and the commencement of the Krishna Works, for the last 10 of which they were under the diligent scrutiny of both engineers and revenue officers on the spot and at head quarters, and at last came before Government with the suffrages of every officer in each department, who had given an opinion about them, the strongest advocates being those of the longest local experience; that the revised estimates of returns were most cautiously framed, the only assumption being that the ryots who now irrigate their lands partially, will, when they can, be glad to do so fully, and that they will not hesitate to pay a mean rate of five or six rupees an acre. That the Delta already contains 36,000 acres in different localities appropriated to the cultivation of fine, and 76,000 acres to that of coarse paddy, that the channels already dug have yielded ample profit, as shown in the margin; and the only irrigation works that failed, are a channel that never was finished, and a tank which, with two or three exceptions, was breached in every year that it was filled.

Sixty years passed after the project was mooted.

Delta already irrigated, where possible.

Annual per centage on the prime cost, deducting repairs.

Villatoor Channel, 88¾.
Tungabhadra Channel, 47⅝.
Coochinapoody Channel, 197¼.

87. The argument, that the prosperity of the revenue depends on the mode of collection, or the efficiency of the Collector, and that outlay on hydraulic works is supererogatory, is met by the simple fact that the first great element of the farmer's solvency, is produce, and the next, price; neither of which can be reached by the Collector's management strictly so called. But whatever improvement is attainable by good management instead of being displaced, will rather be promoted by the works, and it is obvious on a moment's reflection, that whatever additional sum is paid to Government in consideration of the use of water, is to be set down as irrigation returns, altogether independent of the yield from lands not irrigated. Past experience does not warrant the hope that management alone, can carry forward the district in a course of prosperity, but should it do so, the progress of half a century would be swallowed up by one such reverse as these works are intended to guard against, while after all, the end of Government is not the creation of revenue, but the good of the people.

See return appended to Public Works Commissioner's Report.

Management not sufficient.

88. Incalculable benefit may reasonably be expected from the new operations, especially the inland navigation. If Government have been justified in public opinion, in laying out the sum they have done for the electric telegraph, merely to accelerate the transmission of intelligence, how much more in a work of this kind, which might, were it only once in a century, avert the horrors of famine.

89. It is indeed much safer not to look at the question simply as a money speculation. For cautious as have been the calculations in this instance, we must not forget the many unforeseen adversities that may arise. In particular, the difficulty of draining the Delta, and protecting the works and the lands from the tremendous inundations which occasionally occur, will demand all the talent, skill, attention and perseverance the engineer department can supply. Yet with the Divine Blessing, success need not be despaired of. After allowing for every contingency, and a large annual outlay for superintendence, new works, and wear and tear, there need be no fear that a large interest in actual revenue will be realised on the capital sunk.

Not a question of mere money.

90. This review of the whole question, however, will be incomplete, without one cautionary reflection. Unless measures of moral amelioration proceed simultaneously with the development of material resources, wealth and population may be multiplied indefinitely, and yet no substantial addition be made to the sum of human happiness. After all now proposed shall have been done, our Deltas may still be behind those of China in artificial advantages, and the people as miserable as the Chinese.

Moral improvement also required.

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING Statistical Tables of the *Guntoor* Collectorate, illustrating its Topography, and Annual Condition as respects Population, Revenue and Finance, for Thirty Years ending 11 July 1852.

THE Guntoor collectorate under zemindary tenure, was distinguished into the Guntoor circar, and the district of Palnad. When its boundaries were revised in 1856, one village with its dependencies was transferred to Nellore, seven were acquired from Nellore, one from Masulipatam, and one village forming part of the Venkatagerry zemindary in Nellore, was placed under the police and jurisdiction of Guntoor. This brought an accession to the population of about 15,000 souls, and to the revenue, of 16,000 rupees. Three villages which belonged to the zemindaries, but were situated within the Palnad, were annexed to the talook of Datchapally. The statements which follow have reference to this revised division of the district. To follow the old arrangement on this occasion, would be inconvenient, and is not necessary to the end in view.

The Guntoor collectorate then, as at present defined, is divided for revenue and police purposes into fourteen talooks, each under a tahsildar. These are sub-divided into circuits of villages called muttas, each under the supervision of an inferior revenue servant in that district termed samatdar. Many villages again have their dependencies or hamlets attached, but those only are called villages which have distinct village establishment of accountant, &c., and have from former times been entered as such in the accounts. Many of the so-called hamlets are larger and more important than some villages. For instance, Bapetta and Pratepad are classed as single villages, though round each there is a wide circle of large and rich subordinate villages. Under the zemindars eleven villages were partitioned into two, and one into four shares, and each share was numbered as a separate village in the accounts. This arrangement has now been rectified.

Of the villages some have been granted to individuals or bodies, rent free. Others have been given, chiefly as Agraharams for the residence of Brahmins, or for other causes on a reduced quit rent. All others are called seri or Government villages.

The first three statements, No. 1 to 3, show the distribution of the land, population and stock, in a tabular form. Statement No. 1, shows only the whole agricultural area, and does not distinguish the alienated lands, nor include what is unfit for farming purposes.

In the printed review by the Commissioner for the Northern Circars of the settlement of the five districts for the year 1852-53, the following particulars are given of the area of Guntoor:—

	Acres.
Barren land, such as village-sites, hills, &c.	8,59,300
Fit for cultivation	17,76,895
Total Area	26,36,195

The Agricultural area again is divided into:

Dry	12,66,755
Garden	10,593
Wet	51,336
Total	13,28,684
Alienated on rent-free tenure	1,71,867
On quit-rent tenure	2,76,344
Total	4,48,211

* 17,76,895
17,40,544
36,351

This agricultural area differs from that given in Statement No. 1 by acres 36,351.* The area of barren land is of course only an approximation; only a small portion, if any, having been measured.

It is observable that the enams or alienated lands comprise one-fourth of the agricultural area. A large portion of them are held on invalid titles.

No. 1.—Distribution of Land, as Returned in 1851-52.

1.		2.	3.	VILLAGES. Rent-free. Villages. 4.	Favourably Assessed. Villages. 5.	Favourably Assessed. Hamlets. 6.	Fully Assessed. Villages. 7.	Fully Assessed. Hamlets. 8.	Total. Villages. 9.	Total. Hamlets. 10.	Agricultural Area. 11.	UNDER OCCUPATION IN 1851-52. EXCLUSIVE OF EXEMPTED LANDS. As Dry. Land. 12.	As Dry. Full Assessment. 13.	As Dry. Mean Rate. 14.	As Garden. Land. 15.	As Garden. Full Assessment. 16.	As Garden. Mean Rate. 17.	As Wet. Land. 18.	As Wet. Full Assessment. 19.	As Wet. Mean Rate. 20.	As Pasture. Land. 21.	As Pasture. Full Assessment. 22.	As Pasture. Mean Rate. 23.
Western:											*Acres.*	*Acres.*	*Rupees.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Acres.*	*Rupees.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Acres.*	*Rupees.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Acres.*	*Rupees.*	*Rs. a. p.*
Palnad	1	Tunmerecotah	6	1	8	–	80	39	89	39	1,68,473	67,587	83,402	1 3 9	723	1,681	2 5 2	878	6,273	7 2 3	—	—	—
	2	Dutchapally	4	–	9	–	57	14	66	14	1,43,215	44,057	62,739	1 6 9	193	721	3 12 6	1,063	8,044	7 9 –	—	—	—
Guntoor	3	Innacondah	6	5	21	5	83	61	109	66	1,89,287	37,647	35,958	– 15 3	1,902	6,388	3 5 8	515	3,151	6 1 10	86,730	16,374	– 3 –
	4	Narsarowpet	8	1	18	–	80	55	99	55	1,86,681	43,030	63,185	1 7 5	348	1,081	3 1 8	1,108	7,278	6 9 1	83,027	18,068	– 3 5
	5	Curapad	8	1	20	–	122	19	143	19	1,75,670	59,032	94,386	1 9 6	179	675	3 12 4	315	3,112	9 14 –	80,782	18,404	– 3 7
Central	6	Martur	7	–	14	2	55	68	69	70	1,53,934	54,986	1,01,178	1 13 5	486	1,714	3 8 5	402	2,373	5 14 5	40,573	8,570	– 3 4
	7	Conduveed	6	–	4	1	42	24	46	25	70,484	34,244	62,369	1 13 2	4	24	6 – –	342	2,341	6 13 6	28,215	6,400	– 3 7
	8	Guntoor	7	–	4	–	57	37	61	37	1,09,737	46,921	78,709	1 10 10	505	4,080	8 1 3	449	2,720	6 – 11	36,249	7,414	– 3 3
	9	Mangalagirry	9	1	5	–	66	19	72	19	1,10,494	37,387	89,282	2 6 2	673	4,923	7 5 –	548	3,989	7 4 5	52,853	13,857	– 4 2
Upper Delta	10	Prattipad	9	–	5	1	42	34	47	35	97,970	62,687	1,50,331	2 6 4	48	255	5 5 –	415	695	1 10 9	17,650	8,175	– 7 5
	11	Ponnur	10	–	10	1	58	63	68	64	1,01,154	50,025	91,182	1 13 2	779	5,139	6 9 6	5,443	29,274	5 6 –	19,226	5,913	– 4 11
	12	Tenally	9	–	12	1	46	36	58	37	92,616	60,987	1,04,212	1 11 4	1,814	11,087	6 1 9	14	44	3 2 3	10,010	2,304	– 3 8
Coast Delta	13	Repalli	10	–	8	13	69	218	77	231	76,568	43,097	73,468	1 11 3	913	6,055	6 10 1	4,052	20,846	5 2 3	4,212	1,006	– 3 9
	14	Bapetta	8	–	1	–	22	108	23	108	64,254	22,694	43,524	1 14 8	1,246	20,906	16 12 5	6,402	37,477	5 13 7	12,202	5,588	– 7 4
		Total	107	9	139	24	879	795	1,027	819	17,40,544	6,64,390	11,33,931	1 11 3	9,820	64,740	6 9 5	21,951	1,27,623	5 13 –	4,71,729	1,12,073	– 3 9

Note.—1. Columns 2, 4 to 10, are taken from the Settlement Return of the year.

2. Columns 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, ditto, but being intended to show the relative rating of the land, and not the actual revenue of the year, deductions for various causes are not shown.

3. Columns 21, 22, and 23 are taken from a statement sent to the Commissioner N. C., dated 24th May 1858.

4. The area shown is only an approximation, and does not profess to include the barren land. In the Palnad all wet lands, and the dry lands of some villages, have been measured in acres; but of other land the old recorded native measures have been converted into acres.

No. 2.—Population as Returned in 1850-51.

Talooks.	HINDUS.									OTHERS.									Grand Total.	
	Houses.	Families.	Adults.		Children.		Total.			Houses.	Families.	Adults.		Children.		Total.			Agricultural.	Non-Agricultural.
			Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Total.			Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Total.		
1	8,613	10,730	13,139	13,617	8,678	8,120	21,817	21,737	43,554	645	781	992	1,026	709	634	1,701	1,660	3,361	35,085	11,830
2	6,426	7,768	9,436	10,106	6,289	5,643	15,725	15,749	31,474	512	599	731	771	579	514	1,310	1,285	2,595	26,251	7,818
3	6,983	8,788	11,906	11,618	7,764	7,123	19,670	18,741	38,411	349	413	540	517	419	376	959	893	1,852	26,998	13,265
4	6,644	8,220	10,569	10,613	6,827	6,340	17,396	16,953	34,349	597	702	901	885	691	621	1,592	1,506	3,098	25,365	12,082
5	7,599	9,362	11,411	11,556	7,401	6,585	18,812	18,141	36,953	561	655	823	804	578	510	1,401	1,314	2,715	24,182	15,486
6	8,068	10,114	13,652	13,445	8,060	7,443	21,712	20,888	42,600	569	722	927	919	621	591	1,548	1,510	3,058	29,622	16,036
7	3,458	4,166	5,560	5,658	3,285	3,078	8,845	8,736	17,581	627	733	928	976	652	593	1,580	1,569	3,149	11,913	8,817
8	7,947	9,770	12,279	12,582	7,341	6,511	19,620	19,093	38,713	1,003	1,238	1,561	1,616	1,032	921	2,593	2,537	5,130	20,268	23,575
9	7,870	9,540	12,187	12,224	7,347	6,430	19,534	18,654	38,188	339	405	531	532	354	301	885	833	1,718	20,476	19,430
10	6,271	7,680	10,213	10,370	6,371	5,851	16,584	16,221	32,805	305	355	462	460	360	266	822	726	1,548	20,995	13,358
11	6,453	8,210	11,080	10,735	6,952	6,506	18,032	17,241	35,273	308	375	513	482	338	309	851	791	1,642	25,490	11,425
12	7,486	9,620	12,888	12,563	7,799	7,206	20,687	19,769	40,456	194	242	303	307	207	201	510	508	1,018	29,123	12,351
13	9,422	12,011	15,921	15,257	10,065	8,617	25,986	23,874	49,860	440	508	660	631	523	410	1,183	1,041	2,224	34,518	17,566
14	11,396	13,829	18,220	17,717	9,714	8,774	27,934	26,491	54,425	459	525	706	660	468	384	1,174	1,044	2,218	28,460	28,183
	1,04,636	1,29,808	1,68,461	1,68,061	1,03,893	94,227	2,72,354	2,62,288	5,34,642	6,908	8,253	10,578	10,586	7,531	6,631	18,109	17,217	35,326	3,58,746	2,11,222

No. 3.

TALOOKS.	Agricultural Area.	Population.	Agricultural Stock as returned in 1851–52.				Proportion per 100 Acres of Area.		Proportion of Non-agricultural Population to the whole.	TALOOKS.
			Sheep and Goats.	Oxen and He-Buffaloes.	Cows and She-Buffaloes.	TOTAL.	Persons.	Stock.		
1	1,68,473	46,915	48,666	14,896	51,330	1,14,892	28	68	25	Timmerecotah.
2	1,43,215	34,069	49,851	11,044	36,126	97,021	24	68	23	Datchapally.
3	1,89,287	40,263	92,404	8,835	43,432	1,44,671	21	76	33	Innacondah.
4	1,86,681	37,447	59,100	8,667	38,236	1,06,003	20	56	32	Narsarowpet.
5	1,75,670	39,668	53,226	9,682	49,102	1,12,010	22	64	39	Curapad.
6	1,53,934	45,658	34,650	9,956	38,602	83,208	29	54	34	Martur.
7	70,484	20,730	14,431	4,273	19,361	38,065	29	54	42	Condaveed.
8	1,09,737	43,843	30,127	7,347	31,229	68,703	40	63	54	Guntoor.
9	1,10,494	39,906	13,553	8,180	31,402	53,135	36	48	49	Mangalagirry.
10	97,970	34,353	16,167	7,251	30,119	53,537	35	55	39	Prattipad.
11	1,01,154	36,915	12,478	11,012	31,084	54,574	36	54	31	Ponnur.
12	92,616	41,474	9,146	9,981	27,743	46,870	45	51	40	Tenaly.
13	7,65,638	52,084	34,984	12,395	30,716	78,095	68	102	34	Repalli.
14	64,254	56,643	38,268	10,110	33,825	82,203	88	128	50	Bapetta.
	17,40,544	5,69,968	5,07,051	1,33,629	4,92,307	11,32,987	33	65	37	

The next statement, No. 4, shows the annual rental, omitting fractions, of the whole district for 30 years. By rental is meant the aggregate sum demandable from each village on account of land revenue, as annually settled. It is also known by the names of demand, or settlement, and by the native revenue terms of dowl, beriz or jummah, &c.; it is composed of quit-rent on favourably assessed villages; the same on enam lands; assessment on dry, garden, and wet lands occupied during the year, rent of fruit trees and pasture lands, under which last head is included the rent of wild chaya-root. Under village rents these various items were not brought separately to account. Until the accounts for Guntoor ceased to be kept as for a permanently settled district, the peishcush, or permanent demand on the zemindaries, was alone shown in the collector's account of the rental for the zemindary villages, unless they happened to be under sequestration. The account now shown was obtained by collecting the annual settlement accounts from the talook or village records and arranging them. In a few instances, the accounts of a village for some one year were missing, and the gap has been supplied by taking the memo. of the previous and following years in the series. It is however sufficiently accurate for the object intended.

In some districts, the term rental or beriz is applied, not to the land in occupation in any single year, but to the aggregate amount of the rent on all lands that have at any time been brought to account. No such account exists for Guntoor.

Prior to the year 1846, the particulars of the several descriptions of land-rent comprised in the rental, were not separately recorded. From that year the sum charged, though not the land, under each head is shown in Table No. 5.

The same Table shows the annual collections and balance remaining for those years.

Statement No. 6, shows the result of the assessment and measurement of the wet lands, so far as they have been laid out.

No. 4.—Rental of each Talook for 30 years, ending 11th July 1851–2.

Numbers.	Year.	Western.					Central.				Upper Delta.			Coast Delta.		
		Palnad.		Innaconda.	Nursarowpet.	Curapad.	Matur.	Condaveed.	Guntoor.	Mungalagirry.	Prattipad.	Ponnur.	Tenally.	Repalli.	Bapetta.	Grand Total.
		Timmerecotah.	Datchapally.													
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1	1822–3	1,20,638	1,18,228	81,358	1,21,555	1,81,905	1,41,098	1,06,933	1,39,378	1,97,390	1,91,969	1,46,405	1,04,520	1,09,886	1,48,516	19,09,779
2	1823–4	1,12,976	1,05,410	77,839	1,21,505	2,00,214	1,42,321	1,08,112	1,40,479	1,99,369	1,93,897	1,23,086	1,21,702	1,07,343	1,43,213	18,97,466
3	1824–5	1,17,475	1,06,174	86,932	1,45,992	2,31,715	1,66,171	1,13,713	1,49,963	2,14,617	1,98,719	1,22,795	1,37,294	1,06,622	1,31,603	20,29,771
4	1825–6	1,21,946	1,12,997	90,381	1,40,708	2,19,993	1,74,102	1,10,677	1,51,019	2,19,543	2,04,393	1,60,866	1,33,478	1,27,803	1,50,715	21,18,621
5	1826–7	1,22,908	1,14,577	91,137	1,38,031	2,10,983	1,74,187	1,13,460	1,50,314	2,26,387	2,09,961	1,49,184	1,34,852	1,30,151	1,56,316	21,22,448
6	1827–8	1,15,424	1,14,056	75,420	1,29,722	2,04,307	1,67,843	1,15,537	1,40,686	2,28,040	2,05,127	1,39,306	1,27,076	1,13,420	1,34,273	20,10,237
7	1828–9	1,18,302	1,15,231	83,837	1,30,340	1,72,299	1,67,533	1,15,261	1,36,870	2,06,653	2,08,186	1,32,351	99,483	1,06,376	1,24,891	19,17,613
8	1829–30	1,10,497	99,581	80,053	1,19,276	1,70,260	1,63,645	1,12,493	1,38,200	2,12,337	2,06,718	1,34,182	1,09,404	1,01,960	1,35,333	18,93,939
9	1830–31	1,10,533	1,02,212	89,743	1,26,637	1,53,765	1,57,733	1,10,986	1,37,204	2,01,822	2,05,639	1,56,106	1,17,208	1,14,547	1,61,944	19,46,079
10	1831–2	1,06,818	88,206	86,953	1,18,044	1,20,993	1,53,773	1,06,150	1,32,195	1,88,193	1,96,029	1,27,141	1,21,113	1,00,371	1,35,637	17,81,616
11	1832–3	1,07,237	87,533	84,145	1,01,326	1,03,047	1,45,823	90,686	1,12,072	1,50,292	1,77,241	1,19,567	96,318	99,454	1,02,568	15,77,309
12	1833–4	85,574	67,699	52,536	55,500	77,594	1,21,932	76,437	1,00,921	1,34,800	1,61,450	1,10,884	95,124	88,046	1,02,866	13,31,363
13	1834–5	89,287	70,837	42,532	45,992	56,291	1,09,534	60,278	81,392	1,16,568	1,33,493	90,138	65,760	83,762	99,410	11,45,274
14	1835–6	88,624	68,252	34,934	34,731	43,753	93,820	45,776	67,858	1,00,435	1,04,533	76,795	77,128	82,308	82,329	10,01,276
15	1836–7	91,207	66,941	35,752	35,409	45,235	74,855	42,029	63,896	93,556	95,508	64,003	94,412	82,548	83,409	9,68,760
16	1837–8	1,01,725	82,085	41,963	43,300	51,602	84,411	44,626	64,498	91,062	1,02,032	67,236	66,010	72,566	88,283	10,01,399
17	1838–9	1,00,750	78,642	42,520	47,226	53,998	93,485	44,826	67,246	1,06,773	1,09,925	73,778	1,52,683	84,858	93,666	11,50,376
18	1839–40	1,07,242	85,631	55,334	63,382	64,675	1,07,372	51,907	74,076	1,15,265	1,22,277	98,778	90,018	90,926	1,25,023	12,51,906
19	1840–41	99,476	74,396	53,224	63,742	67,702	1,10,889	55,419	71,032	1,10,967	1,27,641	91,765	94,146	80,453	91,897	11,92,749
20	1841–2	99,131	71,228	56,110	66,895	66,914	1,12,136	57,978	79,121	1,06,956	1,31,679	85,238	75,890	85,273	1,09,520	12,04,069
21	1842–3	90,300	64,467	46,992	61,458	66,211	1,04,263	56,606	76,530	93,757	1,30,418	78,341	90,007	78,416	92,138	11,29,904
22	1843–4	84,161	66,258	49,973	60,423	65,711	98,222	56,735	74,270	90,912	1,31,845	74,813	64,120	76,786	82,299	10,76,528
23	1844–5	78,633	65,465	50,072	58,310	67,879	96,944	48,412	69,828	95,441	1,15,526	80,590	78,258	82,468	85,920	10,73,746
24	1845–6	90,447	77,650	58,625	68,828	77,307	1,05,035	54,802	79,124	1,29,674	1,17,595	99,940	1,25,769	90,501	1,11,257	12,86,554
25	1846–7	1,02,215	83,859	56,867	78,553	96,685	1,11,929	64,948	86,733	1,44,612	1,33,101	1,20,634	1,06,235	1,05,680	1,37,643	14,29,694
26	1847–8	1,03,794	87,310	57,809	79,045	1,11,628	1,13,475	68,451	93,480	1,54,414	1,45,790	1,21,978	1,24,022	89,929	1,01,246	14,52,371
27	1848–9	1,06,248	88,175	59,309	83,427	1,28,062	1,14,935	71,418	97,993	1,48,570	1,55,642	1,24,755	1,29,650	1,05,682	1,01,447	15,15,313
28	1849–50	1,10,477	92,651	63,488	91,779	1,28,310	1,14,869	72,998	97,035	1,28,262	1,62,252	1,16,501	1,29,996	92,707	1,09,793	15,11,118
29	1850–51	1,11,360	93,876	63,167	94,056	1,21,249	1,14,424	73,039	80,189	87,446	1,35,536	1,12,522	1,10,106	87,311	1,16,254	14,00,535
30	1851–2	1,14,296	92,423	63,125	91,305	1,15,732	1,10,661	71,555	92,292	1,07,087	1,46,129	1,30,099	1,11,963	97,492	1,11,574	14,55,733
Quinquennial Average. First		1,19,188	1,11,477	85,529	1,33,558	2,08,962	1,59,573	1,10,579	1,46,231	2,11,461	1,99,788	1,40,467	1,26,369	1,16,361	1,46,072	20,15,615
Second		1,12,315	1,03,857	83,201	1,24,804	1,64,325	1,62,105	1,12,085	1,37,031	2,07,409	2,04,340	1,37,817	1,14,857	1,07,335	1,38,416	19,09,897
Third		92,386	72,252	49,980	54,592	65,184	1,09,193	63,041	85,228	1,19,130	1,34,445	92,277	85,748	87,224	94,116	12,04,796
Fourth		1,01,665	78,397	49,830	56,909	60,978	1,01,658	50,951	71,196	1,06,204	1,18,711	83,359	95,749	82,815	1,01,678	11,60,100
Fifth		89,151	71,540	52,506	65,514	74,759	1,03,279	56,301	77,297	1,10,879	1,25,697	90,863	92,878	86,770	1,01,851	11,99,285
Sixth		1,09,235	90,887	61,380	87,922	1,20,996	1,13,673	71,492	92,198	1,25,156	1,49,070	1,21,171	1,21,147	94,624	1,08,063	14,67,014

No. 5.—Particulars of the Rental for Seven Years, ending 11 July 1852.

YEAR.	Dry and Garden Land.	Wet Land.	Quit Rent on partially assessed Fields.	Quit Rent on partially assessed Villages.	Grass Rents.	Fruit Trees.	Total.	COLLECTIONS.			Balance of each Year at its close.
								Current.	Arrears.	Total.	
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1845-46	10,21,668	1,10,214	65,320	18,096	58,779	3,001	12,77,081	11,66,403	1,99,627	13,66,031	1,10,678
1846-47	10,99,644	1,41,100	68,099	18,096	85,361	6,459	14,18,761	13,25,751	1,03,056	14,28,807	93,010
1847-48	11,44,130	99,179	74,414	18,359	1,11,420	8,440	14,55,944	13,79,080	86,209	14,65,289	76,864
1848-49	12,01,767	94,268	75,246	18,359	1,22,104	6,706	15,18,462	14,41,821	47,932	14,89,753	76,641
1849-50	11,91,819	98,871	74,680	18,359	1,23,334	6,329	15,13,395	13,82,876	28,235	14,11,111	1,30,519
1850-51	10,43,615	1,34,911	74,623	18,359	1,22,926	8,622	14,03,058	12,83,541	17,496	13,01,037	1,19,517
1851-52	11,08,872	1,29,071	72,026	18,359	1,23,453	6,186	14,57,969	13,60,612	44,690	14,05,303	97,357

No. 6.—Irrigated Rice Lands in the *Guntoor* District, actually laid out and Assessed.

Talooks.	Villages.	Area.	Assessment.	Rate per Acre.			SETTLEMENT.						
				Average.	Highest.	Lowest.	1845-6.	1846-7.	1847-8.	1848-9.	1849-50.	1850-1.	1851-2.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
1	29	1,150	8,375	7 4 5	18 14 6	3 2 –	2,302	2,342	2,312	1,620	3,369	4,629	6,273
2	27	1,842	15,038	8 2 7	16 8 –	4 – –	9,723	6,181	6,171	4,898	9,082	10,502	8,045
3	34	1,233	9,402	7 10 –	12 – –	3 – –	7,141	2,765	532	1,486	4,408	4,955	3,151
4	34	1,366	12,373	9 – 10	16 – –	3 10 –	9,495	10,746	1,592	2,663	8,828	10,055	7,278
5	18	958	9,920	10 5 6	15 – –	7 – –	3,352	3,072	3,296	3,008	4,511	4,738	3,112
6	12	697	5,262	7 8 8	11 – –	5 – –	6,966	4,032	3,005	1,704	3,320	3,741	2,373
7	9	478	3,476	7 4 4	13 – –	3 4 –	1,197	3,384	1,039	726	2,239	2,632	2,331
8	14	389	2,520	6 7 5	9 – –	4 – –	2,347	825	1,575	575	2,407	2,643	2,747
9	7	622	4,431	7 1 10	10 – –	4 4 –	1,226	458	4,490	830	2,969	2,711	4,020
10	5	478	2,796	5 13 6	9 10 –	2 14 –	1,547	1,851	792	17	2,175	2,487	695
11	16	7,464	46,927	6 4 7	9 – –	3 – –	24,085	37,412	26,120	21,195	11,841	19,573	30,159
12	1	385	1,542	4 – –	4 – –	4 – –	200	1,307	220	598	27	20	44
13	40	8,045	43,831	5 7 2	8 – –	1 12 –	4,776	19,948	10,997	23,253	5,661	21,749	21,180
14	17	10,692	66,955	6 4 2	14 – –	4 – –	35,852	46,770	37,029	31,688	35,022	44,468	37,657
Total	263	35,807	2,32,848	6 8 –	– – –	– – –	1,10,214	1,41,100	99,179	94,268	95,864	1,34,911	1,29,071

For Palnad, *See* to Board of Revenue 25th April 1848.
For Guntoor, *See* to Commissioner, 13th March 1851.

The next statement, No. 7, will serve the threefold purpose of showing the effect of the famine, the influence of prices on the land revenue, and the operation of our management. It shows for each year the population, prices, rental, collection, and charges of every branch of revenue, and the total sum annually withdrawn, chiefly in specie, from the district in the shape of net revenue.

In this statement the following points chiefly deserve attention:—

1. The results of the famine. These having been enlarged on in paragraphs 29-33 of the Memo. need not be further noticed here.

2. The decline in the prices of grain; the average per garce in the first period having been 166 millet 155 paddy, and in the last 115 millet, paddy 99. The ratio of the assessment to the gross produce varies annually with the range of the market price during the season of collection of wet and dry produce respectively. Thus the ratio in any given year is expressedly a fraction, of which the denominator is the selling price of, say, a garce of grain, and the numerator, the assessment of the land, on which that quantity has been raised.

It is currently supposed by the ryots that an acre of dry land may yield five tooms, or one-sixteenth of a garce, nearly. Taking then the mean rate of dry land for the whole district per acre at rupee 1-11. This × 16=27 the sum payable per garce of produce, which is seen to have ranged from $\frac{27}{199}$ or 13$\frac{5}{6}$ per cent. in 1823 to $\frac{2}{46}$ or 58$\frac{5}{8}$ per cent. in 1844. By a similar calculation and assuming the medium produce of an acre of wet land to be one-fourth of a garce and the mean rate of assessment to be 6-8 rupees, the assessment on wet land has ranged from $\frac{26}{192}$ to $\frac{26}{81}$ or from 13$\frac{1}{2}$ to 32$\frac{1}{16}$ per cent. of the gross produce.

3. The next point is the large difference between the present and maximum rental.

4. Another, and a very important, point is the exhausting tendency of our present system, unless counteracted by public improvements. The difference between the land rental, plus the gross collections from all other sources, and the net revenue as shown in column 91, represents, it may be assumed, the maximum that can have been spent in the district. In the first ten years it stands thus:—

Rental land - - - - - - - - -	196,27,569
Gross collections from extra sources - - - -	49,13,655
TOTAL - - -	245,41,224
Deduct net revenue - - - - - - -	160,61,810
Difference retained in the district - - - -	84,79,414

In the last ten Years it is thus:—

Rental land - - - - - - - - -	133,31,496
Gross collections from extra sources - - - -	45,67,219
TOTAL - - -	178,98,715
Deduct net revenue - - - - - - - -	126,54,639
Difference retained in the district - - - -	52,44,076

The effect of this silent but steady drain must necessarily be the impoverishment of agriculture.

5. The small expenditure on roads is the fourth point. During 30 years it has amounted to 1,16,171 rupees.

6. The expenditure on tanks and watercourses by the zemindars for their villages, no where appears. The amount disbursed by Government is included in column 60, under charges of management. But in column 6 of the statement of expenditure on irrigation appended to the Report of the Commissioners on public works, it is given as 275,522 rupees during 30 years, of which 210,261 rupees has been since the middle of 1846.

7. The sum expended on public instruction, 1,316 rupees, during 30 years, suggests many regrets that the education despatch was not issued half a century ago.

No. 7.—REVENUE [illegible] Transactions of Thirty Years ending 11th July 1852.

Number.	YEAR.	Population.	Price per Garce.		Land Rental.	LAND REVENUE.										
						COLLECTIONS.					CHARGES.			Net Revenue.	Per Cent.	
			Millet.	Paddy.		Current.	Arrears.	Total.	Extra Revenue.	Total.	Management.	Allowances to Zemindars, Pagodas, &c.	Total.			
	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	
1	1822-23	- - -	199	154	19,09,779	11,36,801	2,49,029	13,85,830	44,567	14,30,397	79,452	9,874	89,326	13,41,071	6 3 11	
2	1823-24	- - -	187	165	18,97,466	13,01,555	3,14,508	16,16,063	16,635	16,32,698	89,330	10,263	99,593	15,33,105	5 15 8	
3	1824-25	- - -	182	178	20,29,771	14,09,043	1,33,190	15,43,133	11,713	15,54,846	84,533	9,445	93,978	14,60,868	6 - 8	
4	1825-26	- - -	151	175	21,18,621	13,91,746	26,939	14,18,685	10,580	14,29,265	84,337	6,461	90,798	13,38,467	6 5 8	
5	1826-27	4,76,787	112	103	21,22,448	14,12,606	55,311	14,67,917	13,277	14,81,194	1,16,410	6,635	1,23,045	13,58,149	8 4 10	
6	1827-28	4,78,259	97	92	20,10,237	14,36,038	36,836	14,72,874	29,341	15,02,215	1,11,819	6,501	1,18,320	13,83,895	7 14 -	
7	1828-29	4,78,053	124	101	19,17,613	14,07,430	4,207	14,11,637	14,479	14,26,116	96,616	6,650	1,03,266	13,22,850	7 3 10	
8	1829-30	4,78,608	129	122	18,93,939	14,20,121	34,007	14,54,128	11,973	14,66,101	86,091	6,261	92,352	13,73,749	6 4 8	
9	1830-31	5,09,365	122	111	19,46,079	13,03,091	5,628	13,08,719	15,309	13,24,028	98,501	6,171	1,04,672	12,19,356	7 14 6	
10	1831-32	5,12,317	111	89	17,81,616	11,29,036	1,20,696	12,49,732	13,923	12,63,655	83,941	6,063	90,004	11,73,651	7 2 -	
11	1832-33	3,57,038	192	192	15,77,309	5,92,824	65,676	6,58,500	4,114	6,62,614	75,008	5,852	80,860	5,81,754	2 3 3	
12	1833-34	2,55,511	195	242	13,31,363	6,59,371	3,15,261	9,74,632	59,718	10,34,350	1,36,893	7,515	1,44,408	8,89,942	13 15 4	
13	1834-35	2,24,413	151	123	11,45,274	4,93,037	18,556	5,11,593	30,387	5,41,980	82,175	6,095	88,270	4,53,710	16 4 3	
14	1835-36	2,34,667	97	97	10,01,276	7,17,938	1,66,474	8,84,412	11,357	8,95,769	81,375	5,919	87,294	8,08,475	9 11 11	
15	1836-37	2,54,902	100	115	9,68,760	7,17,476	65,146	7,82,622	11,540	7,94,162	93,155	5,848	99,003	6,95,159	12 7 6	
16	1837-38	2,67,426	98	109	10,01,399	7,21,719	63,477	7,85,196	10,869	7,96,065	99,822	5,829	1,05,651	6,90,414	13 4 4	
17	1838-39	3,02,155	167	167	11,50,376	7,82,339	66,629	8,48,968	8,510	8,57,478	1,05,684	5,798	1,11,482	7,45,996	12 15 10	
18	1839-40	3,08,860	119	126	12,51,906	8,68,552	68,095	9,36,647	8,225	9,44,872	99,523	5,801	1,05,324	8,39,548	11 2 4	
19	1840-41	3,15,396	101	104	11,92,749	9,13,794	85,343	9,99,137	15,814	10,14,951	1,04,977	5,812	1,10,789	9,04,162	10 14 8	
20	1841-42	3,18,888	77	90	12,04,069	8,77,762	27,418	9,05,180	10,533	9,15,713	97,443	5,813	1,03,256	8,12,457	11 4 5	
21	1842-43	3,44,729	59	79	11,29,904	8,08,352	36,529	8,44,881	11,632	8,56,513	97,276	5,329	1,02,605	7,53,908	11 15 8	
22	1843-44	3,66,164	46	81	10,76,528	6,34,487	53,345	6,87,832	14,757	7,02,589	95,712	5,592	1,01,304	6,01,285	14 6 8	
23	1844-45	3,78,310	69	87	10,73,746	7,64,202	78,370	8,42,572	15,757	8,58,329	93,360	5,587	98,947	7,59,382	11 8 5	
24	1845-46	3,82,819	135	115	12,86,554	10,61,679	2,22,524	12,84,203	38,417	13,22,620	1,43,781	16,683	1,60,464	11,62,156	12 2 1	
25	1846-47	4,11,619	125	116	14,29,694	13,25,781	1,06,263	14,32,044	14,678	14,46,722	1,54,068	52,405	2,06,473	12,40,249	14 4 4	
26	1847-48	4,83,831	123	104	14,52,371	13,79,080	96,824	14,75,904	12,562	14,88,466	2,29,817	55,590	2,85,407	12,03,059	19 2 9	
27	1848-49	4,87,172	104	99	15,15,313	14,41,821	56,820	14,98,641	10,820	15,09,461	2,01,651	45,144	2,46,795	12,62,666	16 5 7	
28	1849-50	4,87,172	97	92	15,11,118	13,82,877	2,07,520	15,90,397	14,771	16,05,168	1,98,593	61,700	2,60,293	13,44,875	16 - 6	
29	1850-51	5,70,083	126	112	14,00,535	12,83,541	17,496	13,01,037	16,858	13,17,895	2,14,001	61,846	2,75,847	10,42,048	20 14 10	
30	1851-52	5,70,083	123	92	14,55,733	13,60,612	44,691	14,05,303	19,333	14,24,636	2,05,782	53,054	2,58,836	11,65,800	18 2 9	
Total - - -		1,02,54,627	3,718	3,632	4,47,83,546	3,21,35,611	28,42,808	3,49,78,419	5,22,449	3,55,00,868	35,41,026	4,97,636	43,38,662	3,14,62,206	—	
Average - -		3,94,408	124	121	14,92,785	10,71,187	94,760	11,65,947	17,415	11,83,362	1,18,034	16,588	1,34,622	10,48,740	—	
Quinquennial Average.	First -	- -	166	155	20,15,615	13,30,530	1,55,795	14,86,325	9,354	15,05,680	90,812	8,536	99,348	14,06,332	6 9 6	
	Second -	4,84,214	117	103	19,09,897	13,39,143	40,275	13,79,418	17,005	13,96,423	95,394	6,329	1,01,723	12,94,700	7 4 6	
	Third -	3,16,789	147	154	12,04,796	6,36,129	1,26,222	7,62,351	23,424	7,85,775	93,721	6,246	99,967	6,85,808	12 11 9	
	Fourth -	2,89,748	112	119	11,60,100	8,32,833	62,192	8,95,025	10,791	9,05,816	1,01,490	5,810	1,07,300	7,98,515	11 13 6	
	Fifth -	3,58,182	87	96	11,99,285	9,18,900	99,406	10,18,306	19,048	10,37,354	1,16,839	17,119	1,33,958	9,03,396	12 14 7	
	Sixth -	4,87,975	115	99	14,67,014	13,69,586	84,671	14,54,257	14,868	14,69,125	2,09,969	55,466	2,65,435	12,03,690	18 1 -	

(continued)

No. 7.—Revenue and Finance Transactions of Thirty Years ending 11th July 1852—*continued.*

Number.	YEAR.	SALT.						LAND CUSTOMS.						SEA CUSTOMS.					
		Collections.	Extra Revenue.	Total.	Charges, Management, and Manufacturers Share.	Net Revenue.	Per Cent.	Collection.	Extra Revenue.	Total.	Charges.	Net Revenue.	Per Cent.	Collection.	Extra Revenue.	Total.	Charges.	Net Revenue.	Per Cent.
		16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.	27.	28.	29.	30.	31.	32.	33.
1	1822 23	2,32,451	1,888	2,34 339	44,451	1,89,888	18 15 6	1,11,718	676	1,12,394	39,416	72,978	- -	1,674	72	1,746	804	942	46 - 8
2	1823-24	2,16,208	3,121	2.19,329	46,329	1,73,000	21 2 3	90,782	1,706	92,488	40,435	52,053	- -	1,482	59	1,541	1,250	290	81 1 11
3	1824-25	2,05,800	8,775	2,14,575	41,797	1,72,778	19 11 10	80,801	4,471	85,272	10,960	74,312	12 13 7	3,183	59	3,242	672	2,570	20 11 7
4	1825-26	2,45,309	4,127	2,49,436	44,006	2,05,430	17 10 4	91,453	1,483	92,936	29,080	63,856	31 4 8	5,070	335	5,405	713	4,692	13 3 -
5	1826-27	2,46,269	4,852	2,51,121	80,160	1,70.961	31 14 1	96,641	1,462	98,103	29,325	68,778	29 14 3	4,409	280	4,689	709	3,980	15 1 10
6	1827-28	2,39,447	4,705	2,44,152	64,627	1,79,525	26 7 6	1,11,394	4,972	1,16,366	38,498	77,868	33 1 4	5,898	264	6,162	675	5,487	10 15 8
7	1828-29	2,62,057	2,607	2,64,664	33,060	2,31,604	12 7 11	1,05,636	551	1,06,187	27,659	78,528	26 - 9	6,603	53	6,656	660	5,996	10 1 1
8	1829-30	4,28,166	5,951	4,34,117	61,808	3,72,309	14 3 9	1,05,511	210	1,05,721	25,204	80,517	23 13 5	5,859	71	5,930	597	5,333	10 1 2
9	1830-31	3,14,706	2,059	3,16,765	40,143	2,76,622	12 10 9	96,861	231	97,092	24,722	72,370	25 7 4	2,387	63	2,450	571	1,879	23 4 10
10	1831-32	3,85,213	4,838	3,90,051	54,975	3,35,076	14 1 6	92,586	201	92,787	24,383	68,404	26 4 6	1,958	65	2,023	532	1,491	26 4 10
11	1832-33	1,59,885	4.430	1,64,315	51,498	1,12,817	31 5 6	64,555	180	64,735	24,181	40,554	37 5 7	3,142	135	3,277	540	2,787	16 7 8
12	1833-34	2,98,138	2,857	3,00,995	34,446	2,66,549	11 7 1	45,707	150	45,857	23,437	22,420	51 1 9	2,001	17	2,018	1,466	552	72 10 4
13	1834 35	2,29,243	4,798	2,34,041	34,284	1,99,757	14 10 7	48,756	240	48,996	21,992	27,004	44 14 2	3,328	18	3,346	557	2,789	16 10 4
14	1835 36	2,49,229	2,593	2,51,822	29,858	2,21,964	11 13 8	59,848	244	60,092	20,115	39,977	33 7 6	4,050	42	4,092	564	3,528	13 12 6
15	1836-37	2,38,243	2,017	2,40,260	21,918	2,18,342	9 1 11	60.699	27	60,726	18,569	42,157	30 8 6	2,233	138	2,371	518	1,853	21 13 7
16	1837-38	2,92,487	141	2,92,628	35,197	2,57,431	12 - 5	59,283	127	59,410	15,366	44,044	25 13 9	3,015	13	3,028	504	2,524	16 10 4
17	1838-39	3,38,781	2,716	3,41,497	33,741	3,07,756	9 14 1	59,142	291	59,433	14,322	45,111	24 1 6	2,468	295	2,763	506	2,257	18 5 -
18	1839-40	3,53,955	1,963	3,55,918	45,934	3,09,984	12 14 6	62,382	54	62,436	14,001	48,435	22 6 9	2,778	290	3,068	507	2,561	16 8 6
19	1840-41	2,91,940	1,659	2,93,599	43,746	2,49,853	14 14 5	64,385	79	64,464	13,620	50,844	21 2 1	2,458	320	2,778	504	2,274	18 2 6
20	1841-42	3,03,621	598	3,04,219	34,239	2,69,980	11 4 1	56,331	19	56,350	13,529	42,821	24 - 1	2,978	50	3,028	523	2,505	17 4 4
21	1842-43	2,76,886	2,075	2,78,961	52,985	2,25,976	18 15 11	57,406	25	57,431	13,598	43,833	23 10 10	3,591	32	3,623	504	3,119	13 14 6
22	1843-44	3,46,178	1,915	3,48,093	21,375	3,26,718	6 2 3	43,422	140	43,562	10,305	33,257	23 9 2	4,970	176	5,146	505	4,641	9 13 -
23	1844-45	3,55,330	1,283	3,56,613	52,580	3,04,033	14 11 10	10,986	57	11,043	868	10,175	7 13 10	7,275	22	7,297	503	6,794	6 14 4
24	1845-46	3,45,133	2,808	3,47,941	27,330	3,20,611	7 13 8	5,958	248	6,206	1,961	4,245	31 9 6	7,622	172	7,794	642	7,152	8 3 9
25	1846-47	3,10,754	5	3,10,759	36,025	2,74,734	11 10 -	4.769	9	4,778	1,913	2,865	40 - 6	4,194	193	4,387	502	3,885	11 7 -
26	1847-48	3,87,023	2,305	3,89,328	39,089	3,50,239	10 - 7	3,924	86	4,010	1,981	2,029	49 6 6	4,021	94	4,115	503	3,612	12 3 8
27	1848-49	4,06.736	580	4,07,316	31,871	3.75,445	7 13 2	3,005	37	3,042	2,008	1,034	66 - 4	7,421	18	7,439	514	6,925	6 14 6
28	1849-50	3,84,656	5,124	3,89,780	56,168	3.33,612	14 6 6	3,439	- -	3,439	1,991	1,448	57 9 3	755	81	836	517	319	61 13 10
29	1850-51	4,12,919	1,803	4,14,722	25,903	3,88,819	6 3 11	3,746	88	3,834	2,051	1,783	53 8 -	1,924	11	1,935	421	1,514	21 12 -
30	1851-52	3,33,787	2,684	3,36,471	45,157	2,91,314	13 6 9	2,932	8	2,940	2,020	920	68 11 3	2,069	-	2,069	348	1,721	16 13 4
Total - - -		90,90,550	87,277	91,77,827	12,64,700	79,13,127	- -	17,04,058	18,072	17,22,130	5,07,510	12,14,620	- -	1,10,816	3,438	1,14,254	18,331	95,923	—
Average - -		3,03,018	2,909	3,05,927	42,156	2,63,771	- -	56,802	623	57,404	16,917	40,487	- -	3,694	118	3,808	611	3,197	—
Quinquennial Average.	First -	2,29,207	4,553	2,33,760	51,349	1,82,411	21 15 5	94,279	1,906	96,239	29,843	66,396	31 - 1	3,164	161	3,325	830	2,495	24 15 4
	Second -	3,25,918	4,032	3,29,950	50,923	2,79,027	15 6 11	1,02,398	1,233	1,03,631	28,093	75,538	27 1 8	4,541	103	4,644	607	4,037	13 1 1
	Third -	2,34,948	3,339	2,38,287	34,401	2,03,886	14 6 11	55,913	168	56,081	21,659	34,422	38 9 11	2 951	70	3,021	729	2,292	24 2 1
	Fourth -	3,16,157	1,415	3,17,572	38,571	2,79,001	12 2 3	60,305	114	60,419	14,168	46,251	13 7 2	2,739	194	2,933	509	2,424	17 5 8
	Fifth -	3,26,856	1,617	3,28,473	38,059	2,90,414	11 9 4	24,508	96	24,604	5,729	18,875	23 4 6	5,530	119	5,649	531	5,118	9 6 4
	Sixth -	3,85,024	2,499	3,87,523	39,637	3,47,886	10 3 4	3,409	44	3,453	2,010	1,443	58 3 4	3,236	41	3,279	461	2,818	14 - 11

No. 7.—Revenue and Finance Transactions of Thirty Years ending 11th July 1852—*continued.*

Number.	YEAR.	ARRACK AND TODDY FARM.								MOTURPHA.							
		COLLECTIONS.					Charges.	Net Revenue.	Per Cent.	COLLECTIONS.					Charges.	Net Revenue.	Per Cent.
		Current.	Arrears.	Total.	Extra Revenue.	Total.				Current.	Arrears.	Total.	Extra Revenue.	Total.			
		34.	35.	36.	37.	38.	39.	40.	41.	42.	43.	44.	45.	46.	47.	48.	49.
1	1822-23	25'115	725	25,840	584	26,424	684	25,740	2 9 5	36,532	15,633	52,165	94	52,259	4,904	47,355	9 6 1
2	1823-24	25'305	1,822	27,127	314	27,441	793	26,648	2 14 2	55,618	- -	55,618	151	55,769	4,883	50,886	8 12 1
3	1824 25	25'039	2,123	27,162	373	27,535	695	26,840	2 8 4	41,395	17,060	58,455	303	58,758	4,996	53,762	8 8 -
4	1825-26	27'185	2,578	29,763	921	30,684	670	30,014	2 2 11	54,966	13,909	68,905	351	69,256	4,973	64,283	7 2 11
5	1826-27	28,353	673	29,026	472	29,498	1,709	27,789	5 12 8	61,320	5,739	67,059	1,102	68,161	5,408	62,753	7 14 11
6	1827-28	28,272	166	28,438	928	29,366	578	28,788	1 15 5	61,132	824	61,956	3,880	65,836	5,846	59,990	8 14 1
7	1828-29	29,091	706	29,797	1,464	31,261	600	30,661	1 14 8	61,242	748	61,990	446	62,436	4,422	58,014	7 1 4
8	1829-30	28,730	213	28,943	710	29,653	577	29,076	1 15 1	60,987	725	61,712	59	61,771	4,247	57,524	6 14 -
9	1830-31	27,929	239	28,168	433	28,601	581	28,020	2 - 6	60,768	1,698	62,466	75	62,541	4,210	58,331	6 11 8
10	1831-32	28,028	984	29,012	547	29,559	560	28,999	1 14 3	60,526	2,183	62,709	319	63,028	4,161	58,867	6 9 7
11	1832-33	21.684	213	21,897	392	22,289	519	21,770	2 5 3	39,900	991	40,891	81	40,972	3,814	37,158	9 4 11
12	1833-34	12 587	506	13,093	199	13,292	468	12,824	3 8 4	22,069	1,152	23,221	14	23,235	3,536	19,699	15 3 6
13	1834-35	14,389	3,245	17,634	291	17,925	498	17,427	2 12 5	24,361	1,480	25,841	17	25,858	15,701	10,157	60 12 1
14	1835-36	16,284	3,617	19,901	292	20,193	454	19,739	2 3 11	29,936	2,374	32,310	57	32,367	15,685	16,682	48 7 4
15	1836-37	17,880	3,368	21,248	263	21,511	363	21,148	1 11 -	34,990	4,097	39,087	40	39,127	3,374	35,753	8 10 -
16	1837-38	18,831	3,000	21,831	1,069	22,900	327	22,573	1 6 10	40,663	10,422	51,085	4	51,089	3,342	47,747	6 9 2
17	1838-39	21,018	3,144	24,162	360	24,528	339	24,189	1 6 1	44,412	7,451	51,863	66	51,929	3,362	48,567	6 7 7
18	1839-40	21,715	646	22,361	296	22,657	337	22,320	1 7 9	34,092	3,632	37,724	- -	37,724	3,326	34,398	8 13 1
19	1840-41	21,943	903	22,846	184	23,030	341	22,689	1 7 8	31,785	10,317	42,102	40	42,142	3,322	38,820	7 14 1
20	1841-42	22,917	681	23,598	140	23,738	348	23,390	1 7 5	34,026	7,291	41,317	- -	41,317	3,250	38,067	7 13 10
21	1842-43	23,463	504	23,967	178	24,145	338	23,807	1 6 4	31,360	4,893	36,253	16	36,269	3,073	33,196	8 7 6
22	1843-44	21,417	802	22,219	768	22,987	330	22,657	1 6 11	33,989	3,833	37,822	- -	37,822	3,088	34,734	8 2 8
23	1844-45	24,493	2,508	27,001	196	27,197	315	26,882	1 2 6	33,054	1,095	34,149	- -	34,149	3,109	31,040	9 1 8
24	1845-46	25,562	290	25,852	449	26,301	370	25,931	1 6 6	36,657	5,555	42,212	1,583	43,795	3,078	40,717	7 - 6
25	1846-47	26,234	2,450	28,734	469	29,203	157	29,046	- 8 7	41,173	5,226	46,399	28	46,427	1,900	44,527	4 1 6
26	1847-48	28,710	196	28,906	653	29,559	- -	29,559	- -	45,567	1,872	47,439	11	47,450	306	47,144	- 10 4
27	1848-49	33,535	347	33,882	578	34,460	- -	34,460	- -	46,980	1,412	48,392	455	48,847	335	48,512	- 10 11
28	1849-50	33,606	100	33,706	789	34,495	1	34,494	- -	47,653	839	48,492	26	48,518	322	48,196	- 10 7
29	1850-51	33,353	29	33,382	1,436	34,818	49	34,769	- 2 3	45,358	611	45,969	33	46,002	317	45,685	- 11 -
30	1851-52	29,847	288	30,135	1,122	31,257	- -	31,257	- -	46,374	1,437	47,811	17	47,828	320	47,508	- 8 10
	Total - - -	7,42,565	37,066	7,79,631	16,876	7,96,507	13,001	7,83,506	- -	12,98,915	1,34,499	14,33,414	9,268	14,42,682	1,22,610	13,20,072	—
	Average - -	24,752	1,235	2,598	562	26,550	481	26,117	- -	43,297	4,638	47,780	356	48,089	4,087	44,002	—
Quinquennial Average.	First - -	26,199	1,584	27,783	533	28,316	910	27,406	3 3 5	49,972	10,468	60,440	400	60,840	5,033	55,807	8 4 4
	Second -	28,410	462	28,872	817	29,688	579	29,109	1 15 2	60,931	1,236	62,167	956	63,123	4,577	58,546	7 4 -
	Third -	16,565	2,189	18,755	288	19,042	460	18,582	2 6 7	30,251	2,019	32,270	42	32,312	8,422	23,890	26 1 -
	Fourth -	21,285	1,675	22,959	411	23,370	338	23,032	1 7 1	36,996	7,822	44,818	22	44,840	3,320	41,520	7 6 5
	Fifth -	24,244	1,311	25,555	412	25,967	302	25,665	1 2 7	35,247	4,120	39,367	325	39,692	2,850	36,842	7 2 10
	Sixth -	31,810	192	32,002	916	32,918	10	32,908	- - 5	46,386	1,234	47,620	109	47,729	320	47,409	- 10 8

Note.—This includes the two heads of Abkarry, and sundry small farms in the district accounts.

(*continued*)

No. 7.—Revenue and Finance Transactions of Thirty Years ending 11th July 1852—*continued*.

Number.	YEAR.	STAMPS.							GRAND TOTAL.							
									COLLECTIONS.			CHARGES.				
		Collection.	Extra Revenue.	Total.	Charges.	Net Revenue.	Per Cent.	Items not connected with any particular sources of Revenue.	Current and Arrears.	Extra Revenue.	Total.	Management.	Allowances to Zemindars, Pagodas, &c.	Total.	Net Revenue.	Per Cent.
		50.	51.	52.	53.	54.	55.	56.	57.	58.	59.	60.	61.	62.	63.	64.
1	1822-23	14,614	- -	14,614	1,475	13,139	10 1 7	- -	18,24,292	47,881	18,72,173	1,71,186	9,874	1,81,060	16,91,113	8 9 8
2	1823-24	14,406	- -	14,406	1,440	12,966	9 15 11	57	20,21,686	22,043	20,43,729	1,84,460	10,263	1,94,723	18,49,006	9 8 5
3	1824-25	13,597	4	13,601	1,360	12,241	10 - -	- -	19,32,131	25,698	19,57,829	1,45,013	9,445	1,54,458	18,03,371	7 14 3
4	1825-26	16,462	12	16,474	1,646	14,828	9 15 11	62	18,75,647	17,871	18,93,518	1,65,425	6,461	1,71,886	17,21,632	9 1 4
5	1826-27	16,756	2	16,758	1,597	15,161	9 8 5	211	19,28,077	21,658	19,49,735	2,35,318	6,635	2,41,953	17,07,782	12 6 7
6	1827-28	14,748	117	14,865	1,664	13,201	11 3 1	81	19,34,755	44,288	19,79,043	2,23,707	6,501	2,30,208	17,48,835	11 10 1
7	1828-29	15,202	42	15,244	1,531	13,713	10 - 8	1,036	18,92,922	20,678	19,13,600	1,64,548	6,650	1,71,198	17,42,402	8 15 1
8	1829-30	14,770	3	14,773	1,504	13,269	10 2 10	1,104	20,99,089	20,081	21,19,170	1,80,028	6,261	1,86,289	19,32,881	8 12 6
9	1830-31	13,090	3	13,093	1,211	11,882	9 4 -	219	18,26,397	18,422	18,44,819	1,69,939	6,171	1,76,110	16,68,709	9 8 9
10	1831-32	12,169	82	12,251	2,330	9,921	19 - 10	559	18,33,379	20,534	18,53,913	1,70,882	6,063	1,76,945	16,76,068	9 8 9
11	1832-33	8,019	145	8,164	854	7,310	10 7 4	1,988	9,56,889	11,465	9,68,354	1,56,414	5,852	1,62,266	8,06,088	16 12 1
12	1833-34	6,265	- -	6,265	612	5,653	9 12 4	289	13,63,056	63,244	14,26,300	2,00,858	7,515	2,08,373	12,17,927	14 9 8
13	1834-35	6,438	- -	6,438	597	5,841	9 4 4	381	8,42,833	36,132	8,78,965	1,55,804	6,095	1,61,899	7,17,066	18 6 9
14	1835-36	7,340	45	7,385	729	6,656	9 14 -	105	12,57,090	14,735	12,71,825	1,48,780	5,919	1,54,699	11,17,126	12 2 10
15	1836-37	7,753	108	7,861	366	7,495	4 10 6	222	11,51,885	14,355	11,66,240	1,38,263	5,848	1,44,111	10,22,129	12 5 8
16	1837-38	8,283	1	8,284	393	7,891	4 12 -	50	12,21,180	12,274	12,33,454	1,54,951	5,829	1,60,780	10,72,674	13 - 7
17	1838-39	7,815	17	7,832	538	7,294	6 13 11	242	13,33,199	12,503	13,45,702	1,58,492	5,798	1,64,290	11,81,412	12 3 6
18	1839-40	8,421	9	8,430	428	8,002	5 1 3	112	14,24,268	10,949	14,35,217	1,64,056	5,801	1,69,857	12,65,360	11 13 4
19	1840-41	14,398	- -	14,398	714	13,684	4 15 4	49	14,37,266	18,145	14,55,411	1,67,224	5,812	1,73,036	12,82,375	11 14 3
20	1841-42	7,024	- -	7,024	393	6,631	5 9 6	742	13,40,049	12,082	13,52,131	1,49,725	5,813	1,55,538	11,96,593	11 8 1
21	1842-43	6,675	3	6,678	368	6,310	5 8 2	31	12,49,659	13,992	12,63,651	1,68,142	5,329	1,73,471	10,90,180	13 11 8
22	1843-44	7,032	- -	7,032	1,676	5,356	23 13 3	115	11,49,475	17,871	11,67,346	1,32,991	5,592	1,38,583	10,28,763	11 13 10
23	1844-45	5,296	399	5,695	411	5,284	7 3 4	200	12,82,609	17,914	13,00,523	1,51,146	5,587	1,56,733	11,43,790	12 - 8
24	1845-46	3,236	1,329	4,565	217	4,348	4 11 10	430	17,14,216	45,436	17,59,652	1,77,379	16,683	1,94,062	15,65,590	11 - 6
25	1846-47	4,652	546	5,198	377	4,821	7 4 -	1,444	18,31,546	17,372	18,48,918	1,94,942	52,405	2,47,347	16,01,571	13 6 -
26	1847-48	3,415	287	3,702	237	3,465	6 6 6	947	19,50,632	16,945	19,67,577	2,71,933	55,590	3,27,523	16,40,054	16 10 4
27	1848-49	8,740	812	9,552	701	8,851	7 5 5	416	20,06,817	13,716	20,20,533	2,37,080	45,144	2,82,224	17,38,309	13 15 6
28	1849-50	7,860	1,204	9,064	792	8,272	8 11 10	539	20,69,305	22,534	20,91,839	2,58,384	61,700	3,20,084	17,71,755	15 4 10
29	1850-51	8,479	523	9,002	802	8,200	8 14 7	459	18,07,456	21,211	18,28,667	2,43,544	61,846	3,05,390	15,23,277	16 11 1
30	1851-52	9,719	573	10,292	993	9,299	9 10 4	129	18,31,756	23,866	18,55,622	2,54,620	53,054	3,07,674	15,47,948	16 9 4
Total - - -		2,92,674	6,266	2,98,940	27,956	2,70,984	- -	12,249	4,83,89,561	6,75,895	4,90,65,456	54,95,234	4,97,536	59,92,770	430,72,686	—
Average - -		9,756	272	9,964	932	90,337	- -	437	16,12,985	22,529	1,35,515	1,83,174	16,584	1,99,759	14,35,756	—
Quinquennial Average.	First - -	15,167	4	15,171	1,504	13,667	9 14 7	66	19,16,865	27,031	19,43,396	1,80,281	8,536	1,88,817	17,54,580	9 11 5
	Second -	13,996	49	14,045	1,648	12,397	11 11 8	606	19,17,308	24,801	19,42,109	1,81,821	6,329	1,88,130	17,53,959	9 11 -
	Third -	7,163	60	7,223	632	6,591	8 11 11	597	11,14,850	27,986	11,42,336	1,60,024	6,246	1,66,270	9,76,066	14 8 10
	Fourth -	9,188	5	9,193	493	8,703	5 5 9	239	13,51,192	13,191	13,64,383	1,58,890	5,810	1,64,700	11,99,683	12 1 1
	Fifth -	5,378	455	5,833	610	5,223	10 7 3	444	14,45,501	22,517	14,68,018	1,64,920	17,119	1,82,039	12,85,979	12 6 4
	Sixth -	7,642	680	8,322	705	716	8 7 6	498	19,33,193	19,654	19,52,847	2,53,112	55,467	3,08,579	16,44,268	15 12 9

No. 7.—Revenue and Finance Transactions of Thirty Years ending 11th July 1852—*continued*.

Number.	YEAR.	OTHER ITEMS. JUDICIAL. Receipts. Institution Fees. 65.	Fines. 66.	Total. 67.	Charges. Judicial. 68.	Police. 69.	Total. 70.	Sundry Items received. 71.	CHARGES. Post Establishment. 72.	Office Rent. 73.	Pensions. 74.	Civil Hospitals, and Vaccine Establishment. 75.	Charges: Merchandize on Treasure. 76.	Ordinary General Miscellaneous Charges. 77.	Allowances to unemployed Civil Servants. 78.	Public Roads, and Repairs of Roads. 79.
1	1822-23	- -	2,985	2,983	- -	47,004	47,004	2,371	4,178	1,014	4,829	1,344	1,574	—	—	—
2	1823-24	- -	2,338	2,338	- -	44,607	44,607	2,796	4,832	725	3,667	1,344	942	—	—	—
3	1824-25	- -	2,554	2,554	- -	45,123	45,123	197	3,708	420	2,701	1,344	913	—	—	—
4	1825-26	- -	3,323	3,323	- -	45,693	45,693	1,409	3,377	711	2,313	1,344	869	—	—	—
5	1826-27	- -	3,474	3,474	- -	52,185	52,185	1,884	- -	225	2,376	1,344	888	—	—	—
6	1827-28	- -	- -	- -	- -	69,522	69,522	3,453	3,856	613	3,255	1,344	947	—	—	—
7	1828-29	904	2,645	3,549	59,036	51,591	1,10,527	3,546	3,420	5,121	4,486	1,344	804	—	—	—
8	1829-30	706	2,234	2,940	59,150	50,617	1,09,767	2,713	3,390	744	5,499	1,344	943	—	—	—
9	1830-31	648	2,346	2,994	45,684	50,130	95,814	2,202	3,504	739	4,854	1,291	785	—	—	—
10	1831-32	1,416	1,249	2,665	34,323	51,746	86,069	1,731	2,978	730	4,595	1,052	819	—	—	—
11	1832-33	847	688	1,535	78,727	62,029	1,30,756	2,858	2,336	408	4,569	1,538	364	—	—	—
12	1833-34	1,455	720	2,175	96,381	57,262	1,53,643	3,759	2,362	420	3,792	1,068	410	- -	- -	63,341
13	1834-35	1,138	597	1,735	61,238	51,373	1,12,611	4,377	2,100	420	2,917	937	302	—	—	—
14	1835-36	1,592	646	2,238	46,836	50,393	97,229	2,460	1,977	601	2,644	799	382	- -	- -	20
15	1836-37	3,585	830	4,415	50,103	52,958	1,03,061	3,059	1,081	445	2,219	546	373	- -	2,586	1,670
16	1837-38	2,849	571	3,420	49,009	54,997	1,04,006	5,155	2,121	759	2,511	546	504	- -	- -	436
17	1838-39	1,924	749	2,673	51,956	60,772	1,12,728	5,973	9,040	700	2,649	546	764	- -	- -	593
18	1839-40	4,431	1,006	5,437	57,829	58,720	1,16,549	3,984	3,553	840	2,682	546	572	- -	- -	473
19	1840-41	1,978	652	2,630	46,177	60,506	1,06,683	3,676	5,247	676	2,672	570	530	- -	474	1,085
20	1841-42	2,034	814	2,848	44,296	60,208	1,04,504	3,631	4,975	759	2,565	554	641	- -	- -	1,672
21	1842-43	2,652	1,835	4,487	45,855	57,365	1,03,220	3,619	4,707	911	2,315	546	421	430	- -	21,655
22	1843-44	2,215	1,835	4,050	66,662	56,567	1,23,229	3,409	3,438	925	2,323	546	443	2,482	- -	1,015
23	1844-45	2,341	1,543	3,884	68,978	56,644	1,25,622	3,066	3,408	931	1,952	546	433	2,537	1,625	1,674
24	1845-46	3,839	3,619	7,458	72,398	50,621	1,23,019	3,286	4,664	456	1,891	546	511	2,364	- -	609
25	1846-47	5,927	3,410	9,337	66,504	49,186	1,15,690	3,699	5,252	635	2,185	640	561	2,736	- -	747
26	1847-48	3,797	3,078	6,875	57,679	47,738	1,05,417	3,646	5,234	975	2,191	742	447	2,558	- -	2,534
27	1848-49	3,001	3,499	6,500	53,087	48,670	1,01,757	3,883	5,110	1,120	2,109	794	445	1,579	- -	3,957
28	1849-50	365	2,975	3,340	52,693	49,935	1,02,628	3,894	4,743	835	1,673	886	369	1,497	- -	6,271
29	1850-51	205	2,229	2,434	59,442	49,094	1,08,536	3,483	4,728	857	1,555	1,543	328	1,185	- -	5,315
30	1851-52	348	1,566	1,914	56,652	48,434	1,05,086	3,798	3,965	1,185	1,489	1,342	386	1,098	- -	3,098
Total - - -		50,197	56,010	1,06,207	13,80,695	15,91,690	29,72,385	98,317	1,07,287	25,900	87,478	28,870	18,670	18,466	4,685	1,16,171
Average - -		2,091	1,039	3,662	57,525	53,356	99,079	3,278	3,699	863	2,916	962	622	1,846	1,561	6,453
Quinquennial Average	First -	- -	2,935	2,935	- -	46,922	46,922	1,731	3,219	619	3,177	1,344	1,037	—	—	—
	Second -	735	1,695	2,430	39,639	54,721	94,360	2,229	3,430	1,589	4,538	1,275	860	—	—	—
	Third -	1,723	696	2,419	66,657	54,803	1,21,460	3,362	1,971	459	3,228	978	366	- -	517	13,007
	Fourth -	2,643	758	3,401	49,853	59,041	1,08,894	4,484	3,787	747	2,616	552	602	- -	95	852
	Fifth -	3,395	2,448	5,843	64,079	54,077	1,18,156	3,316	4,294	772	2,133	565	474	2,110	325	5,140
	Sixth -	1,543	2,669	4,212	55,911	48,774	1,04,685	3,741	4,756	994	1,803	1,060	395	1,583	- -	4,235

Note.—In Column No. 74 are included—1. Pensions of general nature. 2. Native Pension Fund. 3. Superannuation pension. 4. Carnatic stipends. 5. Families of deceased servants. In the Official Accounts each is separately shown.

No. 7.—Revenue and Finance Transactions of Thirty Years ending 11th July 1852—*continued*.

Number.	YEAR.	OTHER CHARGES. CHARGES. General Charges Extraordinary. 80.	General Buildings, and Repairs of Ditto. 81.	Extra General Charges, Arrears of Ditto. 82.	Public Instruction. 83.	Thug Department, Law Charges, Refunds of Medical Funds. 84.	Military Books. 85.	Refunds of Subscription to the late N. P. F. 86.	Total. 87.	TOTAL. Receipt of Columns 67 and 71. 88.	Charges of Columns 70 and 87. 89.	Net Charges after deducting the Amount in Column 88 from Column 89. 90.	Net Revenue after deducting the Charges in Column 90 from Column 63. 91.
1	1822-23	2,202	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,441	- -	16,582	5,356	63,586	58,230	16,32,883
2	1823-24	4,775	- -	- -	- -	- -	- - -	- -	16,285	5,134	60,892	55,758	17,93,248
3	1824-25	957	- -	- -	- -	69	47,915	- -	58,027	2,751	1,03,150	1,00,399	17,02,972
4	1825-26	21,361	- -	- -	- -	- -	72,490	- -	1,02,465	4,732	1,48,158	1,43,426	15,78,206
5	1826-27	33,139	- -	- -	- -	- -	1,19,629	- -	1,57,601	5,358	2,09,786	2,04,428	15,03,354
6	1827-28	1,447	- -	- -	- -	- -	83,716	- -	95,178	4,453	1,64,700	1,60,247	15,88,588
7	1828-29	11,156	- -	- -	- -	- -	87,491	- -	1,13,822	7,095	2,24,449	2,17,354	15,25,048
8	1829-30	4,465	- -	- -	- -	633	54,553	- -	71,574	5,653	1,81,341	1,75,688	17,57,193
9	1830-31	10,074	- -	- -	- -	- -	63,945	- -	85,192	5,196	1,81,006	1,75,810	14,92,899
10	1831-32	12,093	- -	- -	- -	- -	85,609	- -	1,07,876	4,396	1,93,945	1,89,549	14,87,419
11	1832-33	- -	- -	23,362	324	- -	81,933	- -	1,14,834	4,393	2,55,590	2,51,197	5,54,891
12	1833-34	- -	- -	34,538	324	- -	70,828	- -	1,77,083	5,934	3,30,726	3,24,792	8,93,135
13	1834-35	- -	43	4,246	324	- -	52,629	- -	63,918	6,112	1,76,529	1,70,417	8,46,649
14	1835-36	- -	110	1,781	344	- -	55,489	- -	64,153	4,698	1,61,382	1,56,684	9,60,442
15	1836-37	- -	66	1,488	- -	- -	77,691	- -	88,165	7,774	1,91,226	1,83,452	8,38,677
16	1837-38	- -	1,063	1,457	- -	- -	58,820	- -	68,217	8,575	1,72,223	1,63,648	9,09,026
17	1838-39	- -	395	1,976	- -	2	54,599	- -	65,264	8,646	1,77,992	1,69,346	10,12,066
18	1839-40	- -	266	1,840	- -	1	63,731	1,650	76,154	9,421	1,92,703	1,83,282	10,82,078
19	1840-41	- -	- -	1,696	- -	123	68,811	176	82,054	6,306	1,88,737	1,82,431	10,99,944
20	1841-42	- -	93	2,513	- -	- -	94,209	18,855	1,26,836	6,479	2,31,340	2,24,861	9,71,732
21	1842-43	- -	46	2,050	- -	- -	75,028	11,300	1,19,409	8,106	2,22,629	2,14,523	8,75,657
22	1843-44	- -	- -	47	- -	1	90,220	1,189	1,02,629	7,459	2,25,858	2,18,399	8,10,364
23	1844-45	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -	66,753	- -	79,859	6,950	2,05,481	1,98,531	9,45,259
24	1845-46	- -	2,899	- -	- -	- -	76,024	142	90,107	10,744	2,13,126	2,02,382	13,63,208
25	1846-47	5	- -	74	- -	- -	91,007	141	1,03,983	13,036	2,19,673	2,06,637	13,94,934
26	1847-48	- -	995	765	- -	- -	77,551	391	94,383	10,521	1,99,800	1,89,279	14,50,775
27	1848-49	379	284	- -	- -	- -	79,412	126	95,315	10,383	1,97,072	1,86,689	15,51,620
28	1849-50	- -	395	59	- -	- -	79,759	212	96,693	7,234	1,99,321	1,92,087	15,79,668
29	1850-51	214	454	35	- -	- -	78,936	2	95,152	5,917	2,03,668	1,97,771	13,25,506
30	1851-52	96	418	107	- -	- -	77,681	61	90,926	5,712	1,96,012	1,90,300	13,57,648
Total - - -		1,02,363	7,527	78,028	1,316	829	20,87,900	34,245	27,19,763	2,04,524	56,92,121	54,87,597	37,585,089
Average - -		7,311	537	459	329	138	71,996	2,853	90,658	6,817	1,89,737	1,82,919	12,52,836
Quin quennial Average. First -		12,487	- -	- -	- -	14	48,295	- -	70,192	4,666	1,17,114	1,12,448	16,42,132
Second -		7,847	- -	- -	- -	127	75,063	- -	94,728	5,359	1,89,088	1,83,730	15,70,229
Third -		- -	44	13,083	263	- -	67,714	- -	1,01,631	5,782	2,23,091	2,17,308	7,58,759
Fourth -		- -	363	1,895	- -	25	68,034	4,136	83,705	7,885	1,92,599	1,84,714	10,14,969
Fifth -		1	589	434	- -	- -	79,806	2,554	99,197	9,259	2,17,353	2,08,094	10,77,884
Sixth -		138	509	193	- -	- -	78,668	158	94,494	7,953	1,99,179	1,91,225	14,53,043

On a general review of all that has been adduced in the foregoing memo. and statements, these three reflections suggest themselves:—

First, the great use of collecting and arranging all our available statistical information.

Second, that a vast amount of such information, quite accurate enough for practical purposes, can be obtained as in the case of Guntoor, without a professional survey. Indeed, every particular, except a mathematically exact measurement of land, can be supplied by our own agency.

Third, that the rates of assessment in Guntoor, both in wet and dry land, are exceedingly moderate, and that the district is now well peopled and stocked; yet that it has not progressed for some years. This is explained apparently by the absence of export traffic, and hence the need of canals and other communications.

(signed) *H. Stokes.*

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

(No. 491.)

EXTRACT from the Minutes of Consultation, under date the 26th April 1855.

READ the following letter from the Secretary to the Board of Revenue:—

Returning, with reference to Extract Minutes Consultation, 14th April 1855, the papers connected with the Godavery and Krishna Works, and stating the reason why delay has occurred in furnishing the information called for regarding these works. } Here enter 19th April 1855, No. 914.

1. The Government resolve to transmit the papers received with the foregoing letter to the Commissioner for the Northern Circars, together with copy of Extract Minutes Consultation of 29th May 1852, No. 493, and paras. 1 and 3 of that of 7th December 1854, No. 1592, as well as of the Board's Proceedings of 2d April 1855, No. 822, with the request that he will supply at his early convenience the information required.

2. The Commissioner will perceive that it is the wish of the Government, for the complete avoidance of error on a subject of so much importance, and on which such different opinions are entertained, that the interesting and able reports by Mr. Taylor on the works in Rajahmundry should be carefully tested; and that, in order to complete the subject, information similar to that afforded by Mr. Stokes respecting the Guntoor district should be obtained from that of Masulipatam. The Governor in Council hopes that Mr. Goldingham will be able to give the subject his very early attention.

3. It is here only necessary to notice one subject treated of in Mr. Taylor's reports, viz., that of Teerwajasty, or addition of demand on account of the irrigation supplied by the new works. The Government are fully alive to the good policy of liberality in this matter, and wish the increased demand to be made, neither too soon nor at too high a rate. But there is a proper limit to this indulgence. The Government are obliged to consider alike the interests of all parts of its territories, and extraordinary moderation can only be shown in Rajahmundry, by continuing burdens admitted to be excessive in other districts. The fact noticed by Mr. Taylor,* that in many instances the assessment of Poonjah land is higher than that of Nunjah, does not appear of much consequence in the matter. It is certain that in peculiarly favourable localities, such as are to be found in parts of the Rajahmundry district, Poonjah land yields more than poor and precariously-irrigated Nunjah, such as much of that in this district has hitherto been.

* Report, without date, para. 26.

4. A good survey and a careful and skilful reassessment are, no doubt, necessary to adjust the old assessments to the new state of things; but meanwhile something may be done towards obtaining a moderate return to Government for its outlay. In Extract Minutes of Consultation, 5th January 1855, the Government passed orders on the late Commissioner's proposal for doing that, by levying a sum on each kind of crop raised by the aid of Government water, supposed to be equivalent to a certain proportion of the profits to the ryots from such crop.

Though objecting to the principle of making the rate vary with the crop, the Government sanctioned the proposed measure, pending the introduction of a survey. It would seem very desirable, however, that it should be considered whether, even retaining that principle, a certain rate for an acre or other given extent, for each of the kinds of crop, might not be fixed so as to lessen the large quantity of inquisitorial interference, apparently involved in the plan as it now stands. The present Commissioner may also consider whether a uniform rate per acre might not be adopted in place of varying the rate with the crop, only making a difference between those kinds of crop which need full irrigation, and those which consume a much smaller quantity of water. This would still further lessen interference, and would also abolish the premium on the cultivation of inferior crops held out by this opposite plan.

5. In submitting the information called for above in para. 2, Mr. Goldingham will be good enough to give attention also to this part of the subject, and to give both a statement of the extent of land now liable to Teerwajasty, and the amount, with as much accuracy as may be attainable, and also an estimate of the probable extent and amount still to be anticipated. Similar information should be given respecting the zemindaries.

(True extract.)
(signed) *J. D. Bourdillon*,
Secretary to Government.

REVENUE DEPARTMENT.

EXTRACT from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, dated 21st May 1855, No. 1325.

IN accordance with the instructions of Government conveyed in Extract Minutes of Consultation, dated 7th December and 14th April last, the Board proceeds to scrutinize the detailed statements furnished by the Collector of Tanjore regarding the revenues and maramut* expenditure of his district, and to offer remarks on the effect which the Coleroon annicuts have had upon the Government revenue and prosperity of that province. The subject to which the attention of the Board is thus directed includes some of the statements which were made by Colonel A. Cotton in his book on "Public Works in India," and are contradicted by P. B. Smollett, Esq., in his pamphlet, "Modern Hydraulic Works in Tanjore and Rajahmundry examined," as Government make special allusion to the discordant publications of those two gentlemen.

2. The Board will first offer remarks on the Collector's detailed statement of the revenues of Tanjore, which has been forwarded for their scrutiny. It exhibits the revenues of that province as realized "from all sources, from fusly 1210 to 1262, A.D. 1800 to 1852," and is accompanied by a memorandum explaining the manner in which, for the sake of clearness, it has been drawn out. Modifications, for example, have been made in the revenue entries on account of occasional alterations in the area of the district, such as the transference of the Karical villages to the French, and the incorporation of Tranquebar, which would otherwise have vitiated the comparison of one period with another; the collections have been carried to the account of the year for which they were due, although made in a subsequent one; and the provincial currency of chuckrums and fanams has been converted into Madras pagodas at one uniform rate, although there was a difference in rates of conversion employed previously to and after 1817. The Collector's statement thus differs from the detail of the revenues of the province in the Board's office; but, allowing for the causes which have led to this variance, the Board see no reason to question its substantial accuracy, and propose to make use of it in these proceedings. A comparison between the Board's accounts and the Collector's statement gives the following result:—

QUINQUENNIAL

---

* The term Maramut, so well known in this Presidency, includes all works of irrigation and communication, channels, tanks, bridges, roads, &c., and will be used in this sense in these proceedings for the sake of comprehensiveness and brevity.

QUINQUENNIAL AVERAGES of TANJORE REVENUES, according to actual Collections.

	From Collector's Statement.			From Board's Records.		
	Land Revenue.	Extra Revenue.	Total.	Land Revenue.	Extra Revenue.	Total.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
Five years, $\frac{1210}{1800}$ to $\frac{1214}{1804}$	31,77,639	1,63,047	33,40,686	Incomplete in the Board's Office.		
Ditto 1215 to 1219	32,77,314	3,05,733	35,83,047	32,35,843	3,05,365	35,41,208
Ditto 1220 to 1224	32,47,593	5,77,064	38,24,657	33,58,266	5,81,147	39,39,413
Ditto 1225 to 1229	32,15,128	6,82,704	38,97,832	31,61,382	6,79,773	38,41,155
Ditto 1230 to 1234	37,58,763	8,82,975	46,42,738	38,65,535	8,93,194	47,58,729
Ditto 1235 to 1239	32,76,131	9,63,353	42,39,484	32,14,397	9,47,300	41,61,697
Ditto 1240 to 1244	36,34,147	9,37,012	45,71,159	36,88,654	9,47,109	46,35,763
Ditto 1245 to 1249	36,76,830	9,95,467	46,72,297	36,98,124	9,96,892	46,95,016
Ditto 1250 to 1254	36,36,967	9,56,917	45,93,884	36,29,160	9,56,788	45,85,948
Ditto 1255 to 1259	40,00,160	8,99,375	48,99,535	40,04,472	8,98,822	49,03,294
Ditto 1260 to 1262	38,80,086	9,81,600	48,61,686	38,70,210	9,78,009	48,48,219

3. The Board now proceed to the next branch of the subject, and observe, that Colonel Cotton has estimated the effects of improvement in works of irrigation, bridges, and roads in Tanjore, in two forms. The first embraces the whole period that the district has been under British rule, and the second the period since the construction of the Coleroon annicuts in 1856. It is the latter of these periods that comes most directly under the Board's consideration, and they doubt whether they are required to report how far the general expenditure on public works during a period of 50 years has affected the revenue, a point which cannot be clearly ascertained, and must rest much on individual opinion; but as some observations are doubtlessly expected from them regarding Colonel Cotton's statements of the amount expended on public works, and the extent to which the revenues have increased, they beg to submit the following remarks.

4. In pages 19 and 62 of his book, Colonel Cotton observes, that an annual expenditure of 40,000 rupees, on works of irrigation and communication steadily pursued for 50 years, and amounting on the whole to 20 lacs (200,000 *l.*), has increased the public revenue to a similar extent, or 20 lacs per annum, an assertion which is contradicted by Mr. Smollett. (Pamphlet, page 3, *et seq.*) Colonel Cotton appears in this passage to omit expenditure on repairs, and allude to new works alone; for at page 13 of his book he speaks of the annual Maramut expenditure as 80,000 rupees, which would raise the total outlay for the period under discussion from 20 to 40 lacs, while in his report on the irrigation of the Rajahmundry district he mentions 32 lacs as having been expended on irrigation alone in Tanjore during the first 40 years of our rule; but the total expenditure of Government amounts to the larger sum of 52 lacs (*see* Appendix B.), of which 43 lacs were expended on works of irrigation and 9 lacs on works of communication, and as far, therefore, as the increase in Tanjore revenues is to be ascribed to public works, the Board consider that it must be attributed to an expenditure of 52, and not of 20 lacs.

Dated 12th August 1844; *see* quotation from it, *i.e.* 1st Report of the Public Works Commissioners, page 255.

5. Colonel Cotton's statement of the Tanjore revenues having increased 20 lacs, or from 30 to 50 lacs per annum, requires also some modification. It may be assumed that Colonel Cotton, in speaking of this supposed increase, alluded not only to the land revenue, but also to what are termed the extra sources of

revenue, such as salt, sea, and frontier customs, stamps, abkarry, moturpah, &c. The actual collections under all heads in every year from fusly 1210,* the first of our administration, to fusly 1262, are therefore exhibited in Appendix (A.), and the examination of them calls for the following observations. Omitting fusly 1210, when the land revenue was improperly increased one-fifth by the Collector raising the Government share of the produce, an error which was corrected in the subsequent fusly, the revenue collections of the first five years of our rule were as follows:—

Fusly.	Land Revenue.	Extra Sources.	Total.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1211 - - -	31,27,714	1,54,755	32,82,469
1212 - - -	26,63,257	1,14,045	27,77,302
1213 - - -	23,58,761	1,04,268	24,63,029
1214 - - -	33,31,028	1,83,540	35,14,568
1215 - - -	31,00,301	2,65,148	33,65,449
Average - *Rs.*	29,16,212	1,64,351	30,80,563

The average total revenue of this period may therefore be assumed at 31 lacs; and if the average of the last five years of Colonel Cotton's series is examined, it will be found to be rather above 48 lacs.

Fusly.	Land Revenue.	Extra Sources.	Total.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1257 - - -	39,11,819	9,12,594	48,24,413
1258 - - -	37,55,985	8,74,285	46,30,270
1259 - - -	38,64,907	9,31,366	47,96,273
1260 - - -	39,03,575	9,91,567	48,95,142
1261 - - -	39,07,644	10,11,859	49,19,503
Average - *Rs.*	38,68,786	9,44,334	48,13,120

The increase may therefore be taken at 17¼ lacs, of which 9½ lacs occurred in the land, and 7¾ lacs in the extra sources of revenue. There are only three years when the revenues have exceeded 50 lacs, one before and two after the construction of the Coleroon annicuts, viz.:

Fusly.	Land Revenue.	Extra Sources.	Total.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1234	49,63,433	9,19,716	58,83,149
1255	42,44,277	8,57,037	51,01,314
1256	42,23,812	9,21,593	51,45,405

6. But

* The fusly or revenue year commences in July; fusly 1210 commenced in July A. D. 1800, and ended in July 1801.

6. But although a comparison of the first and last quinquennial periods of Colonel Cotton's series gives an increase of 17¼ lacs, this by no means implies, nor do the Board suppose that Colonel Cotton intended to imply, that there has been an average increase to that extent per annum throughout the whole period. The fact simply presents a contrast between the extreme periods of a series of years when the revenues happened to be at their lowest and highest points, and the Board would submit that the correct mode of putting the case would be, to state that the revenue has risen from 31 to 48 lacs (and not 30 to 50) in the course of 50 years. A comparison of the revenue of the first quinquennial period (31 lacs) with the average of the next 48 years, or from fusly 1216 to 1262 inclusive, shows an annual average increase of 12½ lacs, of which as nearly as possible half occurred in the land and half in the extra sources of revenue. *See* Appendix (A.)

7. After thus ascertaining that in the course of 50 years, the revenue has risen from 31 to 48 lacs, the question arises how far the increase of 17 lacs is due to the expenditure which has been made upon public works. As this is a point upon which it is evident that accurate data cannot be obtained, and respecting which individual opinions may be expected to vary, the Board will not attempt to define with precision what part of the increase is due to maramut expenditure, and what portion is to be ascribed to a better revenue administration and other causes. They feel, however, called upon to offer some general remarks on the subject, and to state that a consideration of the question leads them to concur with Mr. Smollett, that the greater portion of the increase cannot be ascribed to the outlay which has been made upon public works.

8. It is first to be observed that 7¾ lacs of the increase have occurred in the extra revenues, and are clearly due in the main part to our mode of administration, under which new branches of taxation have been opened, such as the salt monopoly in 1805, and the stamps and abkarry in 1808, while the sea customs and other branches of revenue were placed on an enlarged and better defined footing. In support of this view, the average collections under the above specified branches of revenue at the commencement of our rule, and during the last quinquennial period in the Collector's statement are here given.

AVERAGE COLLECTIONS.

	Five Years $\frac{1210}{1800}$ to $\frac{1214}{1804}$.	Five Years $\frac{1255}{1845}$ to $\frac{1259}{1849}$.
	Rs.	*Rs.*
Salt - - - - - - -	4,622	4,81,298
Sea Customs - - - - - -	29,262	1,91,873
Abkarry - - - - - - -	13,994	92,100
Stamps - - - - - - -	- - - -	40,453
	47,878	8,05,724
Increase in last Period - - -	- - - -	7,57,846

Of this increase of revenue, the portion which could most confidently be attributed to maramut expenditure would be that in the sea customs, if the additional receipts had arisen from enlarged exports of produce; but on scrutinising the accounts at the earliest period for which they can be obtained, and comparing them with the present, it is found that $\frac{9}{10}$ of the increase is in the imports, and even as far as increased imports are a sign of enlarged wealth, this improvement of condition cannot be assigned to Tanjore alone, as articles required for the consumption of the adjacent inland districts

Note.—The exports by sea from Rajahmundry have increased six-fold since the Godavery works. *See* Captain Rundall's Report, dated 24th April 1855, No. 1303. Para. 242—Department Public Works.

Average collections of	*Exports.*	*Imports.*
fuslies 1235 to 1239	37,039	43,735
Ditto of 1260 to 1262	49,283	1,48,668
Increase in latter period	12,244	1,04,933

districts are landed at its ports. The Board will not pursue this subject further, since under any circumstances, it would apparently be impossible to define how far additional irrigation works and improved roads, have affected these sources of revenue, and the inquiry is complicated by the fiscal changes which have occurred, such as alterations in the prices of salt and in the stamp duties, and the abolition of the land customs in 1844, accompanied by an increase in the rates of the sea customs duties, and in the monopoly price of salt. It seems sufficient for the Board to repeat their opinion that the increased receipts derived from the extra sources of revenue are mainly ascribable to the opening of new heads of taxation, such as the salt and stamps, &c., the remodelment of other branches, and to observe that this view is supported by the result of our administration in other districts, where these revenues have also increased, although no large expenditure has been made on roads and irrigation improvements.

Note.—Trichinopoly, Salem and Coimbatore.

9. The increase of 9½ lacs which has taken place in the land revenue is next to be considered, and when we look back to the revenue administration of Tanjore during the first quinquennial period, with which the comparison is made, it seems reasonable to conclude that the increase is owing in a considerable degree, (not entirely, for since 1836 the annicuts have produced a direct effect, which will be noticed hereafter,) to a more efficient and better organised system of management. Late years present a far different example of administration and security to the people than do those of 1801, 1805. The Board would not wish to reflect on the character of Mr. Harris, who subsequently obtained such a high degree of confidence, but it is true that the records of the Board show that his management was worse than defective, and such as must have very greatly affected the just rights of Government. It may be sufficient to quote from a minute of Lord W. Bentinck, dated 21 September 1840, when, in consequence of the report of a special committee, he removed Mr. Harris from his situation as Collector of Tanjore. "The principal fact which we have now under our consideration, is the existence of a general combination between the Circar servants and the landholders to defraud the revenue. It appears that the conspiracy has not been confined to a remote part of the province, or to a few individuals, but has extended to every part, and has involved every person, that it has been in full effect during the last two years and a half, that 3,10,000 pagodas* is the amount of frauds upon the revenue, and of exaction upon individuals." It was not likely that Tanjore could soon recover itself, and in 1807, another commission was appointed, to introduce some regular system of revenue, since which time it has prospered. The Board, therefore, cannot think it fair to contrast the revenue of those days with the present, and attribute the entire difference to works of irrigation, bridges, and roads, especially when it is to be observed from the statement of maramut expenditure given in Appendix (B.), that the revenues do not show the greatest increase when the largest outlay was made. Although, therefore, the Board would be most unwilling to dispute that the expenditure on public works in this province has had a beneficial effect on the land and extra sources of revenue, and are, on the contrary, satisfied that it has been profitable both to the Government and the province, they cannot concur in the very high influence on the Government revenues which has been attributed to it by Colonel Cotton.

* 10,85,000 Rupees.

Note.—In the first 36 years, or up to the construction of the Coleroon annicuts, the expenditure amounted to 30 lacs, and the annual revenue rose 15 lacs, while in the next 17 years, the outlay has been 20 lacs, and the annual revenue has risen 2¼ lacs only, though the annual expenditure was considerably larger.

10. It has been explained in para. 5, why, in examining this part of the question, it appeared just to Colonel Cotton to leave fusly 1210 out of the comparison, on account of the height to which the mistaken zeal of the Collector raised the land revenue by an improper exercise of authority. It remains to add, that in a similar spirit of fairness, fusly 1263, has not been included in these proceedings. Fusly 1262 was itself an unfavourable year in Tanjore on account of the damages done by a hurricane; but although the remissions which were necessary† on this account, reduced the collections, the produce was not otherwise below the average, and this year has been included in the accounts. Fusly 1263, which followed it, was however a season of almost unparalleled drought, and of so disastrous and exceptional a character, that allegations might have been made against the justness of the results arrived at if this season had been brought into the accounts by the Board, especially as the closing year of the period under review.

† Government remitted Rupees 2,64,613.

11. The

11. The Board now proceed to the subject of the Coleroon annicuts, which has been more especially referred for their consideration, and as detailed descriptions of these works are already before Government in various reports, and are also to be found in the printed professional papers of the corps of Engineers, and in the first report of the Madras Public Works Commissioners, it is sufficient to make a brief allusion to the purposes for which they were constructed.

The irrigation of Tanjore depends almost exclusively on the Cauvery river, which divides into two branches a few miles to the west of Trichinopoly, one of which retains the same name, while the other is called the Coleroon. For many years the bed of the Cauvery was found to be silting up, while that of the Coleroon was deepening, so that most of the water which was required for the irrigation of Tanjore escaped uselessly to the sea by the latter river. Much expense was annually incurred in clearing the sand out of the Cauvery bed to remedy this evil, but this and other expedients produced only a temporary improvement, and at last a proposal made by Captain A. Cotton to throw an annicut across the head of the Coleroon was adopted. But as this measure was likely to diminish the irrigation supplied from the Coleroon to the Manargoody and Chellumbrum Talooks of South Arcot, a second annicut was at the same time thrown across the Coleroon just below the head of the Vadavaur, through which an increased supply of water is now poured into the Veeranum tank, while two new and important channels have been excavated, the South Rajah Voikal for the benefit of the Sheally Talook of Tanjore on the south side of the river, and the North Rajah Voikal for improving the general irrigation of Manargoody and Chellumbrum. These large masonry weirs were constructed in 1836, and are called respectively the upper and lower Coleroon annicuts. The first came into operation in fusly 1246 (1836), all the channels of the latter were not ready to supply irrigation till the following year 1247 (1837).

12. The Board propose to consider the questions connected with the annicuts in the following order.

1st. Have these works increased the public revenue 10 lacs per annum, raising it from 42 to 52 lacs, according to the assertion which is made by Colonel Cotton at page 208 of his book, and which forms one of the points on which he is contradicted by Mr. Smollett?

2nd. What is the actual addition which the annicuts can be shown to have made to the land revenue?

3rd. What has been the cost of these works and the net profit derived from them? After considering these points, the Board will conclude with offering a few remarks on the general subject.

13. It is here proper to allude to the question, "Which is to be considered the first year in which the effect of the upper or principal annicut was felt in Tanjore?" A discussion formerly took place on this point, and it was eventually ordered by the Board that fusly 1246 should be considered the first annicut year, a decision which seems correct, as the Principal Collector had observed * when reporting on that season. "But for the effects of the upper Coleroon annicut in throwing an unusual quantity of water into the Cauvery the failure of crops must have been immense." As the river freshes were so scanty in that year as to diminish the land under cultivation, the question is of some importance, since the great test for ascertaining the efficiency of the annicuts is to compare the extent of wet cultivation before and after they were built, and it is consequently unfavourable to the upper annicut, that a year in which the river supply was so deficient should have followed its construction. The Board observed, that Mr. Smollett in his pamphlet includes fusly 1246 in the series of years before the annicut, but that gentleman founds all his arguments on the amount of the land revenue settlement or demand, and in a revenue point of view fusly 1246 was not an unfavourable year, since, under the Oolungoo system, which will be hereafter alluded to, and which is explained in Appendix (C.), the high price of grain added more in that year to the revenue demand than was lost by a falling off in the extent of land under cultivation.

14. The Board now proceed to the consideration of the first of the three questions connected with the annicuts,—Colonel Cotton's estimate of their having added

* Principal Collector, Mr Kindersly, to Board, 27 October 1839, p. 2.

added annually 10 lacs, or 1,00,000 *l.* sterling to the Government revenues. It is presumed that Colonel Cotton alluded to the general revenues, and not to the land revenue only; but even regarding the subject in this extended view, the Board cannot find that any such annual increase as 10 lacs has followed the construction of the Coleroon weirs. The revenues of Tanjore, both before and after the construction of these annicuts, can be referred to in Appendix (A.), and the Board propose to elucidate the point under discussion by contrasting the two periods of ten years which immediately preceded and followed the construction of the upper annicut. They are not aware that any just exception can be taken to this comparison, as the first period includes some unfavourable seasons, and the time when the failing state of the Cauvery irrigation attracted most notice.

	Land Revenue.	Extra Sources.	Total.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
Average Collections of 10 years before Annicut, 1236 to 1245 inclusive - -	3,438,144	958,630	4,396,774
Average Collections of 10 years after Annicut, 1246 to 1255 inclusive - -	3,745,241	961,439	4,706,680
Increase in latter Period - - -	307,097	2,809	309,906

Adding to the increase thus shown, 90,000 rupees on account of the improvement made to the revenue of the two Southern Talooks of South Arcot by the lower annicut, the total annual increase in the latter period is found to fall somewhat short of 4 lacs, and even therefore if all this additional revenue is admitted to be due to the annicuts, the Board would feel that Mr. Smollett had not impugned Colonel Cotton's assertion of an annual addition of 10 lacs without good grounds.

See Statement furnished by Collector of South Arcot attached to Appendix (D.)

15. The second question then comes under consideration, what is the actual addition which the annicuts can be proved to have made to the land revenue? and the Board propose to ascertain this point by examining the extent of wet land under cultivation before and after their construction and the revenue derived from it. Easy, however, as this course might be expected to prove, considerable difficulty is experienced in ascertaining the exact addition which the Coleroon annicuts have made to the revenues of the state, in consequence of the various modes of assessment which prevail in Tanjore, inclusive of grain and village rents, and the manner in which the revenue payable to Government by the landholders under the Oolungoo system is affected by the price of grain. This latter circumstance leads to the anomaly that a decrease of revenue accompanies occasionally an increase of cultivation or the converse, and it was with reference to this difficulty that Government recorded the following observations. "The price which the produce may realise cannot fairly enter into a comparison of the effects of the annicuts. Prices in Tanjore depend upon external circumstances, and the results of the season in other districts, and the only fair test of the effects of the annicuts is the extent to which they ensure and control the irrigation of the country."

See Appendix (C.)

Extract Minutes of Consultation, 26th April 1842, para. 6.

16. The effect which the annicuts have had in "ensuring the irrigation of the country" is to be regarded in two points of view; 1st, the increased extent to which cultivation has been carried on in the river irrigated lands; 2ndly, the additional productive power conferred on these lands, as shown in the produce returns, the diminished amount of remission granted for failure of crops, and the additional money value which land has acquired. As the immediate point under inquiry is the actual increase of revenue which Government has gained by the annicuts, the first of these two heads will now be considered, such additional revenue as appears to have arisen from the conversion of dry land into wet, and the extended cultivation of a second rice crop being at the same time adverted to.

17. Since

17. Since the construction of the upper annicut, its effect on the land revenue of Tanjore has been specially noticed, by order of the Board, in the annual Jummabundy reports, and has formed the subject of continual scrutiny and comment. Although, therefore, fluctuations of price have affected the annual settlements and the precise additions made to the revenue by dry land being converted into wet, or single crop into double crop land, cannot be ascertained in consequence of many villages being rented out, materials exist for showing with confidence the additional amount of revenue which is ascribable to the annicuts. For this purpose it is proposed in the first instance to ascertain the total area of the land under river irrigation, and to compare the portion of it which has been cultivated previously to and after the construction of the annicuts. The assessment actually levied on the additional area under cultivation will be then shown as well as the revenue which would have been collected upon it, if the price of grain had not fluctuated, but remained at the standard rate.

18. The river irrigated area of Tanjore comprises 97,006 valies, and on comparing the portion cultivated before and after the annicuts, the following result is obtained.

——	Average Cultivation.	Standard Beriz.	Settlement Beriz at Current Price.	Revenue actually realised, deducting subsequent Remissions.
	Valies.	*Rupees.*		
Before Annicut, from Fusly 1240 to 1245 both inclusive	83,581	28,67,437	28,31,404	28,06,554
After Annicut, from Fusly 1246 to 1262 inclusive	90,277	30,83,466	30,11,448	29,84,506
Increase - - -	6,696	2,16,029	1,80,008	1,77,952

Appendix (E.) contains details of this comparison, with explanation why the accounts have been made to commence with fusly 1240, and it will be observed that the cultivation of the river lands has increased by 6,696 valies, or 8 per cent., since the construction of the annicuts, and that the annual addition thus caused by them to the land revenue of the province consists of 1,77,952 rupees.

19. Inquiry has been made whether any sum is to be added to the above increase on account of the effects of the annicuts in converting dry land into wet, or enabling a second rice crop to be raised on single crop land. Information on this point was specially called for by the Board in 1838 with respect to the upper or most important annicut, but the principal Collector observed in reply, that the chief object of the annicut was to restore the deteriorated irrigation of the province, and that its beneficial results were then visible only in the more extensive and successful cultivation of the wet (nunjah) lands. On scrutinising the Jummahbundy accounts of the following years, the same result appears, and the increase of revenue from wet cultivation on dry land and the extension of a second crop is so insignificant, that it is proposed to omit these items altogether in considering the effects of the upper annicut. To account for this result it may be observed, that the land in the Tanjore Delta has been always rated as nunjah, that from the absence of tanks and reservoirs for storing up water, second crop cultivation has been always limited, and that from the nature of the revenue system in the Oolungoo and rented villages, additions on account of second crop cultivation, or the conversion of dry land into wet, are mixed up with the general increase of the revenue.

Principal Collector to Board, 11th August 1838.

Note.—The largest increase on account of dry land converted *into* wet is in the Jummahbundy accounts of 1262, and consists only of 1,189 rupees. The largest increase on account of increased second crop cultivation is in 1257, and deducting the decrease under the same head, is limited to 3,469 rupees.

20. According, therefore, to the comparison given in para. 11, the Board are of opinion that the actual increase of revenue directly ascribable to the two annicuts in Tanjore amounts to the annual sum of 1,77,952 rupees, and they consider that this is no imaginary or hypothetical gain to Government, but one that is clearly established by the annual accounts of the lands under cultivation for which assessment was paid, and by the amount of the collections received into

into the public treasury. The total annual increase of land revenue ascribable to the two annicuts is therefore as follows :

	Rupees.
Increase caused by the upper and lower annicuts in Tanjore	1,77,952
Do. by the lower annicut in South Arcot - - - -	90,000
Total Increase - - *Rs.*	2,67,952

This result corresponds closely with those * entered in the printed list of special works of irrigation prepared by the Board of Revenue, Department Public Works, under date 14th May 1852, and in the Report † of the Public Works Commissioners written in the same year. It also confirms generally the anticipations which were expressed when the construction of the annicuts was under consideration. The calculations then made were as follows :—

Report of Captain A. Cotton to Inspector General, 15th July 1834.
Ditto of Mr. Kindersley, Principal Collector of Tanjore, to do. 6th August 1834.
Do. of Mr. Dent, Principal Collector of South Arcot, to do. 12 December 1834.

	Rupees.
Upper Annicut.	
Expected immediate increase in Tanjore from the regular and secure cultivation of the lands dependent on the Cauvery river, exclusive of further after additions - - - - -	1,00,000
Lower Annicut.	
Expected increase chiefly in South Arcot, from waste land being cultivated and dry land converted into wet - - - - - -	1,30,000
Rs.	2,30,000

Having thus shown that an actual and *bonâ fide* increase of revenue to the amount of 2,67,952 rupees per annum is directly ascribable to the two annicuts, some brief observations will be made hereafter on the general advantages they have conferred on Tanjore by securing the land revenue, increasing the value of land, and adding to the general prosperity of the province.

21. The Board now approach the third branch of the subject, the cost of the two Coleroon annicuts, and the net amount of revenue which they have yielded to the state. The sums expended on these works, and the per-centage which the net profit yielded by them bears to the original outlay, underwent careful scrutiny by the Department of Public Works, and the Mahramut Commissioners, and the result ‡ at which they arrived after examining the bills and revenue statements was as follows :—

	Amount of First Expenditure.	Net Annual Profit.	Per-centage of Profit on Outlay.
	Rupees.	*Rupees.*	*Rupee*
Upper Annicut - - - - - -	83,401	1,20,702	144
Lower Annicut in South Arcot - - -	74,234	98,786	133
Lower Annicut in Tanjore - - - -	60,752	8,788	14
Rs.	2,18,389	2,28,276	104

First

* Upper Annicut in Tanjore - - - - - - - - - -	1,73,575
South Rajah Voikal in do. - - - - - - - - -	13,511
Lower Annicut in South Arcot - - - - - - - - -	1,01,640
Total Annual Increase - - -	2,88,727

† *See* Para. 273 and Appendix (R.).

Upper Annicut - - - - - - - - - - -	1,38,861
South Rajah Voikal in Tanjore - - - - - - - -	13,511
	1,15,081
	2,67,453

‡ *See* printed list of special works, dated 14th May 1852. First Report of Public Works Commissioners, para. 273.

First obtaining the original cost of the annicuts and their dependent works from the sanctioned bills, the additional revenue derived from them was next ascertained, and the net profit was fixed by deducting the outlay incurred in repairs, making at the same time an allowance for the expenditure saved to Government by their construction. Previously to the upper annicut being built, the defective state of the Cauvery irrigation led to large sums being expended on its improvement, while its defences * and those of the Coleroon required constant care. Part of this outlay is no longer necessary, and it is manifestly just to contrast the former and the present cost of keeping up the river irrigation, and to charge against the annicuts the difference only, or the additional annual expense which has devolved upon the State in maintaining them, and their subsidiary works, in effective order. The subject has again undergone scrutiny and consideration, and the only change which appears necessary to be made in the former calculation is a reduction of the net profit yielded by the lower annicut in South Arcot from 98,726 to 90,000 rupees, an increase of revenue amounting to 10,000 rupees, which arose from the resumption of some cavil fees having been inadvertently included in the annicut gain, while some additional revenue in a few rented villages which was due to the annicut had been omitted; an explanatory memorandum drawn out on this part of the subject in the Board's Office, Department Public Works, forms Appendix (D.) to these proceedings.

22. But the Board have thought it advisable to make a new calculation of the profits of the annicuts, commencing with fusly 1240, A. D. 1830-31, and carrying it on to fusly 1263, or three years later than the period taken for comparison in the Board's printed memorandum. This course gives the result of the annicuts to the present time and as the revenue accounts entered in the printed memorandum commence with fusly 1240, when the river irrigated lands are first distinguished in the Tanjore accounts from the remaining Nunjah, it appears proper that the account of expenditure should commence from the same period. The printed memorandum takes the outlay on the river irrigation from fusly 1236, or for 10 years before the annicuts, and it will be found that the result of that course is less favourable to the annicuts than the present one.

23. The expenditure under the head of "repairs" on the irrigation of the lands affected by the two annicuts during the six years which preceded their construction, is as follows:

	Upper Annicut. *Rs.*	Lower Annicut. *Rs.*
1831	1,14,419	2,695
1832	1,12,134	20,769
1833	1,12,126	23,820
1834	1,20,698	13,402
1835	68,793	18,514
1836	79,719	17,065
Average	*Rs.* 1,01,327	*Rs.* 16,044

The expenditure on repairs in the subsequent years has been as follows:—

	Upper Annicut. *Rs.*	Lower Annicut. *Rs.*		Upper Annicut. *Rs.*	Lower Annicut. *Rs.*
1837	92,906	8,096	1846	95,309	11,923
1838	1,06,446	7,603	1847	70,103	9,131
1839	1,15,882	16,810	1848	95,710	23,567
1840	88,632	26,589	1849	65,317	21,532
1841	87,811	53,371	1850	1,42,298	24,658
1842	1,04,446	14,555	1851	1,44,974	23,494
1843	1,01,069	8,446	1852	1,64,275	32,674
1844	1,05,582	13,795	1853	1,17,552	26,633
1845	1,40,958	10,293			
Average				1,08,192	19,598
Deduct average of previous years				1,01,327	16,044
Difference			*Rs.*	6,865	*Rs.* 3,554

The

* The river embankments in Tanjore exceed 2,000 miles in length.

The whole account then stands thus:

TANJORE.

	Rs.	*Rs.*
Annual gross increase since the annicut - - -	1,77,952	
Deduct difference in cost of repairs - - - -	6,865	
		1,71,087

SOUTH ARCOT.

Annual gross increase since the annicut - - -	90,000	
Deduct difference in cost of repairs - - - -	3,554	
		86,446
Total net profit per annum -	*Rs.*	2,57,533

The original cost of these works was as follows:

	Rs.
Upper annicut - - - - - - - -	83,401
Lower annicut - - - - - - - -	99,420
South Rajah Voikal - - - - - - -	11,044
North Rajah Voikal - - - - - - -	23,524
Total - *Rs.*	2,17,389

So that for an outlay of 2,17,389 rupees the Government have received a clear gain of 41,20,528 rupees in 16 years, or a profit of 118 per cent. per annum.

24. Having thus considered the three separate heads of the subject, the Board will offer a few general observations. They have been unable to concur with Colonel Cotton that the Mahramut expenditure made in Tanjore during a period of 50 years has increased the public revenues 20 lacs per annum, or that the Coleroon Annicuts have brought an additional annual revenue of 10 lacs since their construction in 1836. But they are nevertheless of opinion that the sums expended by Government in improving the irrigation and communications of the province have returned into the public treasury with profit both to Government and the people, though the precise extent of the general gain cannot be fixed, while the Coleroon annicuts are shown to have yielded a return of not less than 118 per cent. on the money expended in their construction. But this result of the annicuts, great and gratifying as it is, does not comprise all the truth. Losses of revenue have been prevented, besides an actual addition being made to the resources of Government, and the people have benefited by the increased poductiveness and value of their lands. The advantages which have thus arisen from the upper annicut demand in particular some notice.

Letter to Revenue Board, 11 August 1838, para. 12.

25. The principal purpose of this work was less to create new revenue than to restore a deteriorated irrigation, and its value to Government is often greatest when the revenue returns show a decline of revenue arising from adversities of season which the annicut is unable wholly to overcome. A cursory inspection of the annual revenue statements may therefore cause the advantages of the annicut to be undervalued, but it has been fully appreciated by the officers in charge of the province. Thus the principal Collector, Mr. Kindersley, when alluding to the disastrous year 1246, observes: "Without the annicut the failure of the crops must have been incalculably greater than it was. Indeed, from the very nature of the work, its operation is much more advantageous in a bad than in a good year, and I have not the slightest doubt that the saving it effected in fusly 1246, when it gave a full river but for 68 days, was much greater than the profit derived from it in 1247,* when the river was full for 122 days, Mr. Kindersley's successor, Sir H. Montgomery, gave similar testimony that the greatest benefit which Government derived from the annicut was in mitigating the effects of disastrous years, though then no increase was apparent in the gross amount of the land revenue (Letter to Board, 11th December 1840, para. 5).

26. In Tanjore the cultivation of the rice lands commences in July and August, with the aid of the irrigation furnished by the Cauvery, which flows from the western

* In 1847, the cultivation of the river lands exceeded the average by 3,111 valies, of which the standard beriz was 1,06,730 rupees.

western coast, and is filled by the south-western monsoon; but there are no tanks or reservoirs to store up water in, and the crops have to depend for coming to maturity on the local rains of the north-east monsoon in October, November, and December. The annicut cannot, therefore, prevent the crops withering when the latter monsoon fails, nor can it furnish irrigation to Tanjore when the Cauvery (speaking here of the river before the Coleroon separates from it) has not its usual supply. But the annicut has furnished such valuable aid by enabling cultivation to be commenced early in the season, and by furnishing irrigation during low freshes in the river, when formerly great distress was felt, that the remissions granted for withered crops have much decreased. Omitting 1246 as an exceptional year,* unprecedented in its unfavourableness from the scantiness both of the river freshes and the north-east monsoon, the remissions granted for withered rice crops are as follows:

	Total Remissions.	Average per Annum.
	Rs.	*Rs.*
In the six years before annicut, 1240 to 1245 - - -	8,43,706	1,40,617
In six years after annicut, 1247 to 1252 - - - -	3,69,302	61,550

27. Another test of the benefit conferred by the upper annicut, to which allusion will be made, is the value of Nunjah land at different periods. In a letter addressed to the Board on 29th January 1853, the Collector, Mr. Bishop, observes:—"Vast improvements have been made in the irrigation and drainage of the wet lands during many years; and although the ryots will not allow that much increase in the quantity of produce has attended these improvements, there can be no reasonable doubt of the fact." The statement prepared by Mr. Forbes supports this fact by showing, that, according to sale deeds which passed through the collector's office, the average price of Nunjah land per valy was 82 rupees immediately before the construction of the annicuts, and that it has risen to 95, 107, 135, and 174 in the subsequent quinquennial periods. The numerous sales and mortgages which occurred in the three years 1250, 1251, and 1252 (amounting to 13,831 valies, mortgaged or sold for 2,766,197 rupees), attracted attention in the review of the settlement for 1253, and led to a consideration whether any decrease in price or produce had affected the welfare of the Meerassidars; but as the sales were most frequent in Oolungoo villages, where the assessment falls with the price of grain, and the value of land was found to have risen, in the 20 years between 1233 and 1254, from 98 to 166 rupees in the field-assessed villages, and from 73 to 161 rupees in the Oolungoo villages, the Board argued that land was evidently in increased request, and that these sales could not have arisen from land having been forced into the market by the distress of its proprietors. An increasing† population, a Government which encourages and protects industry, and a regular revenue administration, must have had some influence upon the value of land; but the Board attributed the rise in its price principally to the improved irrigation conferred by the upper annicut, and Government expressed its concurrence in this view. The advantages conferred on Tanjore by this work received the following emphatic testimony from the principal Collector, Mr. Kindersley, shortly after its construction, and subsequent experience appears to the Board to confirm its justice:—"I cannot conclude without observing, that whilst doubt appears to be entertained of the advantages of the annicut elsewhere, there is not an individual in the province who does not consider it the greatest blessing that has ever been conferred upon it; and I have not the smallest doubt that the name of its projector will in Tanjore survive those of all Europeans who have ever been connected with it."

Provincial Collector to Board, 11th August 1838.

28. While

* The loss on account of drought in its settlement is 4,78,637 rupees.

† The census returns gives the following result:—Population, A. D. 1813, 8,56,468; 1850, 16,76,086. And though the early account does not appear full and correct, there is no doubt that the population has greatly increased.

28. While, therefore, the benefits of this work appear so great, a question arises how its usefulness could be undervalued by Mr. Smollett, at page 9, and in other parts of his pamphlet to which Government have directed the Board's attention; but the solution of this point is not difficult. Mr. Smollett's figures are found on examination to be correct, but they show merely the total land revenue demand without any details as to the extent of Nunjah cultivation, and the manner in which the price of grain has affected the revenue under the Oolungoo system, as explained in Appendix (C.). The years also which he selected in the first edition of his pamphlet to illustrate the result of the annicuts were open to objection, as not giving a fair comparison. Thus, at page 6, he details the 23 years shown in the margin,* of which 11 are before the annicut and 12 after. But the former series begins with two years when the ordinary land revenue was increased to the extent of no less than 7,15,614 rupees in 1823, and 13,69,390 rupees in 1824, by the accidental and temporary circumstance of prices being unprecedentedly high. After which, the three following years, when the revenue declined, were not given, though the omission has been supplied by Mr. Smollett in a second edition. The land revenue of these years stands as follows:—

1825 - - - - - -	*Rs.* 35,59,253
1826 - - - - - -	30,06,241
1827 - - - - - -	28,09,316

29. Mr. Smollett afterwards selects groups of years for two comparisons, but on both occasions the effect of price on the annual settlements is unnoticed. The first of these comparisons contrasts 11 years before the annicut (1823 to 1836 inclusive) with the 12 following years; but in the first period the accident of price brought a net addition to the standard or ordinary revenue of 13,63,668 rupees, while in the latter there was a net decrease of 96,591 rupees from the same cause, thus giving an accidental advantage of 1¼ lac per annum to the first period. So, with the next comparison of the five years immediately before and after the annicut, in the one case there was an addition of 5,56,766 rupees from the state of prices, and in the other a decrease of 3,73,240 rupees, thus putting the annicuts under a disadvantage of 9,30,006 rupees, or nearly 2 lacs per annum in the comparison by this cause. In illustration of this subject, the following details are given of the Nunjah cultivation during this period, and they will be found to confirm what has been already written of the improvement which is visible in its extent since the construction of the annicuts:—

TOTAL NUNJAH CULTIVATION in *Tanjore*.

YEARS.	Values.	Standard Beriz.	Actual Beriz, as influenced by Price.	Gain by Price.	Loss by Price.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1832 - - - -	92,038	29,89,687	31,20,057	1,30,370	—
1833 - - - -	90,078	29,70,636	32,39,164	2,68,538	—
1834 - - - -	92,937	29,47,627	29,62,464	14,835	—
1835 - - - -	92,212	27,99,459	27,90,896	- - -	8,563
1836 - - - -	88,068	28,39,774	29,91,360	1,51,586	—
Rs.	4,55,333	1,45,47,183	1,51,03,941	5,65,329	
				8,563	
Average - - *Rs.*	91,066	29,09,436	30,20,788	5,56,766	

	Rs.		*Rs.*		*Rs.*		*Rs.*
*1823 -	42,77,000	1832 -	37,96,000	1838 -	38,00,000	1844 -	38,30,000
1824 -	50,81,000	1833 -	39,21,000	1839 -	38,18,000	1845 -	42,50,000
1828 -	37,11,000	1834 -	36,40,000	1840 -	36,30,000	1846 -	42,20,000
1829 -	33,62,000	1835 -	34,67,000	1841 -	34,00,000	1847 -	39,16,000
1830 -	34,18,000	1836 -	36,77,000	1842 -	36,28,000	1848 -	37,64,000
1831 -	35,17,000	1837 -	37,05,000	1843 -	37,79,000		

Total Nunjah Cultivation in *Tanjore*—continued.

YEARS.	Valies.	Standard Beriz.	Actual Beriz, as influenced by Price.	Gain by Price.	Loss by Price.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1837 - - - -	94,103	30,08,390	30,12,320	3,930	—
1838 - -	94,345	30,65,448	31,05,019	39,571	—
1839 - -	95,783	30,89,910	31,13,620	23,710	—
1840 - - -	96,712	30,55,180	29,30,837	- - -	1,24,343
1841 - - -	98,571	30,26,697	27,10,589	- - -	3,16,108
Rs.	4,79,514	1,52,45,625	1,48,72,385	67,211	4,40,451
					67,211
Average - - *Rs.*	95,903	30,49,125	29,74,477	- - -	3,73,240

30. Although, therefore, Mr. Smollett has successfully shown that Colonel Cotton has over-estimated the profits of the general Maramut expenditure in Tanjore, as well as of the Coleroon Annicuts, there is nothing in his pamphlet to disprove the facts that the land revenue in Tanjore has shown considerable improvement under our rule, though subject to fluctuations from the effects of price on its peculiar system of taxation, and that the operation of the Coleroon Annicuts has given to Government an actual increase of revenue, amounting to 1,77,952 rupees per annum, exclusive of the gain in South Arcot through an extended Nunjah cultivation, besides making the irrigation of the province more secure, and thus adding to the value of its lands. If there had been no variation in the rates of assessment from the effects of price under the Oolungoo system, the land revenue of Tanjore, according to the cultivation returns, would have shown the result entered in the margin;* and it thus appears how the doubts which have arisen regarding the benefit of the annicuts and the general expenditure on irrigation improvements are mainly attributable to this cause. To illustrate the extensive fluctuations of revenue which occur under the Oolungoo system, the result of the two following years is contrasted :

——	Total Land Cultivated. Valies.	Beriz.
	Rs.	*Rs.*
1234 - - -	1,10,799	50,76,783
1237 - - -	1,15,366	28,09,313

Thus in the latter year the revenue fell off 22 lacs, although cultivation had increased 4 per cent. This enormous difference was chiefly owing to fluctuations of price, which, from a scarcity elsewhere, rose so high in 1234 as to add 13,62,390 rupees to the standard Beriz, while lowness of price in 1237 caused a decline of 4,30,582 rupees below the standard.

31. In

* Before Annicut:
Average from 1235 to 1239: *Rs.* 33,79,036. - - Average from 1240 to 1244: *Rs.* 35,79,356.

After Annicut: *Rs.*			*Rs.*			*Rs.*
1246 - -	35,26,118	1251 - -	37,21,334	1257 - -	39,20,973
(an unusually bad season).		1252 - -	37,57,122	1258 - -	39,17,035
1247 - -	37,01,229	1253 - -	37,78,872	1259 - -	39,55,874
1248 - -	37,63,795	1254 - -	38,17,777	1260 - -	39,62,483
1249 - -	37,94,545	1255 - -	39,45,991	1261 - -	39,53,137
1250 - -	37,56,178	1256 - -	39,85,388	1262 - -	39,89,819

31. In the instructions of Government, dated 7th December last, which referred to the Godavery and Kistnah, as well as the Coleroon Annicuts, the Board were directed to communicate their views to Mr. Smollett "for any further observations he may have to offer," before submitting them to Government. But as the Board's investigation has been since limited to the Coleroon Annicuts, and their report has been called for at their "earliest possible convenience," they have doubted whether Government would now desire that delay should occur by sending the papers in the first instance to that gentleman, especially since in the case of the Coleroon Annicuts the question is limited to the effect which those works have actually had on the public revenue. The point at issue is this one fact, to be determined by the cultivation and revenue accounts of the province and its treasury receipts, while with respect to the Kistnah and Godavery Annicuts there are other unsettled points to investigate on which differences of opinion may prevail, such as the amount of the additional assessment, which might suitably be placed on the lands newly brought under irrigation, the total irrigable area, the future additional revenue which may be expected, and the amount which would have been hitherto realised if a charge had been made for the water already supplied. The Board have therefore deemed it proper to send these proceedings direct to Government, returning with them the Tanjore statements which accompanied Extract from Minutes of Consultation, dated 7th December last.

(A true extract.)

To T. Pycroft, Esq.,
Chief Secretary to Government.

B. Cunliffe, Secretary.

Appendix (A.)

Abstract Statement of the Land and Extra Revenues of *Tanjore*, from 1800 to 1852.

A. D.	Fusly.	Land Revenue.	Extra Sources.	Total.	Remarks.
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	
1800	1210	44,07,434	2,58,630	46,66,064	In 1200 the land revenue was increased one-fifth by an extra portion of the gross produce being taken.
1801	1211	31,27,714	1,54,755	32,82,469	
1802	1212	26,63,257	1,14,045	27,77,302	
1803	1213	23,58,761	1,04,268	24,63,029	
1804	1214	33,31,028	1,83,540	35,14,568	
Average - -		31,77,639	1,63,047	33,40,686	
1805	1215	31,00,301	2,65,148	33,65,449	In 1215 the salt monopoly was introduced. *See* Regulation I. of 1805.
1806	1216	28,17,137	1,58,966	29,76,103	
1807	1217	35,55,624	2,14,333	37,69,957	
1808	1218	35,95,146	3,77,511	39,72,657	The Abkarry and Stamp Revenues were formally established by Regulations I. and IV. of 1808.
1809	1219	33,18,364	5,12,709	38,31,073	
Average - -		32,77,314	3,05,733	35,83,047	
1810	1220	30,30,622	5,56,807	35,87,429	
1811	1221	30,33,940	5,08,075	35,42,015	
1812	1222	32,74,271	5,41,729	38,16,000	The Land Customs were modelled by Regulation I. of 1812.
1813	1223	34,76,320	6,26,130	41,02,450	
1814	1224	34,22,813	6,52,580	40,75,393	
Average - -		32,47,593	5,77,064	38,24,657	
1815	1225	32,89,967	6,61,966	39,51,933	
1816	1226	33,30,403	6,54,664	39,85,067	
1817	1227	32,56,039	6,48,434	39,04,473	
1818	1228	30,97,520	7,01,053	37,98,573	
1819	1229	31,01,711	7,47,405	38,49,116	
Average - -		32,15,128	6,82,704	38,97,832	

A. D.	Fusly.	Land Revenue.	Extra Sources.	Total.	Remarks.
		Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	
1820	1230	31,66,357	9,09,765	40,76,122	
1821	1231	30,64,839	8,64,925	39,29,764	
1822	1232	32,90,481	8,33,466	41,23,947	The Oolungoo system was introduced into villages by the principal Collector, Mr. Cotton.
1823	1233	43,08,707	8,92,004	52,00,711	
1824	1234	49,63,433	9,19,716	58,83,149	
Average - -		37,58,763	8,83,975	46,42,738	
1825	1235	35,89,050	8,92,235	44,51,285	
1826	1236	30,04,393	8,80,258	38,84,651	
1827	1237	28,07,213	9,13,900	37,21,113	
1828	1238	36,88,330	10,73,467	47,61,797	
1829	1239	33,21,668	10,56,903	43,78,571	
Average - -		32,76,131	9,63,353	42,39,484	
1830	1240	33,87,506	9,51,752	43,39,258	
1831	1241	34,92,161	9,18,986	44,11,147	
1832	1242	37,77,089	8,92,969	46,70,058	
1833	1243	38,86,967	9,55,141	48,42,108	
1834	1244	36,27,011	9,66,212	45,93,223	
Average - -		36,34,147	9,37,012	45,74,159	
1835	1245	34,42,207	10,01,325	44,43,532	
1836	1246	36,60,566	9,67,101	46,27,667	
1837	1247	36,89,861	9,62,084	46,51,945	
1838	1248	37,88,509	10,22,368	48,10,877	
1839	1249	38,03,006	10,24,456	48,27,462	
Average - -		36,76,830	9,95,467	46,72,297	
1840	1250	36,15,551	10,05,551	46,21,102	
1841	1251	33,88,374	10,05,066	43,93,440	
1842	1252	36,09,393	10,00,209	46,09,602	
1843	1253	37,58,942	9,31,704	46,90,646	
1844	1254	38,12,575	8,42,055	46,54,630	The Land Customs were abolished by Act. VI. of 1844, the Sea Custom Duties and Monopoly price of Salt being at the same time enhanced.
Average - -		36,36,967	9,56,917	45,93,884	
1845	1255	42,44,277	8,57,037	51,01,314	
1846	1256	42,23,812	9,21,593	51,45,405	
1847	1257	39,11,819	9,12,594	48,24,413	
1848	1258	37,55,985	8,74,285	46,30,270	
1849	1259	38,64,907	9,31,366	47,96,273	
Average - -		40,00,160	8,99,375	48,99,530	
1850	1260	39,03,575	9,91,567	48,95,142	
1851	1261	39,07,644	10,11,859	49,19,503	
1852	1262	38,29,039	9,41,375	47,70,414	The Land Revenue of Fusly 1262 was increased 1,79,394 rupees by some Brahmin and Pagoda Mauniems being included in it.
Average - -		38,80,086	9,81,600	48,61,686	
Average of 48 Years, or Fusly 1215 to 1262		35,46,988	8,11,516	43,58,504	

Revenue Board Office, Fort Saint George,
21 May 1855.

B. Cunliffe,
Secretary.

Appendix (B.).

Statement of Maramut Expenditure in *Tanjore*.

Years.	Expenditure on Irrigation Works.	Expenditure on Roads and Bridges.	Total Government Expenditure.	Remarks.
1800	-	-	-	The expenditure from 1800 to 1829 has been taken from the Collector's statement, and its details will be found in Enclosure 1, in 1 of 4670 of 1854, received from Government. As the expenditure is not shown under distinct heads before 1815, it is assumed that three-fourths of it was on irrigation and one-fourth on other works.
1801	-	-	1,68,177	
1802	-	-	1,29,547	
1803	-	-	1,09,858	
1804	-	-	86,643	
1805	-	-	1,09,856	
1806	-	-	1,17,950	
1807	-	-	75,195	
1808	10,36,113	3,45,370	38,376	
1809	-	-	32,335	
1810	-	-	88,402	
1811	-	-	55,257	
1812	-	-	90,013	
1813	-	-	1,02,510	
1814	-	-	74,000	
1815	-	-	1,03,358	
1816	77,161	30,587	1,07,748	
1817	45,539	15,941	61,480	
1818	77,674	16,234	93,908	
1819	1,30,896	24,963	1,55,859	
1820	50,809	10,351	61,160	
1821	52,512	10,511	63,023	
1822	54,206	8,772	62,978	
1823	66,376	4,925	71,301	
1824	57,903	3,155	61,058	
1825	59,196	4,908	64,104	
1826	32,983	17,751	50,734	
1827	25,268.	7,526	32,794	
1828	28,636	3,586	32,222	
1829	32,880	4,247	37,127	
1830	97,725	9,775	1,07,500	The expenditure since 1830 has been taken from the bills sanctioned in the office of the Board of Revenue, Department of Public Works.
1831	1,14,419	9,554	1,23,973	
1832	1,12,134	1,202	1,13,336	
1833	1,12,196	7,893	1,20,089	
1834	1,20,698	342	1,21,040	
1835	68,793	3,761	72,554	
1836	1,63,120	4,136	1,67,256	
1837	92,906	22,267	1,15,173	
1838	1,06,446	11,331	1,17,777	
1839	1,15,883	26,937	1,42,820	
1840	88,632	1,010	89,642	
1841	87,811	2,236	90,047	
1842	1,04,446	8,196	1,12,642	
1843	1,01,070	2,090	1,03,160	
1844	1,05,582	3,094	1,08,676	
1845	1,40,958	9,926	1,50,884	
1846	95,309	14,094	1,09,403	
1847	70,103	13,617	83,720	
1848	95,710	18,185	1,13,895	
1849	65,317	12,280	77,597	
1850	94,546	3,518	98,064	
1851	1,25,826	13,434	1,39,260	
1852	1,97,726	6,711	2,04,437	
	43,05,508	7,14,416	50,19,924	
Surplus Pagoda funds; add expenditure from between 1830 and 1852 - - -	- - -	2,00,665	—	
Grand Total - *Rs.*	43,05,508	9,15,081	52,20,589	

Revenue Board Office, Fort St. George,
21 May 1855.

B. Cunliffe,
Secretary.

Appendix (C.)

1. The manner in which the Land Revenue in Tanjore fluctuates with the price of grain is alluded to in the first Report of the Public Works Commissioners, para. 254, and it seems proper here to give a brief explanation of the Oolungoo system.

2. In the villages settled on this principle a standard was fixed in fusly 1232, by ascertaining the extent of nunjah land cultivated, and its gross produce during a series of years. The Government portion of this produce (mailwarum) was converted into money at an ascertained average price, and the amount divided by the number of valies taken, as the standard cultivation of the village formed the rate of assessment per valy.

3. Thus (to suppose an imaginary instance) the standard cultivation of a village is 10 valies, and the standard produce 1,500 cullums. Deducting 176 for the fees of the village officers and other items (sotruntrums), the remaining produce, 1,324 cullums, is divided between the landholders and the Government. The share of the latter, 662 cullums, at the local standard price which was fixed on the average of several preceding years, becomes *Rs.* 317. 3. 4., and this divided by 10, the number of valies forming the standard cultivation of the village, gives *Rs.* 31. 11. 6.* per valy, which is accordingly the village rate of assessment, and the landholders are answerable for this amount of revenue in ordinary years, paying extra for any land which is cultivated in excess of the standard. But to secure the landowners from loss, two rules were established. 1st. If the price of grain falls below the standard, more than five per cent. remission is made for all such excess, while if price rises, the ryot is allowed the benefit as far as 10 per cent., after which a proportionate increase is made to the assessment. 2d. If the produce falls off to the extent of 30 per cent. and upwards, either from a limited cultivation or indifferent crops, the ryots can demand that they be reaped and sold by Government, and the proceeds be divided, instead of the ordinary assessment being levied.

4. The total number of ain or Government villages in Tanjore is 4,854, of which 2,847 are under Oolungoo settlement.

5. As Tanjore, from its advantages of irrigation, is a granary of supply when scarcity prevails elsewhere, great fluctuations of price have occurred in it, and their effect on its land revenue is enormous, as shown in the following instance:—

Fusly.	Wet Cultivation, Valies.	Dry ditto.	Total Cultivation.	Beriz Rs.
1234	81,845	28,954	1,10,799	50,76,783
1237	85,631	29,705	1,15,366	28,09,316

6. Thus, although in the latter years there was an increase of four per cent. in the cultivation, the Government revenue fell off to the extent of 22,67,467 rupees, or 44 per cent. The portion of the above great difference which is attributable to charges of price in the Oolungoo villages, is as follows:—

Gain to Government by price in fusly 1234	13,69,390
Loss to Government by price in fusly 1237	4,30,582
	17,99,972

According to the state of prices in these two years, the standard assessment of *Rs.* 31. 11. 6. per valy in the village alluded to in this draft, would have risen to *Rs.* 54. 0. 10. in fusly 1234. and sunk to *R.* 25. 13. 2. in fusly 1237.

(signed) *B. Cunliffe*,
Secretary.

Revenue Board Office, Fort St. George,
21 May 1855.

Appendix (D.)

Memorandum on the Returns from the Upper and Lower *Coleroon* Annicuts.

1. When the Public Works Commission was sitting, the Collectors forwarded to that body complete returns of the results of the special works of irrigation; and from these, together with other authentic documents already in the office of the Board of Revenue Department of Public Works, the printed statement, dated 14th May 1852, was compiled. As it is an extract from this statement that has drawn forth the doubts of the Court of Directors touching the reality of the alleged profits from the Upper Annicut, it is necessary now to justify the document.

See Despatch, dated 28th June 1854, para. 38, Copy of which was forwarded to Board of Revenue Department, Public Works, with Extract from Minutes Consultation, dated 10th October 1854.

2. The

* This is about the average of the nunjah assessment in Tanjore.

2. The Collector of Tanjore, in answer to a request from the Board for his opinion upon the statement, informs them that he has nothing to add to the reports of Mr. Bishop.

Letter dated 6th February 1855.

3. The Collector of South Arcot has sent in a fresh statement, and in his letter forwarding it, he observes, that the original cost of the Lower Annicut appears to be erroneously entered in the printed statement at 74,234 rupees, as it really cost 2,46,549 rupees. This sum, however, is the expenditure from 1836 to 1852 on "the Lower Annicut and its dependencies," while the amount entered in the printed statement is the moiety of the "original" cost of the annicut added to the full cost of the works in immediate dependence upon it in the South Arcot district; the other moiety, with its dependent works, being charged to Tanjore, under the head of South Rajah Voykal. The Collector's statement, consequently, does not show any error in the printed documents; but allowance, it appears, must be made for a sum of 10,000 rupees annually from fusly 1252 (1842-43) to 1262 (1852-53) incorrectly entered in the former returns from the collectorate as profit from the annicut, or to fusly 1260 (1850-51), which is the last included in the printed statement.

4. The following extract from the printed statement explains the principle upon which the returns are calculated:—

"The results of the annicut are thus ascertained:

"The prime cost is first entered in column 3.

"The average annual expenditure for the whole of the irrigation works in the district (exclusive of those under the Lower Annicut and inclusive of repairs rendered necessary by the annicut in Trichinopoly) for the period after, and the same for 10 years before the construction of the annicut being then ascertained, and the latter average being deducted from the former, the difference is multiplied by the number of years composing the period in question, that is, by 15 (from 1836 to 1850), and the product deducted from the aggregate increase of revenue during the same period; the remainder being the net profit, which is again divided by 15, and the quotient is the average annual profit on the prime cost.

"This is the only practicable way of showing the true value of the annicut; since, were the different improvements subsequent to that work considered as so many separate bases of calculation, the only effect would be extreme complication without any more satisfactory result. By the method actually followed, the entire expenditure is brought to account, but all as subsidiary (which it really was) to the Upper Annicut.

"The results in this case are shown at a less amount than the fair reality, owing to the comparison of expenditure having included 10 years before the construction of the annicut. But as the average revenue in column 5 is reckoned from fusly 1240 (1830-31), the first in which the nunjah cultivation and revenue under the rivers are separately shown, it would have been more proper, strictly speaking, to reckon the average expenditure before the construction of the annicut from that, and not, as it has been, from an earlier year; since the calculation of the revenue, had it been practicable, from the same earlier year would have altered the average in column 5. Had this course been followed, the gain from the annicut would, as above said, have appeared much greater; for the expenditure from 1240 (1830-31) to 1245 (1835-36), averaged 1,04,166 rupees, instead of 77,717, the average from 1236 (1826-27), to 1245 (1835-36) actually taken; the former average being in fact greater than that of the whole outlay for repairs and new works (including great improvements to the annicut, the Cauvery Dam, the Coiladdy Calingulah, the Cauvery and Vennar Dam (in part), and other considerable improvements, but excluding the Lower Annicut repairs charged under Nos. 18 and 23), subsequent to the construction of the annicut, which was 95,876.

"If, therefore, the six years average from 1240 (1830-31) to 1245 (1835-36), were taken as the basis, the difference between it and the average since the construction of the annicut, that is, 1,04,166 — 95,876 = 8,290, which × 15 = 1,24,350, should be added to the increase of revenue in column 10, and the total gain would then be 22,07,260, which, divided by 15 would give the annual gain at 1,47,151, or 176⅜ per cent. on the prime cost. If it were not added, the average annual gain would be 1,38,861, or 166½ per cent. on the prime cost.

"It is, indeed, a memorable truth, that the condition of things before the annicut required a greater annual expenditure in imperfect and mostly temporary expedients to preserve the cultivation and revenue, than what has since been incurred to bring under cultivation an additional area of 61,262 acres (exclusive of the increase under the South Rajah Voykal), besides greatly increasing the productiveness of the old lands.

"The whole of the Tanjore expenditure and revenue under the rivers is entered in Nos. 22 and 23, except a moiety of the repairs of the Lower Annicut entered in No. 18."

5. The accompanying Appendix further shows the particulars of the entries, and is explained as follows:—

TANJORE.—*Upper Annicut.*

6. Item No. 1,77,351 rupees, is the average outlay for irrigation works in Tanjore for 10 years before the construction of the annicuts.

No. 2, 1,248 rupees, is the proportion of this expenditure belonging to the lands under the Lower Annicut, which is separately treated of, and it is therefore deducted from No. 1, and the remainder is No. 3, 76,103 rupees.

7. No.

7. No. 4, 1,614 rupees, is composed of the average expenditure for the same period in the Trichinopoly district (in which the annicut is situated), on the river banks in the vicinity of the annicut, which exercises a material influence on such expenditure. Added to the foregoing remainder, this item makes No. 5, 77,717 rupees.

8. Nos. 6 and 10, 1,04,328 and 1,04,166 rupees, show the same particulars for the six last years only of the 10 years' period, are entered as explained in the extract, to correspond with the revenue returns which are given for six years, and not for 10 years.

9. The same particulars are then given in items Nos. 11 and 15, 99,595 and 99,578 rupees, for the period of 15 years after the construction of the annicut.

10. No. 5 being then deducted from No. 15, the remainder 21,861 rupees, No. 16, shows the average annual excess of expenditure during the 15 over the 10 years' period, and this then, multiplied by the 15 years, namely, 3,27,915 rupees, item, multiplied by 15, gives the whole excess for the Lower Annicut, which was included No. 17. From this amount the expenditure under the Lo[illegible] remainder, No. 19, namely, in the bills, namely, 55,534 rupees, No. 18, is deducted, and the [illegible] 2,72,381 rupees, appears in column 12 of the printed statement.

11. The next four items, 1,04,166 rupees, at 124,350 show a similar compar[illegible]ison of the six with the 15 years' period, and in this it appears that the average for the seco[illegible]nd is less than for the first period, and consequently that there has been a reduction of expenditure since the construction of the annicut. These items are not however tabulated in the printed statement.

Lower Annicut, or in Printed Statement, *South Rajah Vaykal.*

12. The entry in column 3 of the printed statement is the moiety of the original cost of the Lower Annicut proper, added to that of the dependent works on the right bank, or Tanjore side.

Moiety of annicut - - - - - - - -	49,710
Other works - - - - - - - - -	11,044
Entry in Statement - - - - - - - -	60,754

13. The items that follow in the Appendix to this Memo. are sufficiently explained by the foregoing remarks; but it should be added, that the amount, 3,722 rupees, appears to be an error for 3,702 rupees, and that the result should consequently be 66,044 rupees instead of 66,124; but this is not of the least importance to the general result.

SOUTH ARCOT.—*Lower Annicut.*

14. The bill for the Lower Annicut, sluices, lock, and North Rajah Voykal, amounts to 1,29,046 rupees, or deducting the Rajah Voykal and another trifling work, to 1,07,910 rupees. Deducting from this amount again items belonging to the sluices and lock, the remainder is 99,487 rupees. The moiety of this sum is 49,744, but the amount entered is 49,710 rupees, through some error, which for want of access to all the papers cannot now be explained, and is of not the least consequence to the result. To this the cost of the North Rajah Voykal, and of the sluices, but not of the lock, which has nothing to do with the irrigation, is added, and the total, 74,234 rupees, appears in column 3 of the printed statement.

15. The entries under this head in the Appendix are similar (*mutatis mutandis*) to those in Tanjore, and the last item, 39,972 rupees, appears in column 12 of the printed statement.

It only remains to deduct from the aggregate revenue of the 14 years in column 8, namely, 14,22,971 rupees, 90,000 rupees for the amount incorrectly credited as increase of revenue from fusly 1252 (1842-43), to 1260 (1850-51).

16. This will reduce the amount in column 13 to 12,92,999, the average annual increase in column 15 to 92,357, and the annual per-centage in column 17 to $124\frac{5}{8}$.

17. The large per-centages realised upon the capital invested in the Coleroon Annicuts appear to have excited surprise; but they are in fact by no means extraordinary in connexion with the circumstances of the Cauvery Delta at the time of the construction of these works. It must not be forgotten, that the delta had been for an unknown period of time the field of a most extensive system of irrigation, rendering it by far the richest territory, area for area, in South India. But its prosperity was placed in jeopardy by the difficulty of utilising the entire supply of water brought down by the river; and that difficulty was simply, effectually, and at trifling cost removed by the annicuts. The source of all the wealth of the delta is the river; the annicuts are only conditions essential to the transmission of the water to the lands; and as other conditions not less essential and of far greater magnitude were in active operation before the annicuts, it must never be supposed, that where such conditions are wanting, works similar to the annicuts would produce anything approaching to similar results for a length of time. In the Godavery Delta, for example, besides the annicuts, the entire system of irrigation had to be created; and the profits on the capital expenditure will necessarily be at first diminished in proportion to the extent

of the subsidiary works required for their realization. But these profits will evidently by degrees far surpass in actual amount those realised in Tanjore, on account of the far greater field for improvement afforded by the Godavery Delta.

18. It should be added that the falling off of the Tanjore revenue for three years of the 15 years' period, was owing to the low price of grain, which largely affects the revenue in that district. The increase in produce, the true criterion of the works of irrigation, was steady throughout the period.

(signed) *J. H. Bell*,
Secretary Board of Revenue, D. P. W.

Madras, 30 April 1855.

APPE[illegible]
TA[illegible]NDIX.

[illegible]JORE.—*Upper Annicut.*

Average expenditure ordinar[illegible]y, occasional and emergent, upon the Tanjore Irrigation Works, from [illegible]826 to 1835, 10 years	No 1	77,351
Deduct aver[illegible]ge for the lands under the Lower Annicut	No. 2	1,248
	No. 3	76,103
Add average expenditure in Trichinopoly, for the Cauvery and Coleroon banks, between the site of the Upper Annicut and Trichinopoly	No. 4	1,614
	No. 5	77,717
Average expenditure as above from 1830 to 1835, that is, for the same period as that from which the average revenue is derived, six years	No. 6	1,04,328
Deduct average under Lower Annicut as before	No. 7	1, 248
	No. 8	1,03,080
Add average for the same period in Trichinopoly	No. 9	1,086
	No. 10	1,04,166
Average expenditure as above, from 1836 to 1850, 15 years	No. 11	99,595
Deduct average for the same period under Lower Annicut	No. 12	3,722
	No. 13	95,873
Add average for the same period in Trichinopoly	No. 14	3,705
	No. 15	99,578
Deduct former average of 10 years	No. 5	77,717
	No. 16	21,861
	No. of years	15
	No. 17	3,27,915
Deduct repair of Lower Annicut	No. 18	55,534
Expenditure of the 15 years	No. 19	2,72,381
Average for the six years' period, as above		1,04,166
Deduct average for the 15 years' period, as above	99,578	
Deduct average of expenditure on Lower Annicut, $\frac{55534}{15}$ 3,702		95,876
		8,290
		15
Reduction of the expenditure for the 15 years		1,24,350

Lower Annicut.

Average annual expenditure before the construction of the annicut on the works now under its influence		1,248
Average annual expenditure since the construction of the annicut		3,722
		2,474
	No. of years	14
		34,636
Add moiety of repairs and improvements to annicut		31,488
		66,124

SOUTH

SOUTH ARCOT.—*Lower Annicut.*

Average annual expenditure before the construction of the annicut, on the works of irrigation now under its influence - - - - - - -		17,150
Average annual expenditure of the 14 years, since the construction of the annicut - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -		17,756
		606
No. of years - - -		14
		8,884
Add moiety of cost of repairs and improvements to Annicut - - -		31,488
Cost of repair for 14 years - - - - - - - - - -		39,972

STATEMENT of TANJORE IRRIGATION EXPENDITURE from the Year 1826 to 1850 inclusive, from the Bills in this Office.

YEARS.	Amount, including Ordinary, Occasional, and Emergent, &c.	Ten Years' Average.	Six Years' Average.	Fifteen Years' Average.
1826 - - - -	37,637 12 10			
1827 - - - -	29,364 4 9			
1828 - - - -	37,251 9 11			
1829 - - - -	43,291 4 –			
1830 - - - -	97,724 15 10	77,351		
1831 - - - -	1,14,419 6 6			
1832 - - - -	1,12,133 14 –		1,04,328	
1833 - - - -	1,12,196 3 –			
1834 - - - -	1,20,697 15 4			
1835 - - - -	68,793 4 –			
1836 - - - -	79,719 2 –	Not including cost of annicut.		
1837 - - - -	92,905 12 –	- - -	- - -	
1838 - - - -	1,06,445 12 4	- - -	- - -	
1839 - - - -	1,15,882 7 6	- - -	- - -	
1840 - - - -	88,632 6 –	- - -	- - -	
1841 - - - -	87,810 12 8	- - -	- - -	
1842 - - - -	4,04,445 12 9	- - -	- - -	99,595
1843 - - - -	1,01,069 13 11	- - -	- - -	
1844 - - - -	1,05,582 1 –	- - -	- - -	
1845 - - - -	1,40,958 8 2	- - -	- - -	
1846 - - - -	95,308 14 6	- - -	- - -	
1847 - - - -	70,103 4 8	- - -	- - -	
1848 - - - -	95,709 9 –	- - -	- - -	
1849 - - - -	65,316 11 10	- - -	- - -	
1850 - - - -	1,44,053 – –	- - -	- - -	

STATEMENT of IRRIGATION EXPENDITURE in Talooks of *Munnargoody* and *Chellumbrum*, in *South Arcot*, from 1826 to 1850.

YEARS.	EXPENDITURE.	Eleven Years' Average.	Fourteen Years' Average.
1826	20,836 7 –		
1827	53,342 7 –		
1828	9,933 2 –		
1829	5,397 14 –		
1830	2,874 14 4		
1831	2,694 14 7	17,150	
1832	20,768 15 10		
1833	23,819 12 –		
1834	13,402 2 –		
1835	18,514 1 6		
1836	17,065 14 9		
1837	8,096 15 7	– – – –	
1838	7,603 4 6	– – – –	
1839	16,810 7 10	– – – –	
1840	26,588 8 5	– – – –	
1841	53,371 5 6	– – – –	
1842	14,555 3 9	– – – –	
1843	8,445 13 6	– – – –	17,756
1844	13,795 7 8	– – – –	
1845	10,293 4 3	– – – –	
1846	11,923 5 4	– – – –	
1847	9,131 7 9	– – – –	
1848	23,566 13 8	– – – –	
1849	21,532 3 10	– – – –	
1850	22,874 4 11	– – – –	

(signed) *J. H. Bell,*
Secy. Board of Revenue, D. P. W.

From *Arthur Hall*, Esq, Collector of South Arcot, to Captain *J. H. Bell*, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, Department of Public Works, Fort St. George.

Sir,

WITH reference to Extract from the Proceedings of the Board of Revenue, Department of Public Works, dated 4th December 1854, relative to the effects of the Coleroon annicuts upon the revenues of Tanjore and South Arcot, I do myself the honour to submit a statement, showing what may, I think, be fairly considered as the result of constructing the lower one of the two, as far as the increase of revenue derived from it in this district, is concerned.

2. It appears to me that the original cost of this annicut and its dependencies is erroneously entered in the statement referred to by the Board as 74,234. It really cost 2,46,549, according to the bills submitted and passed at different times.

3. Ten thousand rupees should also have been deducted from the sum specified as the increase of revenue after fusly 1252, in the statement which was forwarded from this office to the Public Works Commissioners, as this amount of increase arose from another cause than the effect of the annicut. It proceeded from the resumption by Government of certain Cavilgar enams, which had been deducted from the beriz of the land irrigated by the annicut, and which had never, up to fusly 1252, been brought into our accounts.

4. The Board will thus observe, that after deducting the cost of the repairs, the net gain accruing from the construction of this annicut from 1836 to 1852 (inclusive), has been 13,74,051 rupees, being an average annual profit of 85,878 rupees, or a per-centage of $34\frac{13}{16}$ on the original outlay, viewing the building itself as the capital.

5. In my opinion, the foregoing is the increase of revenue which may be fairly attributed to the effect of the Lower Annicut in this district, and I do not consider that any other causes have contributed to make it.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Hall,*
Collector.

South Arcot,
Collector's Circuit Cutchery, Oolundoorpett,
6 February 1855.

STATEMENT showing the PROFIT which has resulted in the District of *South Arcot*, from the Lower *Coleroon* Annicut, for Sixteen Years subsequent to its Construction, as compared with the same Period previous to its being built.

No.	NAME of the WORK.	Original Cost of the Lower Annicut and its Dependencies.		Gross Cultivation and Revenue from the Land for Sixteen years previous to its Construction.			Gross Cultivation and Revenue for Sixteen years subsequent to its Construction.			Gross Increase of Cultivation and Revenue from the Annicut.		Gross Amount of Repairs to the Annicut and its Dependencies.	Net Increase of Revenue, deducting Cost of Repairs.	Average Annual Net Increase of Revenue.	Per-Centage Profit on the original Outlay.	REMARKS.
				Fusly.	Extent.	Revenue.	Fusly.	Extent.	Revenue.	Extent.	Revenue.					
1.	2.	3.		4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	
		A. D.	*Rs.*		*Cawny.*	*Rs.*		*Cawny.*	*Rs.*	*Cawny.*						As the annicut has been since 1838 under the Tanjore authorities, the cost of repairs subsequent to that year, made to the annicut itself, is not to be found in the records of this office. Many villages in the Tanjore country are watered by this annicut, the benefit thereof should be explained by the Collector of that district.
		1836	1,29,050													
		1837	7,248	1231	13,416	1,31,963	1247	22,798	2,30,319	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1838	2,449	1232	18,498	1,80,093	1248	24,662	2,52,975	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1839	13,564	1233	13,651	1,38,016	1249	25,299	2,66,333	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1840	10,770	1234	15,849	1,57,418	1250	24,518	2,58,631	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1841	47,566	1235	17,053	1,70,083	1251	18,862	2,02,815	—	—	—	—	—	—	
			81,597	- -	78,467	7,77,573	- -	1,16,139	12,11,073	37,672	4,33,500	26,727	4,06,773	81,354	38 5/8	
1	Lower Annicut and dependent works - -	1842	7,279	1236	16,391	1,60,714	1252	14,989	1,61,587	—	—	—	—	—	—	Certain resumed cavilgar's enam taken at 10,000 rupees per annum, are deducted from the gross cultivation and revenue, from fusly 1252 to 1262.
		1843	843	1237	12,597	1,18,763	1253	17,434	1,91,428	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1844	5,193	1238	11,911	1,09,332	1254	18,944	2,11,959	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1845	- - -	1239	14,203	1,19,366	1255	20,585	2,35,290	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1846	3,661	1240	9,739	87,404	1256	25,452	2,93,758	—	—	—	—	—	—	
			16,976	- -	64,841	5,95,579	- -	97,404	10,94,022	32,563	4,98,443	34,006	4,64,437	92,887	40 12/16	* The average annual increase of cultivation here entered as cawnies 6,699, is in wet (iyen nunjah) land, but it is proper to mention that the gross annual increase of revenue stated as 95,462 rupees, includes the teerwah jastee or additional rent, levied on dry land, converted into wet by circar water, the extent thereof may be stated in round figures at 6,000 cawnies, or 7,934 acres.
		1847	2,855	1241	7,708	63,021	1257	24,327	2,83,195	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1848	3,785	1242	11,231	99,570	1258	18,850	2,15,642	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1849	1,848	1243	12,931	1,19,055	1259	15,719	1,73,488	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1850	4,775	1244	18,466	1,78,277	1260	22,604	2,52,632	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1851	2,494	1245	19,397	1,88,766	1261	23,044	2,65,652	—	—	—	—	—	—	
		1852	3,169	1246	19,338	1,91,059	1262	21,475	2,44,593	—	—	—	—	—	—	† If the increase derived from the rented villages of the Kollimalay Jaghire, at about 4,000 rupees per annum, was added, the total benefit would be raised from 85,878 rupees to 90,000.
			18,926	- -	89,071	8,39,748	- -	1,26,019	14,35,202	36,948	5,95,454	92,613	5,02,841	83,806	34	
	GRAND TOTAL - - -		2,46,549	- -	2,32,379	22,12,900	- -	3,39,562	37,40,297	1,07,183	15,27,397	1,53,346	13,74,051	85,878	34 13/16	
	Average of 16 years - -	- - -		- -	14,523 or acre 19,204	1,38,306	- -	21,222 or acre 28,062	2,33,768	*6,699 or acre 8,858	95,462	9,584	† 85,878	- -	34 13/16	

(signed) *A. Hall*, Collector of South Arcot.

(A true copy.)

(signed) B. Cunliffe, Secretary.

Appendix (E).

Statement of Annicut Lands in *Tanjore*.

Total Extent Cultivated and (Waste) of Nunjah Land under River Irrigation.	Beriz.	Average Rate per Valey.	——
*Valies.**	*Rs.*	*Rs. a. p.*	
97,076	34,70,473	35 11 11	* A valey is equal to 5 cawnies or 6–6 acres.

Statement of Cultivation.

——	Fusly.	Cultivation.	Standard Beriz.	Settlement Beriz on actual Produce and Price.	Actual Collections deducting subsequent Remissions.	REMARKS.
		Valies.				
Before Annicut	1240	82,023	28,13,987	26,31,427	26,00,507	The remissions here deducted rather exceed the truth, being for the entire district, and not for the annicut lands only. As the details for the annicut lands could not be ascertained, and the difference would not be great, the entire remissions were deducted in order that no profit might be claimed for the annicut which was open to any question.
	1241	82,318	28,24,106	27,32,126	27,06,677	
	1242	84,508	28,99,240	29,98,184	29,78,890	
	1243	82,548	28,31,097	31,17,291	30,82,652	
	1244	85,407	29,30,082	28,40,589	28,27,133	
	1245	84,682	29,05,210	26,69,023	26,43,464	
Average	–	83,581	28,67,437	28,31,440	28,06,554	
After Annicut	1246	80,537	27,63,006	28,69,487	28,52,363	
	1247	86,692	29,74,167	28,75,844	28,60,546	
	1248	87,183	29,91,012	29,91,744	29,76,887	
	1249	88,253	30,27,721	29,91,747	29,76,498	
	1250	88,471	30,35,200	27,98,976	27,82,692	
	1251	89,810	30,81,138	25,73,458	25,56,606	
	1252	89,562	30,72,630	27,99,411	27,80,672	
	1253	89,304	30,50,290	29,41,484	29,20,659	
	1254	90,130	30,77,564	30,24,200	30,06,156	
	1255	91,205	31,17,120	34,08,706	33,99,457	
	1256	92,241	31,51,087	33,75,657	33,71,764	
	1257	91,761	31,17,484	30,67,893	30,63,673	
	1258	92,760	31,18,089	29,17,144	29,11,249	
	1259	93,571	31,44,352	30,34,287	30,28,741	
	1260	93,799	31,50,811	30,81,039	30,69,706	
	1261	93,871	31,49,046	30,70,388	30,70,388	
	1262	95,570	33,98,210	33,73,148	31,08,535	
Average	–	90,277	30,83,466	30,11,448	29,84,506	
Increase	–	6,696	2,16,029	1,80,008	1,77,952	

Note.—The preceding comparison commences with fusly 1240, as being the earliest year for which returns of the nunjah lands can be obtained, divided into classes according to their descriptions of irrigation. On referring to the total nunjah cultivation, exhibited in the detailed statement of the Tanjore revenues furnished by Mr. Forbes, it will be observed that the lands dependent on the annicut constitute about nine-tenths of the total nunjah cultivation, and that if returns of the river-irrigated portion could have been obtained for a period anterior to 1240, the comparison would have been still more favourable to the annicut, as the general nunjah cultivation in the six years immediately preceding the construction of the annicut which are taken for the comparison was unusually large. In proof of this point the following abstract is annexed :—

EAST INDIA (NATIVE PRINCES).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 2 May 1861;—*for*,

"RETURNS of the Names and Designations of all NATIVE PRINCES of *India*, or their Families, in receipt of PENSIONS or ALLOWANCES from the BRITISH GOVERNMENT, from January 1850 up to the latest date on which Returns have been received at the India Office:"

"Of the Dates of the TREATIES or ENGAGEMENTS under which such PENSIONS have been paid:"

"Of the Yearly Amount paid to each PRINCE, or to their Families, respectively:"

"Whether the PENSION, &c., is Hereditary, for Life, or for any other period:"

"Whether the GRANT was originally made with or without the forfeiture of the Personal Property of the Grantee:"

"Whether any JAGHEER, RENT-FREE TENURE, or other LANDED PROPERTY, or INCOME derivable from LAND, has been reserved for the use of the Grantee:"

"Of the Circumstances under which the original GRANT was made:"

"Whether any such PENSION, &c., has been increased, altered, or has ceased to be paid, since January 1850; and, if so, the reason of such Increase, Alteration or Cessation:"

"And, whether a permanent SETTLEMENT with the Recipient has in any case been made; and, if so, on what Terms."

India Office,
23 February 1864.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political Department.

(*Mr. Adam.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
25 *February* 1864.

RETURNS of the Names and Designations of all NATIVE PRINCES of *India*, or their Families, in receipt of PENSIONS or ALLOWANCES from the BRITISH GOVERNMENT, from January 1850 up to the latest date on which Returns have been received at the India Office.

POLITICAL DEPARTMENT.

The Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India, dated 18 July (No. 6) 1863.

I ENCLOSE herewith copy of a Return ordered by the House of Commons in the Session of 1861, but which I have not hitherto been able to furnish owing to the deficiency of necessary information on the records of this office; and I have to request that your Excellency's Government will forward to me a detailed statement of the annual amounts paid to the several persons indicated by the Return, and of any changes which may have taken place in the pecuniary provision made for them since they first became stipendiaries of the British Government.

Your Lordship, however, may perhaps be doubtful as to the particular class of persons indicated by the term "Native Princes." I am myself somewhat uncertain with respect to the precise intent of the motion; but it would appear from the context that the words "Native Princes" are intended to describe only such persons as have had, or whose ancestors have had, treaty engagements with the British Government, and whose pensions or allowances are granted to them in consideration of territorial rights ceded to or assumed by that Government.

As I am anxious to lay this Return before Parliament at the commencement of next Session, I have to request that your Excellency will furnish me with the desired information with the least possible delay.

I have, &c.
(signed) *C. Wood.*

The Government of India to the Secretary of State for India, dated 8 January (No. 7) 1864.

IN compliance with the request contained in your Despatch (No. 6) dated 18 July last, we have the honour to transmit herewith copies of communications, of which a list is given in the accompanying Abstract of Contents, containing the Returns called for by Her Majesty's Government of the Annual Amounts paid to Native Princes of India, who are in receipt of pensions or allowances from the British Government, and of any changes which may have taken place in the pecuniary provision made for them since they first became stipendiaries.

2. On receipt of further Returns they will be transmitted hereafter.

W. T. Denison.
R. Napier.
H. B. Harington.
H. S. Maine.
C. E. Trevelyan.
W. Grey.

RETURNS showing the NAMES and DESIGNATIONS of NATIVE PRINCES, &c., who are in Receipt of PENSIONS from the Supreme Government of *India*.

HYDERABAD.

From *G. U. Yule*, Esq., C.B., Resident at Hyderabad, to the Officiating Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.—
(No. 41, dated 22d August 1863.)

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Government Circular,* No. 350, of the 8th instant, with enclosures, and to report, for the information of the Honourable the President in Council, that there are no Native Princes of India or their families dependent on this Residency for payment of pensions or allowances from the British Government.

* Calling for Returns of the names and designations of all Native Princes of India, &c. in receipt of pension from the British Government from January 1850.

MYSORE.

From the Commissioner for the Government of the Territories of His Highness the Maharajah of Mysore, to the Officiating Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.—(No. 105, dated Bangalore, the 27th August 1863.)

I HAVE the honour to forward, for submission to the Honourable the President in Council, the accompanying printed Returns duly filled up, with the information required from Mysore in Mr. Assistant Secretary Wheeler's Circular, No. 350, of the 8th instant.

The Return for Coorg will be submitted separately.

NAME and DESIGNATION.	Date of Treaty.	Yearly Amount.	Whether Pension is Hereditary, for Life, or for any other Period.	Whether Grant was originally made with or without Forfeiture of Personal Property.	Whether any Jagheer, Rent-free Tenure, or other Landed Property, or Income derivable from Land, has been reserved.	Circumstances of Original Grant.	Whether Pension has been increased, altered, or ceased to be Paid, since January 1850; if so, the Reason.	Whether Permanent Settlement has been made; if so, on what Terms.
		Rs. a. p.						
To 3 members of the family of the late Ibrahim Sahib, uncle of the late Hyder Ali.	- - -	540 - -						
To 4 ditto of ditto, of the late Turbeyet Ali Khan, son-in-law of Shabaz Sahib, elder brother of Hyder Ali.	- - -	525 - -						
To 6 ditto of ditto, of Meer Khuder Ali, son-in-law of the late Tippoo.	- - -	768 - -						
To 3 ditto of ditto of Meer Momood-deen, brother of the Sultana of Tippoo.	- - -	455 - -						
To 3 ditto of ditto of Syed Shabaz, son-in-law of Hyder Ali.	- - -	204 - -						
To 4 ditto of ditto of Syed Sahib, brother-in-law of Hyder Ali, and father-in-law of Tippoo Sultan.	- - -	915 - -						

To 5 ditto of ditto of Syed Muckdoom, a distant relation by marriage of Tippo Sultan.	- - -	252 - -	These pensions were originally granted by the Commissioners for the settlement of the late Tippoo Sultan's dominions after the capture of Seringapatam in May 1799: though there was no express provision to this effect, they were afterwards continued to the descendants of the original grantees until a few years ago, when the lapsed pensions reverted to Government in accordance with instructions from the late Court of Directors -	The property of Tippoo Sultan was declared to be forfeited; the grant made to the families was without the forfeiture of the personal property of the grantee	- none - -	Tippoo Sultan, the ruler of Mysore, was killed, on the 4th May 1799, during the assault on Seringapatam by the troops under the command of General Harris. Several members of Tippoo Sultan's family, of various degrees of affinity, are residing in Mysore, on the receipt of allowances or pensions from the British Government, chargeable to the Two Lakh Fund, owing to the downfall of the power of Tippoo Sultan, and the ruin of the principal Moosalman families connected with him; these stipends were granted under orders received from Lord Mornington - - - -	No increase of pension has ever been made in Mysore. The full amount of *Rs.* 43,594. 13. 4. continued to be paid up to 1850. After this year, alterations caused by lapses reduced the amount to *Rs.* 32,736. 9. 9., at which sum the stipend up to January 1863 stood. This reduction was in consequence of an order received from the Court of Directors, directing the discontinuance of the lapsed pensions to the heirs of the deceased pensioners. The sum paid in each year is shown below:—	Not in Mysore.
To 14 ditto of ditto of Meera Hoossain, son-in-law of Hyder's brother, Syed Shabauz.	- - -	1,008 - -							
To 7 ditto of ditto of Meer Kassim Ali Khan, nephew of Tippoo.	Treaty of Seringapatam, 22d June 1799. Separate Articles of Treaty between the British Company and His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, 13th July 1799 -	780 - -							
To 2 ditto of ditto of Mohomed Zahid, nephew of Tippoo Sultan.		840 - -							
To 4 ditto of ditto Ruza Sahib, otherwise called Benki Nabob, son of Ibrahim Sahib, uncle of Hyder Ali.		2,603 - -							
To 10 ditto of ditto of Meer Goolam Ali, brother-in-law of Tippoo Sultan.		1,198 - -							
To 26 ditto of ditto of Meer Mohomed Ali Khan, second son of Tippoo's maternal uncle, Meer Sahib.		1,639 5 -							
To 8 ditto of ditto of Mohomed Ruza Khan, son of Turbeyet Ali Khan, son-in-law of Hyder Ali's brother.	- - -	384 - -							
To 10 ditto of ditto of Syed Ibrahim, Commandant of Tanjore Cavalry, for unexampled fidelity and attachment to the British Government.	- - -	2,470 9 -*							
To 5 ditto of ditto of Abool Nubbee Khan, an officer of distinguished character in Tippoo's Government, &c., relation of the Nabob of Savanore.	- - -	1,800 - -*							
To 3 ditto of ditto of Budrool Zema Khan, one of the four chief Sirdars of Tippoo's Government.	- - -	720 - -*							
To 5 ditto of ditto of Meer Khumzood-deen Khan, eldest son of Tippoo's maternal uncle, Meer Sahib.	- - -	1,200 - -							
Allowance to the Mosque and Goombuz in the Island of Seringapatam.	- - -	14,434 11 9*							
TOTAL - - *Rs.*		32,736 9 9							

1850 - -	43,594	13 4
1851 - -	42,286	13 7
1852 - -	42,078	4 9
1853 - -	40,562	9 5
1854 - -	39,617	9 2
1855 - -	39,770	6 11
1856 - -	37,352	8 4
1857 - -	37,996	10 3
1858 - -	36,505	11 6
1859 - -	36,023	13 6
1860 - -	36,879	12 4
1861 - -	35,545	6 -
1862 - -	34,504	15 4
1863 - -	32,736	9 9

* Although these items are not payable to actual relations of Tippoo Sultan, it has been deemed expedient to show them here, as the amounts are charged against the Two Lakh Fund.

Note.—"It may be advisable to mention that a few stipends on account of the Two Lakh Fund are disbursed by the Paymaster at Vellore, who is in communication with the Accountant General at Madras. No control over these payments is exercised by the Commissioner of Mysore.

Mysore Commissioner's Office, Bangalore,
27 August 1863.

(signed) *L. Bowring*,
Commissioner.

MYSORE—*continued.*

From Captain *E. St. George*, Officiating Agent, Governor General, with the King of Oude, and Superintendent, Mysore Princes, to the Assistant Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department.—(No. 29, dated Alipore, the 29th September 1863.).

With reference to your Circular, No. 350, dated the 8th August last, I have the honour to forward herewith the accompanying Tabular Statements of the Native Princes of India and their Families, with whom I am officially connected.

ABSTRACT STATEMENT of PENSIONS payable by the Superintendent of the Mysore Princes, *Calcutta*.

NAME and DESIGNATION.	Date of Treaty.	Yearly Amount.	Whether Pension is Hereditary, for Life, or for any other Period.	Whether Grant was originally made with or without Forfeiture of Personal Property.	Whether any Jagheer, Rent-free Tenure, or other Landed Property, or Income derivable from Land, has been reserved.	Circumstances of Original Grant.	Whether Pension has been increased, altered, or ceased to be Paid, since January 1850; if so, the Reason.	Whether Permanent Settlement has been made; if so, on what Terms.
		Rs. a. p.						
(1) Surviving son of the late Tippoo Sultan, as per Statement No. 1, herewith annexed.	- -	37,080 – –	*Vide* similar columns in the Statements annexed.					
(17) Grandsons of ditto, as per ditto No. 1, ditto.	- -	1,02,000 – –						
(29) Grand-daughters of ditto, as per ditto No. 2, ditto.	- -	93,705 – –						
(16) Fatherless great-grandsons of ditto, as per No. 3, ditto.	- -	19,800 – –						
(11) Ditto great grand-daughter of ditto, as per ditto No. 4 ditto.	- -	12,600 – –						
(60) Begums, Khowasses, and dependents, as per Statements Nos. 5 and 5 A. and 5 B., herewith annexed.	- -	26,491 11 –						
(20) Grown-up children of the grandsons on receipt of the one-third allowances, as per ditto No. 6, ditto.	- -	21,600 – –						
(16) Family of the late Nawab Kurrim Shah, brother of the Tippoo, as per ditto No. 7, ditto.	- -	18,690 – –				It was customary on the demise of sons and daughters of the late Tippoo, to assign a certain portion of their lapsed stipends for the performance of the religious ceremonies and the keeping of their tombs in good repair. It was subsequently thought proper, in consequence of the increase of the Mysore Family, to fix a limit to the disbursement, and the present amount was considered sufficient for the purpose -	For the purpose mentioned in the concluding portion of the last column, an increase of *Rs.* 51. 14. 5. per month was granted in 1857 -	
1 Futihah allowance - - -	- -	6,000 0 0	Permanent grant - - - - - - - -					*Vide* last two columns.
GRAND TOTAL - *Rs.*		3,37,966 11 –						

No. 1.

(1) Only surviving Son of the late Tippoo Sultan.

His Highness Prince Gholam Mohommed.		*Rs.* 37,080 – –	For life	*Vide* 2d column		On the removal of the family of the late Tippoo Sultan to Russapuglah in 1806 on political considerations, life stipends were granted for those members who were brought round	In 1855 an increase of 1,000 rupees was granted to the Prince, under orders of the Home Government, for his exemplary conduct	Not made.

(17) Grandsons of the late Tippoo Sultan.

Shahzadah Mohommed Shahab-ood-deen.	No treaty was made with the descendants of the late Tippoo Sultan; they benefit under the Partition Treaty of Mysore concluded with Asop Jah Bahadoor.	6,000 – –	Life stipend	*Vide* 2d column		Subsequently their family was also considered fit subjects for the exercise of the liberality of Government	In 1855 these stipends were raised to an uniform rate of 600 rupees. The assignments were life stipends, but the Government had powers, on the demise of each grandson, to grant suitable stipends to such relations and dependents of the deceased as were supported by him. Their children used to be separately provided for, *i. e.*, their sons, after their demise, were to receive 200 rupees per month each, and their daughters 100 rupees. The amount total of increase granted to the grandsons in the year aforesaid was *Rs.*7,593. 15. 4. per month.	Under the arrangements sanctioned by Sir C. Wood in his Despatch dated the 11th June 1860, the allowances of these grandsons have been raised to 1,000 rupees per month, out of which 500 rupees, as shown in this Statement, will be considered as personal stipends, terminable with the lives of the present recipients, and 500 rupees to be derived from interest of amount to be capitalised for them; Government Promissory Notes of 1,50,000 rupees of the 4 per cent. loan for each of the grandsons being invested in the names of three family trustees, nominated by Sir C. Wood, and enfaced in the name of the beneficial holder thereof. These stocks, after the demise of the grandsons, will form a permanent provision for their family, under arrangements to be made by the trustees without the intervention of the Government of India. Under the Despatch referred to the grandsons have received a grant of 15,000 rupees each for the liquidation of their debts, and it has been provided that they will further get a similar grant for the purchase of their permanent residences on removal from Russapuglah and its vicinity; the Government at the same time, if so desired, purchasing at the market value any property at Russapuglah they may feel disposed to sell. The stipend assigned for the grown-up children of the grandsons (*vide* Statement No. 6) has not been affected; but the grandsons will no longer get the funeral donation of 500 rupees, which they would have been entitled to under the old arrangements.
Shahzadah Moneem-ood-deen		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Mokim-ood-deen		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Syed-ood-deen		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Feroze Shah (son of the late Prince Yasseen).		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Baharam Shah		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Pakakhtur		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Allah Newaz		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Busheer-ood-deen		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Mahmood Shah		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Julal-ood-deen		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Auzeem-ood-deen		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Unwar Shah		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Feroze Shah (son of His Highness Prince Gholam Mohommed).		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Halleemoozoman (son of His Highness Prince Gholam Mohommed.		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Ruhim-ood-deen		6,000 – –						
Shahzadah Azeem-ood-deen		6,000 – –						
	TOTAL - *Rs.*	1,02,000 – –						

MYSORE—Abstract Statement of Pensions payable by the Superintendent of the Mysore Princes, *Calcutta*—continued.

NAME and DESIGNATION.	Date of Treaty.	Yearly Amount.	Whether Pension is Hereditary, for Life, or for any other Period.	Whether Grant was originally made with or without Forfeiture of Personal Property.	Whether any Jagheer, Rent-free Tenure, or other Landed Property, or Income derivable from Land, has been reserved.	Circumstances of Original Grant.	Whether Pension has been increased, altered, or ceased to be Paid, since January 1850; if so, the Reason.	Whether Permanent Settlement has been made; if so, on what Terms.
No. 2.		*Rs. a. p.*						
(29) Grand-daughters of the late Tippoo Sultan.								
Shahzadee, *alias* Hajrah Begum, daughter of the late youngest Princess.	*Vide* Column 2 of Statement, No. 1.	6,000 – –	Life stipend - -	*Vide* similar columns in Statement, No. 1 - - -			With the exception of Hajrah Misree, Omrah, and Shahanee Begums, the stipends of all these grand-daughters were raised to their present uniform rate of 261 rupees per mensem in 1857, under orders of the Home Government, the total increase granted being *Rs.* 5,010. 15. 6. per month.	These are life stipends, which lapse to Government on the demise of each individual; the Government on their demise granting to their dependants, &c., such allowances as it may consider suitable for the purpose.
Misree Begum, ditto of ditto Moneer-ood-deen.		3,135 – –						
Omrah Begum, ditto, ditto - -		3,135 – –						
Ameer-oon-nissa Begum, ditto of ditto, Shookr-ool-lah.		3,132 – –						
Allah Newazee Begum, ditto of ditto -		3,132 – –						
Fukr-oon-nissa Begum, ditto of ditto Moiz-ood-deen.		3,132 – –						
Ameer-oon-nissa Begum, ditto of ditto Ahmud.		3,132 – –						
Shah Begum, ditto, ditto - - -		3,132 – –						
Shahanee Begum, ditto of ditto Suror-ood-deen.		3,135 – –						
Khattoo Begum, ditto of ditto Futteh Hyder.		3,132 – –						
Noorjeehan Begum, ditto ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Zebunnissa Begum, ditto ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Woozeerah Begum, ditto ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Khaddeejah Begum, ditto ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Fukr-oon-dissa Begum, ditto ditto -		3,132 – –						
Rajeeah Begum, ditto ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Fukr-oon-nissa Begum, ditto of ditto Mohee-ood-deen.		3,132 – –						
Mojeedah Begum, ditto ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Bukshee Begum, ditto of the late Prince Yasseen.		3,132 – –						
Gaihan Begum, ditto ditto - - -		3,132 – –						
Shahazadee Begum, ditto ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Shahruck Begum, ditto ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Shahduct Begum, ditto ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Shahzadee, *alias* Omrah Begum, ditto of ditto Soobhan.		3,132 – –						
Khyr-oon-nissa Begum, ditto ditto -		3,132 – –						
Shahruck Begum, ditto ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Syedi Sultanee Begum, ditto - -		3,132 – –						
Kurreem-oon-nissa Begum, ditto of His Highness Prince Ghalam Mohommed.		3,132 – –						
Omdah, *alias* Futimah Begum, ditto of ditto.		3,132 – –						
TOTAL - - -	*Rs.*	93,705 – –						

No. 2.

(16.) Fatherless Great-grandsons of the late Tippoo Sultan:

Sahibzadah Feroze Shah	*Vide* Column 2 of Statement No. 1.	1,200	*Vide* similar columns in Statement No. 1		In 1857, the stipends of these great-grandsons were raised to a uniform rate of 200 rupees per mensem; the total monthly increase granted for the purpose being *Rs.* 1,391. 6. 2.
Sahibzadah Mohommed Shekoh		1,200			
Sahibzadah Sufder Shekoh		1,200			
Sahibzadah Allah Innaith		1,200			
Sahibzadah Nosseer-ood-deen Hyder		1,200			These were life stipends, but on the demise of Sahibzadah Hyder Shekoh, the Government, on special considerations based on the helpless condition of his children, granted to them a charitable allowance of 100 rupees, being half the stipend enjoyed by their father.
Sahibzadah Feroze Bukht		1,200			
Sahibzadah Mohommed Koyseer		1,200			
Sahibzadah Shah Allum		1,200			
Sahibzadah Shums-ood-deen		600			In 1853, Sahibzadah Shums-ood-deen having commuted his monthly stipend of 50 rupees for a payment of 3,000 rupees to him, that amount was deducted from his allowance on its assignment in 1859; this deduction has been continued ever since.
Sahibzadah Fukr-ood-deen		1,200			
Sahibzadah Sekunder Shah		1,200			
Sahibzadah Wallah Gohur Shah		1,200			
Sahibzadah Aftab-ood-deen		1,200			
Nawab Noorool Huq		1,200			

Fatherless Great-grandsons by the Female Side:

Sahibzadah Shums-ood-deen	-	1,800	-	These two Sahibzadahs are the great-grandsons of the late Tippoo Sultan by the female side. In 1860 their cases having been referred to the favourable consideration of the Government of India by Sir C. Wood, the present life stipends were granted to them.	
Sahibzadah Rowshn Aukhtur	-	1,800	-		
TOTAL	*Rs.*	19,800	-		

B

No. 4.

(11.) Fatherless Great-grand-daughters of the late Tippo Sultan:

Chaund Begum, daughter of the late Shahzadah Warris-ood-deen.	*Vide* similar column in Statement No. 1.	1,200	Life stipend	*Vide* similar columns in Statement No. 1	These stipends were raised to the uniform rate of 100 rupees per month, as shown herein, in 1857, when an increase of *Rs.* 545. 1. 7. per mensem was granted for that purpose.
Sultanee Begum, ditto of ditto Nizam-ood-deen.		1,200			
Nunnee, *alias* Ameer-oon-nissa Begum, ditto of ditto Mohommed Sultan.		1,200			
Fukr-oon-nissa Begum, ditto of Sultan Hossain.		1,200			
Foyz-oon-nissa, *alias* Fuzl-oon-nissa Begum, ditto of ditto.		1,200			
Homeed-oon-nissa Begum, ditto of ditto Kerkabad.		1,200			
Noor-oon-nissa Begum, ditto of ditto		1,200			
Fuzl-oon-nissa, *alias* Khajah Begum, ditto of ditto Jafer-ood-deen.		1,200			
Sekunder Begum, ditto of Russud-ood-deen		1,200			
Hoosainee Begum, ditto		1,200			

By the Female Side.

Zeenut-oon-nissa Begum, sister of Sahibzadah Mohommed Shums-ood-deen.	-	600	-	This is a great grand-daughter of the late Tippoo Sultan; by the female side. This allowance was assigned in 1860, when her case was referred for the favourable consideration of the India Government by Sir Charles Wood.	
TOTAL	*Rs.*	12,600	-		

Under the Despatch of Sir C. Wood, dated 11th June 1860, the incomes of these great grandsons have been raised to 300 rupees per month, out of which 100 rupees, as shown in this statement, to be considered as a personal allowance terminable with the lives of the present recipients, and 200 rupees to be derived from interest of amount (60,000 rupees), to be capitalized for them, as in the case of the grandsons, the capital stocks after their demise forming a permanent provision for their family.

They have also received a grant of 5,000 rupees for the liquidation of their debts, and will get a further sum of 5,000 rupees on removal from Russapuglah, with provision as regards, the purchase of their property, similar to the grandsons.

The funeral donation of 200 rupees, which the great-grandsons would have been entitled to under the old scheme, will no longer be paid to them.

These are life stipends, which lapse absolutely and finally to the Government on the demise of the several recipients.

MYSORE—Abstract Statement of Pensions payable by the Superintendent of the Mysore Princes, *Calcutta*—continued.

NAME and DESIGNATION.	Date of Treaty.	Yearly Amount.	Whether Pension is Hereditary, for Life, or for any other Period.	Whether Grant was originally made with or without Forfeiture of Personal Property.	Whether any Jagheer, Rent-free Tenure, or other Landed Property, or Income derivable from Land, has been reserved.	Circumstances of Original Grant.	Whether Pension has been increased, altered, or ceased to be Paid, since January 1850; if so, the Reason.	Whether Permanent Settlement has been made; if so, on what Terms.
No. 5.		*Rs. a. p.*						
(60) Begums, Khowasses, and Dependants.								
Narzis Bebee, Khowass of the late youngest Princess.	*Vide* similar Column in Statement No. 1.	240 – –	For life	*Vide* similar Columns in Statement No. 1			None	These are life stipends, which lapse absolutely and finally on the demise of the several recipients.
Nainkoowar Bebee, ditto of ditto		240 – –						
Izzut Bebee, ditto ditto		240 – –						
Nuzr-oon-nissa Bebee, ditto ditto		240 – –						
Zyhr-oon-nissa Bebee, ditto ditto		240 – –						
Gooldoodi Bebee, ditto ditto		240 – –						
Jan Bebee, ditto ditto		240 – –						
Roopbanoo Bebee, ditto of the late Prince Moneer-ood-deen.		501 10 –						
Dowlut Kudum Bebee, ditto		501 10 –						
Khajaneewoollee, *alias* Goolchiharah Bebee, ditto.		501 10 –						
Muckerun Bebee, ditto ditto		501 10 –						
Nickhuddum Bebee, ditto		501 10 –						
Kurreemum Bebee, ditto		501 10 –						
Sukhinah Bebee, ditto of ditto		501 10 –						
Unwar Banoo Bebee, ditto of ditto Shookroollah.		600 – –					The stipends of these two ladies were raised from 30 to 50 rupees each per month in 1860 on the demise of Shahzadah Mohommed Muhdy, a grandson of the late Tippoo Sultan.	
Lall Banoo Bebee, ditto		600 – –						
Woolfut-oon-nissa Bebee, ditto		360 – –						
Haydaut Banoo ditto, ditto		240 – –						
Haneeffa Banoo Bebee ditto		240 – –						
Lall Banoo Bebee, ditto of ditto Suror-ood-deen.		250 15 –						
Mobbaruckkudum Bebee, ditto of ditto.		250 15 –						
Allah Rukhee, ditto ditto		250 15 –						
Meher Banoo Bebee, ditto of ditto Jamih-ood-deen.		240 – –						
Jehan Banoo Bebee, ditto of late Budder-ood-deen, son of ditto.		240 – –						
Chummunarrah, *alias* Kkyr-oon-nissa Bebee, son of the late Prince Abdool Khulluck.		414 5 –						
Ahmudee Begum, widow of the late Sahibzadah Ahmud Akbur.		1,536 – –						
Zeebun-nissa, *alias* Zeenut-oon-nissa Bebee, Khowass of the late Prince Ahmud.		313 8 –						
Tarra Bebee, ditto ditto		313 8 –						
Tuffikun-nissa Begum		501 10 –						
Kamilun-nissa Begum		501 10 –						

Goolrukhee, *alias* Goobruk-oon-nissa Bebee, a Khowass of the late Prince Futteh Hyder.	*Vide* similar Column in Statement No. 1.	313 8 –	For life	*Vide* similar Columns in Statement No. 1.	None	These are life stipends, which lapse absolutely and finally on the demise of the several recipients.
Meher Banoo Bebee, ditto of ditto		313 8 –				
Zohorah Bebee, ditto ditto		62 11 –				
Sahibzadah Mahmood Shah, son of the late Sahibzahah Hyder Shekoh.		800 – –				
Zeennah Begum, daughter of ditto		400 – –				
Emamee Begum, widow of the late Sahibzadah Julal-ood-deen.		720 – –				
Tazzun Bebee, ditto ditto		120 – –				
Mobbaruck Kudum Bebee, ditto of the late Shahzadah Jaffir-ood-deen.		240 – –				
Teearee Bebee, ditto ditto		120 – –				
Futimah Begum, grand-daughter of the late Abbidah Begum.		300 – –				
Todshah Begum, widow of the late Shahzadah Mozuffur Shah, and grand-daughter of the late Nawab Hyder Hoosain Khan.		825 – –				
Bellattee Khannum, Khas Begum of the late Prince Yasseen.		3,144 – –				
Nooree Bebee, Khowass of the late Prince Yasseen.		96 – –				
Mucbullah Bebee, ditto		96 – –				
Mahtab Bebee, ditto		96 – –				
Raisun-nissa Begum, widow of the late Prince Soobham.		3,600 – –				
Noorjeehan Bebee, Khowass of ditto		240 – –				
Lutiffa Bebee, ditto of the late Shahzadah Gholam Mohommed.		192 – –				
Munnoo, *alias* Umboo Bebee, ditto of ditto.		192 – –				
Khaddeejah, *alias* Bahardanesh Bebee, Khowass of the late Prince Mohee-ood-deen.		338 11 –				
Zeebun-nissa Bebee, ditto ditto		338 11 –				
Nusseebah, *alias* Nusseebun Bebee, ditto of the late Sahibzadah Hyder Ally.		200 1 –				
Hoormoozee Begum, widow of the late Sahib Koymon Shah.		444 – –				
Noorjeehan Bebee, Khowass of the late Shahzadah Gholam Tippoo.		192 – –				
Meher-oon-nissa Bebee, ditto of the late Begum of the late Prince Mohee-ood-deen.		192 – –				
Foizun-nissa Bebee, ditto of the late Shahzadah Julal-ood-deen.		369 3 –				
Murreeam Khattoo Bebee, ditto of the late Shahzadah Jamih-ood-deen.		125 6 –				
Silbur Banoo Bebee, ditto		125 7 –				
Allah Rukhee Bebee, ditto of the late Shahzadah Ameen-ood-deen.		125 6 –				
Tazbanoo Bebee, ditto of ditto		125 7 –				
TOTAL - - *Rs.*		26,491 11 –				

MYSORE—Abstract Statement of Pensions payable by the Superintendent of the Mysore Princes, *Calcutta*—continued.

NAME and DESIGNATION.	Date of Treaty.	Yearly Amount.	Whether Pension is Hereditary, for Life, or for any other Period.	Whether Grant was originally made with or without Forfeiture of Personal Property.	Whether any Jagheer, Rent-free Tenure, or other Landed Property, or Income derivable from Land, has been reserved.	Circumstances of Original Grant.	Whether Pension has been increased, altered, or ceased to be Paid, since January 1850; if so, the Reason.	Whether Permanent Settlement has been made; if so, on what Terms.
No. 6.		*Rs. a. p.*						
(20) Grown-up Children of the Grandsons of the late Tippoo Sultan in receipt of the "one-third allowance:"								
Sahibzadah Wohed-ood-deen, son of Shahzadah Mohommed Busheer-ood-deen.	*Vide* similar Column in Statement No. I.	925 10 –	The stipend is contingent upon the existence of their fathers, the grandsons of the late Tippoo Sultan.	*Vide* similar columns in Statement No. 1			When the stipends of the grandsons of the late Tippoo Sultan were raised to 600 rupees each per month in 1857, it was provided that "their grown-up children will be allowed to draw an allowance amounting in the aggregate to one-third of their father's stipend." For this purpose an increase of *Rs.* 759. 10, per month was granted.	The provision made in 1857 remains unaffected under the new arrangements now being made for the Mysore family. But the capital stock to be funded for the benefit of the grandsons of the late Tippoo Sultan will, after their demise, form a permanent provision for these grown-up children, who will share the same along with other members of their father's family.
Sahibzadah Ameen-ood-deen, ditto		925 10 –						
Badshah Begum, daughter		548 12 –						
Sahibzadah Gyas-ood-deen, son of Shahzadah Mohommed Shahab-ood-deen.		949 10 –						
Futteh Ally, ditto ditto		949 10 –						
Woozeer-oon-nissa Begum, daughter		250 6 –						
Shahazadee Begum, ditto		250 6 –						
Sahibzadah Mozuffur-ood-deen, son of Shahzadah Mookim-ood-deen.		2,400 – –						
Sahibzadah Guzufur-ood-deen, son of Shahzadah Moneem-ood-deen.		800 – –						
Sahibzadah Nadir Shah, ditto		800 – –						
Sahibzadah Mahmood Shah, ditto		800 – –						
Yassuff Sultan, son of Shahzadah Ruhum-ood-deen.		677 8 –						
Ahmud Sultan, ditto		677 8 –						
Yasseen Begum, daughter ditto		1,045 – –						
Sahibzadah Moyn-ood-deen, son of Shahzadah Allah Newaz.		1,200 – –						
Nosseer-ood-deen, ditto ditto		1,200 – –						
Sahibzadah Noor-ood-deen, son of Shahzadah Pakhaktur.		2,400 – –						
Sahibzadah Wahaj-ood-deen, son of Shahzadah Unwar Shah.		1,200 – –						
Nusseer-ood-deen, ditto		1,200 – –						
Sahibzadah Sekunder Shah, son of Shahzadah Mohommed Syed-ood-deen.		2,400 – –						
TOTAL *Rs.*		21,600 – –						

No. 7.

(6) Family of the late Nawab Kurrim Shah, Brother of the late Tippoo Sultan:

Nawab Gholam Ally, son Khyr-oon-nissa Begum, mother of ditto Salihah Begum, grand-daughter of the late Nawab Kurrim Shah. Sahibzadah Gholam Hunanny, son of Nawab Gholam Ally. Sahibzadah Gholam Rubbony, son of ditto. Kurreem-oon-nissa Bebee, Khowass of the late Begum of the late Nawab Emambuksh.	*Vide* similar Column in Statement No. 1.	12,000 – – 2,400 – – 1,254 – – 1,458 – – 1,458 – – 120 – –	Life stipends	*Vide* similar columns in Statement No. 1	This family benefits as descendants of Hyder Ali Khan, of whom mention was made in the partition treaty of Mysore.	In 1857 the stipends of Nawab Gholam Ally and his mother were raised from *Rs.* 731. 8. and 107 per month to 1,000 rupees and 200 respectively.	Nawab Gholam Ally was offered the option of benefiting under the new scheme as a grandson, but he has signified his unwillingness to accept the offer.
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*		18,690 – –					

Alipore,
25 September 1863.

(signed) *E. St. George*, Captain,
Officiating Superintendent, Mysore Princes.

OUDH.

NAME and DESIGNATION.	Date of Treaty.	Yearly Amount.	Whether Pension is Hereditary, for Life, or for any other Period.	Whether Grant was originally made with or without Forfeiture of Personal Property.	Whether any Jagheer, Rent-free Tenure, or other Landed Property, or Income derivable from Land, has been reserved.	Circumstances of Original Grant.	Whether Pension has been increased, altered, or ceased to be Paid, since January 1850; if so, the Reason.	Whether Permanent Settlement has been made; if so, on what Terms.
Wajid Ali Shah, Ex-King of Oudh - -	No treaty made. Pension assigned under Foreign Office letter, dated 6th Sept. 1859.	*Rs. a. p.* 12,00,000 – –	For life - -	Without forfeiture of personal property.	Nothing of the kind reserved.	On the annexation of Oudh, a treaty was offered for the king's acceptance; but his Majesty having declined to accept the same, no pension was granted to him till 1859.	No alteration - - -	None.

Alipore,
25 September 1863.

(signed) *E. St. George*, Captain,
Officiating Agent, Governor-General.

NEPAL.

From Colonel *G. Ramsay*, Resident at *Nepal*, to the Assistant Secretary to Government of *India*, in the Foreign Department, Fort William.—
(No. 23A., dated the 8th September 1863.)

In reply to your Circular, No. 350, "Political," of the 8th of August, I have the honour to inform you that no pensions or allowances are paid by the British Government to any Native Princes or their families belonging to the state of Nepal.

COORG.

From the Commissioner for Coorg, to the Assistant Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.—
(No. 13, dated Bangalore, the 10th September 1863.)

In accordance with the instructions contained in your Circular, No. 350, of the 8th ultimo, I have the honour to enclose, in the form furnished, a Return of the stipendiaries of the family of the Ex-Rajah of Coorg.

NAME and DESIGNATION.	Date of Treaty.	Yearly Amount.	Whether Pension is Hereditary, for Life, or for any other Period.	Whether Grant was originally made with or without Forfeiture of Personal Property.	Whether any Jagheer, Rent-free Tenure, or other Landed Property, or Income derivable from Land, has been reserved.	Circumstances of Original Grant.	Whether Pension has been increased, altered, or ceased to be Paid, since January 1850; if so, the Reason.	Whether Permanent Settlement has been made; if so, on what Terms:
EX-RAJAH'S FAMILY.								
Nacknaad.		*Rs. a. p.*						
Neelamajee		420 – –	For life	Without	Jagheer, annual income of 37 rupees.	Relatives to the Ex-Rajah of Coorg.	No alteration	No.
18 Attendants		1,536 – –	—					
Halary.								
Rajummajee, *alias* Weerawah		336 – –	For life	Without	ditto, 137½ rupees	ditto	ditto	No.
Nunjawah		168 – –						
Santaweerawah		150 – –						
12 Attendants		822 – –						
Appoogalah.								
Davamajee and her husband Chuna Bussapah.		3,000 – –	For life	Without	ditto, 200 rupees	ditto	ditto	No.
TOTAL	*Rs.*	6,432 – –						

Coorg Commissioner's Office, Bangalore,
10 September 1863.

(signed) *L. Bowring,*
Commissioner.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

From *Harry Rivett-Carnac*, Esq., Assistant Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the Officiating Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.—(No. 4029, dated Nagpore, the 12th September 1863.)

With reference to your Circular, No. 350, dated 8th ultimo, I am directed by the Officiating Chief Commissioner to transmit a blank Return of "Native Princes," as there are no persons in these provinces who come under the definition of "Native Princes," contained in your office No. 390, dated 3d instant.

RAJPOOTANA.

From Major General *G. St. P. Lawrence*, C.B., Agent, Governor General, for the States of Rajpootana, to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.—(No. 1098-66 P., dated Aboo, the 14th September 1863.)

REFERRING to the Government Circular, No. 350, of the 8th ultimo, I have the honour to submit, for the information of his Honour the President in Council, the Return of Native Princes in this province enjoying a Government pension, duly filled in as far as the records of the office will permit.

NAME and DESIGNATION.	Date of Treaty.	Yearly Amount.	Whether Pension is Hereditary, for Life, or for any other Period.	Whether Grant was originally made with or without Forfeiture of Personal Property.	Whether any Jagheer, Rent-free Tenure, or other Landed Property, or Income derivable from Land, has been reserved.	Circumstances of Original Grant.	Whether Pension has been increased, altered, or ceased to be Paid, since January 1850; if so, the Reason.	Whether Permanent Settlement has been made; *if so*, on what Terms.
Nawab Wuzzeer-ood-dowlah of Tonk, Mahomed Wuzeer Khan.	Treaty with Ameer Khan, 1817. Date of commencement of this pension, 1st January 1819.	*Rs. a. p.* 1,50,000 – –	Granted for life -	Granted to Wuzzeer-ood-dowlah, son of Ameer Khan (the present Nawab), in lieu of the Jagheer of Pulwul, which it was intended to confer on him.	None - - -	Originally paid from Delhi Treasury.	Paid from the Ajmere Treasury since June 1860, under authority of Government of India, Foreign Department, 7th June 1860.	None.

(signed) *G. St. P. Lawrence*,
Agent, Governor General.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

From Captain *H. Mackenzie*, Secretary to Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the Officiating Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.—(No. 4571, dated Nagpore, the 16th October 1863.)

WITH reference to your letter, No. 431, dated 25th ultimo, I have the honour, by direction of the Officiating Chief Commissioner, to transmit the accompanying Return of "Native Princes," with the Names of the members of the Bhonsla Family duly filled up.

NAME and DESIGNATION.	Date of Treaty.	Yearly Amount.	Whether Pension is Hereditary, for Life, or for any other Period.	Whether Grant was originally made with or without Forfeiture of Personal Property.	Whether any Jagheer, Rent-free Tenure, or other Landed Property, or Income derivable from Land, has been reserved.	Circumstances of Original Grant.	Whether Pension has been increased, altered, or ceased to be Paid, since January 1850; if so, the Reason.	Whether Permanent Settlement has been made; if so, on what Terms.
Janojee Bhonsla, Rajah Bahadoor of Deor, adopted son of.	No Treaty. But the pensions are paid under the authority of letter from Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, No. 1116, dated 30th March 1860.	*Rs. a. p.* 90,000 – –	For life - -	Without forfeiture	Estate of Deor, in Sattara, worth about 3,500 rupees a year, conferred in perpetuity.	The grantees are the heir and widows of the late Rajah of Nagpore, and the adopted son of the elder widow.	No - - -	No.
Durrya Bae, Maharanee - -		45,000 – –	Ditto - - -	- - ditto - -	None - - - -	- - ditto - - - -	No - - - -	No.
Anunda Bae, Ranee - - -		45,000 – –	Ditto - - -	- - ditto - -	ditto - - - -	- - ditto - - - -	No - - - -	No.
Both the above ladies are widows of Rughojee Bhonsla III., last Rajah of Nagpore.								

Chief Commissioner's Office, Central Provinces, Nagpore, 16 October 1863.

By order, &c.
(signed) *Hector Mackenzie*, Secretary.

BURMAH.

From Captain *H. Nelson Davies*, Secretary to Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William.—(No. 287-4141, dated Rangoon, the 1st November 1863.)

I HAVE the honour, by direction of the Chief Commissioner, to acknowledge Mr. Assistant Secretary Wheeler's letter, No. 423, of 21st September last, forwarding a roll of state prisoners to be filled up; this has been only partially done, because the headings of the form are in some respects not applicable to the present position of the Delhi state prisoners at Rangoon; a brief state of the case of these prisoners seems therefore necessary.

After the defeat of the Mahratta Army at Putpan-Gunge, near Delhi, by the British Force under General Lake, in 1803, the Mahratta Army having evacuated Delhi, the blind Emperor Shah Alum, who had been a mere state prisoner in the hands of the Mahrattas, sought the protection of the British General. Lord Lake entered Delhi on the 14th September 1803, and from that time till the mutiny of the Bengal Army in 1857 the Titular Emperors of Delhi have been pensioned subjects of the British Government. Shah Alum died in 1806, and was succeeded by his son, Akbar Shah, who died in 1837, when Mahomed Bahadoor Shah, son of Akbar Shah, mounted the throne. He identified himself with the cause of the mutineers in 1857. On the 54th anniversary of Lord Lake entering Delhi and releasing his grandfather from the custody of the Mahrattas, Delhi was wrested from the hands of the rebels, and on 27th day of January 1858 Bahadoor Shah was brought to trial on the following charges:—

1st.—For aiding and abetting the mutiny of British Troops.

2d.—Encouraging and assisting divers persons in waging war against the British Government.

3d.—Assuming the sovereignty of India, and

4th.—Causing, and being accessory to, the murder of Christians.

He was found guilty in all the charges, and was removed to Rangoon, where he arrived on 10th December 1858, and died, and was buried there on the 7th December 1862.

The stipend allowed by the British Government for the support of the Titular Kings of Delhi from Shah Alum's time down to Bahadoor Shah's was 12 lakhs of rupees, or 120,000 *l.* per annum; but besides this Bahadoor Shah was in receipt of ground rents and tenements in the city of Delhi, which yielded probably 3 lakhs, or 30,000 *l.* a year in addition to his pension; his general income, after providing for his personal expenses, was portioned out among his wives, relatives, and retainers, according to his pleasure. Bahadoor Shah had no power whatever beyond the precincts of his own palace; he had the power of conferring titles and dresses of honour upon his own immediate retainers, but was prohibited from exercising that power on any others. He and the heir apparent were exempted from the jurisdiction of the Company's Local Courts, but were under the orders of the Supreme Government.

Together with Bahadoor Shah were conveyed to Rangoon the following prisoners, besides attendants:—

Name.	Relationship to Bahadoor Shah.	Remarks.
Juwan Bukt - - -	Son - - -	The wife of Juwan Bukt voluntarily accompanied her husband.
Shah Abbas - - -	Son - - -	The mother and grandmother of Shah Abbas accompanied him voluntarily.
Zenat Mahul - - -	Wife - -	Mother of Juwan Bukt.

Prior to the breaking out of the rebellion in 1857 the monthly stipend of Juwan Bukt was 350 rupees a month, while his mother's allowance was 5,500 rupees; the mother of Shah Abbas received 45 rupees a month, and his grandmother 35 rupees, while he himself received 100 rupees.

The mother of Shah Abbas is a Yunnah woman, named Mubaric Misser; the father of Zummanee (wife of Juwan Bukt) is one Mahomed Khan; his father's name was Ahmed Kuli Khan, whose father, "Abbas," for some service rendered to Government, received a pension of 400 rupees a month, but his son, Ahmed Kuli Khan, only received half that amount, and it appears to have ceased with him, for I understood Mahomed Khan (Zummanee's father) received no pension.

The mother of Zummanee is named Nawab Begum, whose father was one Nawab Bahadoor Khan; he appears to have been a wealthy man; his own income is stated to have been one lakh of rupees a year, besides a jagheer of 32 villages. On his death it is stated Government commuted the revenue derived from these villages, and allowed his son, Walli Dad Khan, a pension of 2,000 rupees a month. Zummanee has three children, one boy and two girls.

Shah Abbas has recently married one "Aiesha," daughter of a native Mahomedan trader, originally from Bombay, and settled in Rangoon, named Mahomed Tyre; the mother of Aiesha is a pure Burmese.

The present state of the remaining state prisoners is this:—They all live in one house, surrounded with a high palisade, situated close to the main guard; three Europeans sentries are constantly on guard inside the enclosure. The two Begums, Zenat Mahul and Zummanee, are allowed to take exercise in a gharrie, and the two sons of Bahadoor Shah take exercise on foot, attended by an European sentry.

There is no fixed allowance for the state prisoners' food, and clothes are supplied to them and their attendants at the discretion of the officer in charge; but they receive no money allowance. The total expenditure of the state prisoners and their attendants for 1862-63 was 6,831 rupees.

[1]

EAST INDIA (UPPER BURMA).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 22 March 1867;—*for*,

"COPY of PAPERS and CORRESPONDENCE relating to the late REBELLION in *Upper Burma*, and to the Measures taken by the Indian Government for protecting the Interests of British Subjects."

India Office,
2 April 1867.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political Department.

(*Mr. Kinglake.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
4 *April* 1867.

CONTENTS.

From.	To.	Date.	Page.
Governor General - - -	Secretary of State - -	17 August 1866 - -	1
Ditto - - - - -	ditto - - - -	31 „ „ - -	2
Colonel Phayre - - -	India Government - -	14 „ „ - -	2
Captain Sladen - - -	Colonel Phayre - -	5 „ „ - -	4
Ditto - - - - -	ditto - - - -	7 „ „ - -	4
Ditto - - - - -	ditto - - - -	11 „ „ - -	5
India Government - - -	ditto - - - -	29 „ „ - -	6
Secretary of State - - -	Governor General - -	17 October „ - -	7
Governor General - - -	Secretary of State - -	21 September „ - -	7
Colonel Phayre - - -	India Government - -	25 August „ - -	7
(Extract) Captain Sladen -	Colonel Phayre - -	22 „ „ - -	9
Colonel Phayre - - -	India Government - -	27 „ „ - -	23
India Government - - -	Colonel Phayre - -	14 September „ - -	23
Governor General - - -	Secretary of State - -	23 October „ - -	24
Colonel Phayre - - -	India Government - -	18 September „ - -	24
Ditto - - - - -	ditto - - - -	24 „ „ - -	25
(Extract) Secretary of State -	Governor General - -	24 December „ - -	25
Governor General - - -	Secretary of State - -	8 „ „ - -	25
(Extract) Colonel Phayre -	India Government - -	15 October „ - -	26
India Government - - -	Colonel Phayre - -	24 November „ - -	27
Secretary of State - - -	Governor General - -	28 February 1867 - -	27
Governor General - - -	Secretary of State - -	23 January „ - -	28
(Extract) Colonel Phayre -	India Government - -	10 December 1866 - -	28
Ditto - - - - -	ditto - - - -	10 „ „ - -	32
India Government - - -	Colonel Phayre - -	10 January 1867 - -	35
Ditto - - - - -	ditto - - - -	15 „ „ - -	36
Secretary of State - - -	Governor General - -	23 March „ - -	36

COPY of PAPERS and CORRESPONDENCE relating to the late REBELLION in *Upper Burma*, and to the Measures taken by the Indian Government for protecting the Interests of British Subjects.

(Foreign Department.—Political.—No. 142.)

The Governor General of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India; dated 17th August 1866.

WE have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of two telegrams received at Simla on the 11th instant, reporting the occurrence of an insurrectionary outbreak at Mandalay, in Burmah.

2. We had no reason to anticipate any such event, nor have we any further information on the subject than that contained in the enclosed papers. The detailed account expected from the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah will, on its receipt, be communicated to your Lordship.

SERVICE MESSAGE.

From Rangoon, dated the 8th August 1866.
From Colonel Phayre.
To Simla.
To Secretary to Government, Foreign Department.

Precedence.—On the 2nd instant an outbreak occurred at Mandalay. The King of Burmah's brother is killed. Several men of rank also; the King apparently helpless, but it may be in his interest. No fear for British subjects or interests, but if necessary, I will go to the frontier to be ready to do what circumstances may require.

SERVICE MESSAGE.

From Calcutta, dated the 11th August 1866.
From Mr. Wheeler.
To Simla.
To Honourable Mr. Muir.

Precedence.—I have just received the following telegram from Major Repley at Thayetmyo:—On 2nd August two sons of the King, named Mengbon Metha and Myenkhandyne-Mengtha, rose with a few followers and killed the War Prince, the Malong Mengtha, and his brother, the Tsagoo Mengtha. The King is confined in the palace: the rebels are in possession of all the principal towns on Irrawaddy. Captain Sladen and Europeans have not been interfered with.

(Foreign Department.—Political.—No. 154.)

The Governor General of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India, dated 31st August 1866.

In continuation of our Despatch, No. 142, dated 17th instant, we have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy of a letter and of its enclosures from the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, giving a detailed account of the insurrection at Mandalay, together with a copy of the instructions which we have consequently deemed it expedient to issue.

(No. 183.)

From Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C.B., Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General, British Burmah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General; No. 142-30, dated Rangoon, the 14th August 1866.

I have the honour to submit, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, copies of letters to my address, as per margin, from Captain E. B. Sladen, Agent to Chief Commissioner at Mandalay. From these it appears that on the 2nd instant, about mid-day, a sudden outbreak occurred in the King's palace at Mandalay. The King's brother, the Crown Prince or declared successor of the King, was killed; two of the King's sons were killed, also one of the Woongyees or ministers of State, and one severely wounded.

1. From Captain Sladen, Agent to Chief Commissioner at Mandalay, dated 5th August 1866.
2. From Captain Sladen, Agent to Chief Commissioner at Mandalay, dated 7th August 1866.
3. From Captain Sladen, Agent to Chief Commissioner at Mandalay, dated 11th August 1866.

2. The leader or instigator of this outrage was a son of the King's by one of the Queens of inferior rank, having the title of the Myeengoon Prince, and his own younger brother, the Myeengoon-daing Prince. It has long been surmised that the King's sons, who are numerous by several mothers, were desirous of ridding themselves of their uncle, the Crown Prince. The most daring of them, the Myeengoon Prince, headed the present outbreak; he is about 20 years of age. It occurred in a temporary palace outside the city, two or three miles distant from the regular palace. It appears that the Crown Prince and the woongyees were seated in the usual hall of assembly, when a party of armed men rushed in and attacked them. The Crown Prince was at once killed, and also one of the Woongyees. Two of the King's sons, the Maloon Prince and his brother by the same mother, the Isagoo Prince, were also killed, but where does not appear; they are by a different mother to the leader in this insurrection. The King appears to have escaped on foot to his palace in the city. Captain Sladen and Dr. Williams were in the temporary palace at the time, and barely escaped with their lives from the infuriated wretches who perpetrated the massacres.

3. It seems that the Myeengoon Prince and his brother followed up the King to his palace, apparently to gain possession of his person. He, however, was safe therein, and was able to defend it; he still remained so up to the (7th) seventh instant.

4. The Myeengoon Prince and his brother took possession of one of the King's steamers and went down the river to the town of Magway, which is about 80 miles beyond our frontier; he there has raised a force with the intention of marching up to the capital. A very important person escaped the massacre, that is, the Padeng Prince, the eldest son of the murdered Crown Prince. He has gone to Mot-tsho-bo-myo, about 50 miles north-west of Mandalay, intending to raise a force there. Apparently the fight will be between him and his cousin, the Myeengoon Prince.

5. The position of the King as regards his late brother, the Crown Prince, was, that the King felt under obligations to him for the support he gave when the King himself ascended the throne; he then at once was declared heir apparent.

apparent. Since the King's sons came of age, they have been placed entirely under the Crown Prince, and have openly complained of his harsh treatment. It is understood that it is this grievance which the Myeengoon Prince now puts forth as an excuse for his conduct. He says he has no wish to injure his father or to seize the throne. It may be concluded, however, that the murder of the Maloon Prince was with reference to his being the favourite of his father, and his probable succession to the throne if anything happened to the Crown Prince.

6. On the 12th instant a confidential messenger arrived at Rangoon bearing a short note from the prince to my address; the contents were as noted in the margin. The messenger informed me that his master, the prince, had been driven into this outbreak by the tyranny of his uncle; that the murder of his two half-brothers, the Maloon and the Isagoo Princes, was the unauthorised act of subordinates during the confusion; that he had no intention of dethroning his father, but that he desired the two steamers belonging to the King which are now at Rangoon. I informed the messenger that I had no authority over the steamers, and that without a direct letter from his Majesty, I could give no order to those in charge of them. I also replied to the prince's note, and beg to submit a copy thereof. In the same cover I wrote to the King, merely stating why I had not given any instructions to the steamer. It is doubtful if this letter will be delivered.

"The Royal son of his Majesty the King of Burmah informs the Chief Commissioner that he herewith sends his Treasurer to speak on various subjects."

(True Translation.)

(signed) *A. P. P.*

7. I took the opportunity of referring to my intended visit to the capital, and announced my intention of proceeding to the frontier station of Thayetmyo to wait a reply to my letter. I thought it well to do this in case an opportunity should appear for my going, because at such a juncture any one who has succeeded to power will probably be desirous of coming to a good understanding with the British Government; but I will be very cautious as to who I negotiate with.

8. At the time that this outbreak occurred there was fortunately at Mandalay the steamer "Nerbudda," formerly belonging to Government, and now the property of Messrs. Todd, Findlay, & Co. From Captain Sladen's letter of the 7th instant it will be seen that the King had insisted on making use of the steamer "Nerbudda" against the rebel troops, and had taken possession of her. Captain Sladen determined, with the assistance of all the European residents, to retake possession of the steamer and come away. This plan was carried out, and notice having been given, nearly all the European, Armenian, and other foreign Christian inhabitants of Mandalay embarked on board; about six or seven Europeans have remained behind. The steamer reached Thayetmyo on the 11th instant; she is now on her way down the river to Rangoon. Captain Sladen's despatches were sent on by light boat, and reached me this morning.

9. I have nothing to add, except that I have taken precautions to guard the frontier against marauding parties, and I propose to proceed to Thayetmyo in a few days more in order to adopt such further measures as may appear necessary.

(No. 184.)

COPY of a MEMORANDUM from Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C.B., Chief Commissioner; dated Rangoon, the 13th August 1866.

THE Chief Commissioner informs the Royal son of his Majesty the King of Burmah that he has received the letters sent by the hand of the Shivedaik-tso. The Chief Commissioner having a deep respect for his Majesty, and viewing the Treaty which exists between his Majesty and his Excellency the Viceroy of India, cannot give any instructions to his Majesty's steamers which are now at Rangoon without a direct letter or order from his Majesty. The Chief Commissioner is already under a promise to proceed to the Royal City, and will in a fews days go up to Thayetmyo (Iangyoung), and will there await a reply to this letter from the Royal son of his Majesty the King. The Chief Commissioner will come as a true friend, and he encloses a letter for his Majesty, which the Royal son is requested to forward.

INSURRECTION took place about Mid-day on Thursday, 2nd instant.

COPY of a LETTER from Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Agent to the Chief Commissioner at Mandalay, to Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C.B., Chief Commissioner of British Burmah and Agent to the Governor General; dated the 5th August 1866. 8 p.m.

THERE is just a chance of my being able to send off a few lines. Thank God, we are all safe. There has been a fearful revolution. Crown Prince and three of King's sons murdered, together with several officials, including Myadoung Mengyee, Loung Shoay Mengyee (not dead yet), Kenwoon, &c. The King escaped from San-nan-dan on foot, with two or three principal Queens, to the city palace. I was in the palace talking to the King when the first burst was made into the palace by the rebels or revolutionists, headed by the two Princes Myeengoon Mentha and Myeengoon-daing Mentha (brothers). The Soopiah Queen rushed into where the King was talking to me and drew the King away. The noise and confusion became terribly perplexing. The King's men were taken entirely by surprise. The few near me managed to get a few arms; we shut the doors of the portion of the palace where we were, but after the lapse of about 10 minutes the rebels, with drawn swords, broke open the door and came rushing upon us. There was a general flight. Williams was with me; we followed in the flight, and after scaling, or almost vaulting over a high partition, we found ourselves amongst a host of drunken, frenzied devils, brandishing their dhaos and coming at us; we were entirely at their mercy, and our very helplessness and something which cannot be accounted for, stayed the attack; we were threatened, and dhaos held over us several times. One of the brutes, who more than once seemed to be on the point of despatching us, was carrying in his hand the Crown Prince's head. We were at the time in the Myanan, or front portion of the palace, which was occupied by about 50 of the rebels.

The rebel Menthas escaped the same night on board Captain Reilly's steamer, after looting all they could. The present state of affairs is most serious.

The King is in his palace, and exertions are being made to bring about order; all is pretty quiet, but it is only a lull before the storm. The Padyne Mentha (Prince's eldest son) has escaped with the Thouzay Mentha. The former has been offered the heir apparentship, but will not come in. The city gates are shut. I have seen the King to-day; he was calm and spoke well. Mandalay is deserted. The Amhoodans in numbers are reported to have fled with their arms. It is impossible to predict what will next take place, but there will be anarchy and disorganisation for a long time. No "Kullah"* has been hurt or robbed. My compound and home have been a rallying point and protection to many hundreds. I have detained the "Nerbudda," which had left this, but recalled from Saggrie. There is very little chance of this ever reaching; all boats will be stopped and searched. I will not trust my other correspondence; not a boat is to be had which will leave for Rangoon; most of the boats have cleared off and keep out of the way. A private boat is said to be going which will take, or try and take, this as far as Thayetmyo. I will not add more.

* Foreigner.

COPY of a LETTER from Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Agent to the Chief Commissioner at Mandalay, to Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C.B., Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, and Agent to the Governor General; dated the 7th August 1866.

THE boat I am sending is about to start. I have given the man formal papers of my own; they are worth more at present than any one else's, I believe.

Yesterday the prince's palace was completely burnt down, and another fire took place in the south portion of the city; this is a bad sign. The Mengyee has sent me a guard of 20 men. All apply to come to me for protection, Burmese and Kullahs alike. Yesterday even the Myawon sent and asked me to allow his female kind to sleep here. It is reported that the Phoongyees and others sent by the King yesterday to the Padyne Mentha, have returned to say that the Prince will not come in. This is very likely I think. The King wants me to lend him the "Nerbudda" steamer. I shall see him to-day. I think I have got back one of my ponies, and shall probably find the others.

8th August.—I went to the King yesterday. Williams had been sent for before me, and asked for the "Nerbudda." He said that he had given her over to me. The King asked me to give her up. I replied that if he would guarantee the safety of European residents, I would willingly restore the steamer to the same source from which I had received it. The King would give no guarantee, but said the steamer was wanted for the good of his country generally, at a time of great need. He offered the same protection to foreigners as to all others of his subjects. He was so urgent that I could not refuse, but pointed out the special circumstances under which I had detained the vessel, and made it as clear to him as I could, that he would be responsible if he took the steamer; that those circumstances were kept in view. He assented generally, and I agreed to deliver back the steamer to the agent, Dr. Williams. We were then directed to settle matters with the Mengyees. No settlement could be come to. Williams held out on pecuniary grounds. The Pakhan Mengyee said that my preliminary condition with the King, viz., the protection and safety of the lives and property of foreigners, could not be guaranteed, so that after three hours' fruitless

fruitless negotiation, the steamer was not given up. But late the same afternoon, Mr. Camaratta, Mr. Gallisteen, and a Sayey Dangyee came to my house, and said the King had ordered that the steamer was to be taken possession of, whether I delivered it up or not. Men and guns were sent to be put on board in haste. I agreed to deliver over without resistance, but under compulsion, on receiving direct from the King a written aminedan, stating the reasons for the seizure. Late in the evening the King's men (about 20) went on board and took quiet possession; the captain and crew of the steamer remaining on board, but subject to the direction, for all purposes of navigation, of a Burmese official of the rank of Bo-men. This act of the King has rather complicated the position of foreigners in their relation to the Burmese government and the insurgent party. The King said that the steamer was merely wanted to cruise about and carry troops backwards and forwards, but I fear she may be used offensively, in which case, however much the facts may be to the contrary, shall appear to be in favour of the King's government. I am anxious on this account, as well as because matters are becoming more serious here daily. The Padyne Mentha is reported to be very strong, and is marching towards the capital from the Shoay Bo. Most of his father's men are with him, and will listen to no proposals short of an offer of the Crown. Two other Menthas are out still, and have collected separate forces. Incendiary fires are of frequent occurrence; I am warned on all sides to be prepared for the worst; not that either party would injure us under authority, but because the lawless bands which spring up on these insurrectionary occasions are in general uncontrollable. Almost every one that could has come to me for protection, or sent his property. The Myawon came himself after midnight last night, and said I ought at once to remove; he was sent, I think, for that purpose. The steamer is gone, and I am in a fix. I have acted throughout for the best. The confusion is general; I can hardly find a moment in which to write. The King's man, who always comes to me, thinks the King will abdicate, and tells me I ought to be out of the way till affairs have settled down; even if the Padyne Mentha succeeds, the Thouzay and Nyoung-yan Mentha will be troublesome for a time. No news as yet of the Myeengoon Mentha, who commenced the mischief. How long will it be before the Shans, too, come into the field? I have a pass from the Mengyees to send a boat; I hope it will go at once.

We are all well.

I will write again as soon as I can. No dâk from Rangoon.

COPY of a LETTER from Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Agent to the Chief Commissioner at Mandalay, to Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C.B., Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, and Agent to the Governor General; dated, Steamer "Nerbudda," the 11th August 1866.

WE shall be at Thayetmyo this morning. I tried to despatch letters from Mandalay, but found it impossible. My letters already written give you information up to the day of my departure from Mandalay. The immediate cause which made me determine to leave was that the King, after seizing the "Nerbudda," had, contrary to promise, used her offensively against the Prince's troops, and killed a number of those who were crossing in boats a few miles north of Mandalay. On the steamer's return after this exploit, and after learning what had occurred, I consulted with most of the European residents, and it was unanimously agreed upon, as our only means of escape, to retake possession of the steamer as soon as possible. We effected this the same evening without any trouble; before going on board notice was given that the steamer would leave the same day, and I informed all within reach that they were at liberty to come on board, if so inclined. The consequence is, that most of the European and Armenian residents, with their families, are with me, including Father Abbona, Mrs. D'Avera, Dr. Williams, &c. &c. There are a few who remained behind, but who had the opportunity of coming had they availed themselves of it. But, apart from the fact of the King's having seized the steamer, there were many reasons which I consider justified my leaving Mandalay for a time; I was advised to do so even by Burmese officials. I was of no use there, and whichever party became finally ascendant, affairs must remain unsettled for many months. The Padyne Mentha was about to make an immediate attack. Four other Menthas were out, and were each collecting forces. The King's people were ready to desert him. The city had commenced to be fired, and looting was going on. The opportunity occurring of being able to get away with the families of the numerous residents who crowded my house and compound from the first day of the insurrection was one which I thought it well to avail myself of, as it was not likely to happen again for a long time. All along the river, as we came down, parties of armed men are to be seen moving about in various directions, and each, probably, espousing a separate cause. The prime insurrectionist, the Myeengoon Mentha, is in great force at Magway, and has got the steamer "Yaynan Sekia" there; he has taken Mentha, and holds the country from Magway to our frontier. When we passed Magway yesterday, he sent a boat towards us with only a Lascar crew. He would not allow Captain Reilly to accompany the boat; but Reilly was well, and apparently well treated. The Mentha had given out that he wished the English to join him, and go up and conquer the country; that if they would not join him, he would proceed himself single-handed: of course, he will not succeed, though he seems a plucky, determined fellow, with some idea of organization, but thoroughly unscrupulous. He got a quantity of treasure at Mentha. I give up the steamer as soon as

we reach Thayetmyo, and I do not know what Dr. Williams intends doing with her. I shall telegraph to you for orders, and be ready to go back, if you think it advisable, with my family. * * * * * The night we left Mandalay a large fire was burning there, and the next morning large heavy clouds of smoke, seen from a great distance, seemed to say that the work of destruction had commenced. I have not up to the present been able to write any official letter or reports, but they will be sent in due course. We are very crowded on board, and there is not any chance of getting a quiet moment for letter writing. I have left everything I possessed at Mandalay, with the exception of a few clothes and other articles, which could be saved at a moment's notice.

Thayetmyo, 10 a.m., 11th August.—We arrived here this morning. I have telegraphed to you for orders. This place is safe as regards the Myeengoon Prince, I think; he has written to you, I hear, and sent for the King's two remaining steamers. The Myeengoon Prince will probably expect all who pass up to swear themselves as his subjects; but he is very well inclined towards Kullahs, and has ordered that they, or their boats and property passing up and down, are not to be molested. I do not see what we can do beyond watching events. I am prepared to return, now that all the families are in safety, and report all that occurs, besides keeping open communication with the frontier. If this is decided upon, a steamer with a strong escort would be required; otherwise, it may be the most prudent course to await events, and see whether, and in what way, the country becomes settled, or still further disorganized.

I have given over the steamer to Williams, and am not sure when he intends despatching her to Rangoon.

Lonsdale has got a despatch-boat, and I am going to send this off at once. Camaratta sent all his valuables on board, but did not come himself. Major Halsted is left behind, and two Americans, though I gave them timely notice of my intended departure. I will not write more just now.

P.S.—I forgot to say that on the day of the insurrection the rebel Menthas, after looting the San-nan-dan, and killing all whom they came across, followed the King to the city palace, to which they laid siege. They were in the outer enclosure, and fired guns to break open the inner gate; they had possession of all the approaches to the palace, and only left after midnight, when driven out by the Prince's troops.

Captain Reilly came to me at about 2 a.m., and said that the rebel Mentha had sent a man to say that he intended coming on board. Captain Reilly asked my advice; I said that, unless under compulsion, or under immediate fear of his life, he would be wrong to take the Prince on board. The Prince, as far as I can learn, went on board with 200 or 300 armed men, and resistance on Captain Reilly's part would have been altogether ineffectual. The Mentha then wrote to me from the steamer, and ordered me to discharge the cargo from the "Nerbudda," and send her down to him!

(No. 185.)

From the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah; No. 891, dated Simla, the 29th August 1866.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 142-30, with enclosures, giving a detailed account of the insurrection at Mandalay.

2. The Right Honourable the Governor General in Council considers that, under the circumstances with which Captain Sladen had to deal, that officer acted rightly in retiring from his post at Mandalay, and bringing down with him into British territory as many of the European and Armenian residents of the city as chose to embark in the steamer "Nerbudda."

3. His Excellency in Council also approves of the manner in which you met the advances made to you by the Prince at the head of the insurgent faction in respect of the two steamers at Rangoon belonging to the King of Burmah. It is satisfactory that precautions have been taken to guard the British frontier against marauding parties, and your intention to proceed to Thayetmyo is undoubtedly judicious.

4. Whether from Thayetmyo you should go on to Mandalay is a question which the Governor General in Council leaves entirely to your own discretion. Probably it may be well that, until affairs have somewhat settled down in Burmah, you should wait at Thayetmyo and watch the progress of events. Should you, however,

however, be satisfied of the expediency of an advance to Mandalay, his Excellency in Council, having full reliance on your judgment and prudence, will approve of the step; and in that case you are authorised to hire a river steamer for the journey.

(Political Department.—No. 82.)

The Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 17th October 1866.

I HAVE perused with much regret the letters of your Excellency's Government noted in the margin,* informing me that there had been an attempted revolution of a sanguinary character at Mandalay, and that the brother (the Crown Prince) and two of the sons of the King of Burmah had been murdered by insurgents, said to have been instigated by the other sons of the King by a different mother.

* Foreign Letter, dated 17th August 1866 (No. 142.)
" " " 31st " " (No. 154.)

2. It appears that the representative of the British Government, Captain Sladen, was in the palace at the time of the outbreak, and narrowly escaped with his life.

3. As the result of this revolutionary movement is as yet unknown to me, I can express no other opinion in this Despatch than that I concur with your Excellency's Government in considering that in "the circumstances with which Captain Sladen had to deal, that officer acted rightly in retiring from his post at Mandalay, and bringing down with him into British territory as many of the European and Armenian residents of the city as chose to embark in the steamer "Nerbudda," and that the Chief Commissioner had exercised a sound discretion in not identifying himself with either of the contending factions, but in quietly watching the progress of events, and providing for the security of the British frontier.

4. This revolution is all the more to be deplored, as I observe from your letter of the 31st of July that Colonel Phayre was to have proceeded to Mandalay in September, with the object of maturing arrangements whereby fuller effect might be given to certain stipulations of our commercial treaty* with Burmah.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Cranborne.*

(Foreign Department.—Political.—No. 161.)

The Governor General of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India, dated 21st September 1866.

IN continuation of the correspondence forwarded with our Despatch, No. 154, dated 31st ult., regarding the insurrection at Mandalay, we have the honour to transmit, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of further reports* from the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, together with a transcript of our reply.†

* Dated 25th August 1866, No. 143-31.
Dated 27th August 1866, No. 150.
† Dated 14th September 1866, No. 936.

From Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C.B., Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General, British Burmah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, Simla; No. 143-31, dated Rangoon, the 25th August 1866.

I HAVE the honour to submit, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, copy of letter to my address, No. 30, dated the 22nd instant, from Captain Sladen, Agent to the Chief Commissioner at Mandalay, containing a complete Report of all the events which

* *See* Parliamentary Papers, No. 327, of Session 1863, and No. 300, of Session 1864.

which occurred on the occasion of the insurrection in that city on the 2nd instant.

2. It will not be necessary for me to recapitulate any of those events. Shortly before the outbreak occurred, the steamer "Nerbudda," belonging to the firm of Messrs. Todd, Findlay & Co., had left to proceed down the river to Rangoon. When the outbreak occurred, she was recalled on the requisition of Captain Sladen. This, I think, was a necessary measure with reference to the necessity of providing for the safety of British subjects and others, especially of women and children and their property.

3. After the vessel had been brought back to Mandalay, the King of Burmah in his extremity seized her, or rather she was given up to him by order of Captain Sladen. But as she was at once employed against those who were in rebellion, Captain Sladen considered it right to take possession of the steamer again, so that the British flag might not be seen engaged in the contest. At the same time it was determined that all the European and other Christian inhabitants, being Armenians and others, should leave. The steamer was taken possession of with much tact and good management, and all who chose to do so embarked in her. A few Europeans still remained behind. No opposition whatever was offered to the passage of the steamer down the river.

4. Captain Sladen, in the concluding paragraphs of his letter, recommends that he should at once proceed in a steamer to Mandalay to resume his post as Agent to the Chief Commissioner, to rescue the captain, a British subject, and others, of one of the King's steamers, and afford protection to those Europeans, or those of European extraction, left at Mandalay. Captain Sladen also asks for a personal escort.

5. I consider that the immediate return of the Agent after having once withdrawn, and before there has been a struggle and decisive issue between the contending parties, might possibly lead to some collision with one or other of them *en route*. If the Agent were once safe in his house at Mandalay, or in some building there not readily inflammable, I feel satisfied he would be perfectly safe, except from the attacks of plunderers, which there would probably be no difficulty in resisting. We may be certain that none of those who are contending for mastery, either the King's party or the rebels, would wish to injure any foreigner. But the appearance of a British steamer, which it might be supposed had come to take one or other side, would probably excite resentment. Under these circumstances, therefore, I think it better not to attempt to go up until we hear either that the King has regained his power, or that affairs have so far settled down that the danger of any misunderstanding is reduced to a minimum. I propose to go up to Thayetmyo to wait there for any favourable opportunity of proceeding up in order to renew communication with the Burmese Government. But if his Excellency, the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, considers that I should proceed at once, or that Captain Sladen should go alone, I solicit the favour of being so instructed by telegram.

6. I have received more than one application as to compensation for losses of property, either actual or anticipated. These are grounded, first, on loss of property by abandonment consequent on the British Agent leaving Mandalay; and second, on destruction of property in the city by rebels, for which it is claimed that the Burmese government is responsible. There will also be a claim for compensation on account of the services of the "Nerbudda" steamer for detention and bringing away people at the requisition of the agent.

7. I will not now enter upon this subject, but request instructions as to whether I shall receive such applications, and make full inquiry as to the circumstances and amount of loss in each case. I also request instructions as to whether, in the event of the King regaining his authority, or a new King succeeding, I should bring this question before his Government.

EXTRACTS from LETTER from Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Agent to the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to the Governor General, to Captain *C. P. Hildebrand*, Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah; No. 30, dated Rangoon, 22nd August 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report generally upon the late political revolution at Mandalay.

2. I propose to lay before the Chief Commissioner a detailed statement of the principal circumstances connected with the revolution, and to point out, with reference to the circumstances themselves and the various incidents or contingencies arising therefrom, the several causes which influenced my determination to leave the capital, and by undertaking a heavy personal responsibility myself, afford the only means of protection then at hand to many whose lives at the time were felt to be more or less in very imminent danger.

3. At about noon, on 2nd instant, the Myeengoon Mentha and his brother, the Myeengoon-daing Mentha (both sons of the King), entered the summer palace with about 30 well-armed followers. Immediately on coming within the palace enclosures swords were drawn and a rush made into the Hlot (High Court), in which the Woongyees, and other high officials, with the Crown Prince as President, were holding council; the Myadoung and Loung Shoay Mengyees were immediately attacked and cut down; the Pakhan Mengyee escaped by climbing over a partition which led into the inner inclosure of the palace; the Crown Prince escaped out of the Hlot, and was making his way to the outer gate of the palace when he was met by a party of the revolutionists, cut down, and instantly killed. The orders given by the rebel Mentha at this time were, that all Burmans who wore white turbans, and were dressed in the long official white jacket, were to be promiscuously attacked and murdered.

The slaughter in and about the Hlot was the work of a moment. So great was the panic and consternation occasioned by the bold and sudden ferocity of the attack, that before any resistance could be made, or even the interior gates of the palace closed, the rebel princes and their party, joined by this time by those inside the palace who were in the plot, rushed into the inner enclosure of the palace by the grand eastern entrance, and in a few moments penetrated the palace itself.

I happened to be on duty myself at the palace, and was talking to the King at the very time the rush was made into the palace building. I was roused to a sense of some impending danger by hearing a sound as if of many men running in haste over the boarded floor of the palace; at the same time one of the principal Queens (the Myouk Namadan) ran towards the King from an inner apartment in violent haste, and cried out, in evident distress and excitement, to the King, to get up and follow her, as rebel princes had entered the palace.

The King got up at once and disappeared inside: he is reported to have remained in the summer palace only a very few minutes, when he left on foot with two or three of the principal Queens and only a few followers, and proceeded direct to the large palace within the city walls.

The rebel princes had by this time obtained full possession of the palace, which was more or less given up to plunder; but learning that the King had escaped, they withdrew their men and went in pursuit to the city palace, which they reached only a few minutes after the King had arrived there himself.

Some of the King's troops had now rallied about him; the gates of the large palace were closed, and an attack upon the palace itself was commenced by the rebel party, which lasted till after midnight.

4. I will now relate, as briefly as I can, some of my own experiences on this eventful day.

When the King got up and left the apartment in which I had been conversing with him, I remained with only a few Burmese officials who had been present at the conference. Dr. Williams was also present, and had been taken by me before the King to arrange matters of business, which will be reported in a separate communication. Our position was a very critical one; parties of rebels were penetrating different portions of the palace, and after the lapse of a few

minutes, a rush was made by rebels carrying drawn swords up a staircase and over a portion of the wall adjoining the apartment in which we were stationed. The King's officials fled, and climbed over a high wall or partition on the opposite side to that over which the rebels were effecting an entrance. I followed them, accompanied by Dr. Williams, and after climbing the partition, and dropping down on the other side of it, we found ourselves in the Myanan, or large entrance hall and vestibule of the palace, running north and south along the whole front of the palace, and facing the large eastern gates of the palace. This place was filled with armed rebels, who ran towards us sword in hand, crying out, "Cut them down!" Most of the men carried a naked sword in each hand. Many of them were stupified and frenzied by drink and excitement: one of them, who came up and held his sword over us in the act and attitude of delivering his stroke, carried in his left hand the gory head of the Crown Prince, who had just been murdered; still we remained unharmed. An unaccountable power stayed the hands of those who, having already tasted deeply of blood, may fairly be said in their mad excitement to have been far beyond the control of either reason or thought. The men near us danced about with threats, those at a distance brandished their swords in defiance, and altogether the escape from immediate death seemed indefinitely remote; we remained perfectly quiet, and the cry of "Cut them down!" was now changed to "Be quiet or die."

The man who carried the gory head was the chief of the party, and was styled "Bo Men." At one time an order was given to fire upon a Burman outside who had made an attempt to cross the open area in front of the Myanan in which we were: muskets were levelled. At some personal risk to myself I got up from where I was, and called to the chief by his title, "Bo Men;" he was evidently pleased at hearing me recognise his assumed honours, and answered me civilly. I said, "Do not fire; it will alarm those inside." "Very well," he replied, "but who are you?" "I am an Englishman; give me a sword or musket, or something to fight and defend myself with." "Are you," he asked, "on the side of Kodan Myat Pyah (the excellent lord)?" "Certainly I am." "That's right; I am glad of it."

It is needless to remark that during this conversation I was fully under the impression that the "Bo Men" and his party were fighting on the side of the King. We remained in this situation as close prisoners for nearly half-an-hour, and could only move at the risk of our lives. At the end of this time a number of troops (said to be Crown Prince's men) effected an entrance into the palace by the eastern gate and approached the Myanan, in which we were prisoners under the rebel party. But my surprise was great when I saw that the Prince's troops who had just entered and the rebel troops who were already in the Myanan, instead of opposing each other, seemed to coalesce and arrive at an understanding to be mutually forbearing.

One of the Prince's officers recognised me, and said we might leave the palace as soon as we could. On descending from the Myanan we were joined by a Mr. Calogreedy and Mr. Marcar Abraham, who had been prisoners in another portion of the palace, and were now making their escape.

Mr. Calogreedy, at the first rush of the rebel party into the palace, was standing near the inner gateway; he was rescued whilst in the act of being cut down by the rebel Myeengoon Mentha himself, who gave orders at the time that foreign residents were not to be injured.

On reaching the Hlot we discovered the dead body of the Crown Prince lying on the road entirely uncared for, and much mutilated by sword-cuts; the head had been cut off and carried away: just outside the outer palace gate were the bodies of three of the King's sons, including that of the Melloon Mentha, the King's eldest son, a prince of much promise.

The scene of slaughter on all sides was a reality hardly to be realised at the time from the sudden and almost mysterious manner in which all had occurred.

We left the palace in the midst of armed troops, whom it was difficult to recognise as being either friends or foes; in fact, the troops themselves at the time, in the confusion and uncertainty they were in as to the nature or results of the morning's operations, hardly knew what they were to do, or whose cause was to be espoused.

Our ponies, which had been left outside the palace gates on our arrival, had been forcibly seized and ridden off with by some of the rebel party; so we were obliged to proceed on foot, mixed up with the rabble party of troops above described.

scribed. We were unmolested in any way, and reached our respective homes in safety.

5. The King was besieged in his city palace by the rebel Prince's party from mid-day on 2nd instant until about 3 a.m. on the morning of the 3rd, when a strong detachment of the late Crown Prince's troops succeeded in driving the rebels out of the palace altogether. The rebel princes, with about 200 followers, proceeded to the river and took forcible possession of the King's steamer, "Yaynan Sekia," which was at the time moored to the bank.

6. Captain Reilly, in command of the steamer, had been previously warned by a messenger sent by the Myeengoon Mentha that the steamer was required, and that he was to be in readiness, under pain of immediate death, to receive the Prince and his followers, and steam away with them from Mandalay. Captain Reilly came to my house at about 2 a.m. to consult me as to what course he should pursue. I told him that his duty appeared to me to be to remain in command of his steamer, and to take no part with the Prince, either in the shape of negotiation or co-operation, unless under a state of compulsion which immediately threatened his life. Captain Reilly returned to his steamer, which was soon afterwards taken possession of, as above described.

7. Early in the morning of 3rd instant a letter was brought to me by Captain Bacon, commanding the steamer "Nerbudda," which he said had been given to him for delivery by Captain Reilly; the letter bore my address in English, but its contents were in Burmese, and conveyed a written order to me from the rebel Myeengoon Prince to unload the "Nerbudda" and send her down to him as soon as possible.

8. The Myeengoon Prince had proclaimed on board the steamer "Yaynan Sekia," previous to leaving Mandalay, that he was proceeding to Rangoon with the express purpose of handing over Upper Burmah to Colonel Phayre as representing the British Government.

9. The steamer "Nerbudda," which I have just referred to, had only arrived at Mandalay early on the morning of 3rd instant, a little before the rebel Myeengoon Prince left in the "Yaynan Sekia." She had started from Mandalay the day previous (2nd instant) with the intention of proceeding to Rangoon; but immediately after the occurrence of 2nd instant, I had arranged, in concert with Dr. Williams, who was the agent for the steamer at Mandalay, that she should be recalled and detained at my risk and responsibility as a means of protection in case of actual need (*vide* letter attached, No. 28, of 3rd August 1866). I may here remark, that this detention of the steamer caused very general satisfaction and comfort to the European community at large, and even to numerous Burmese traders, who flocked to me for advice, and eagerly demanded to be admitted inside my enclosure in order to ensure for themselves, as they said, protection.

10. It appeared to me a rather peculiar feature in a Burmese insurrection or revolution that Burmese subjects should so generally have applied to me for help and protection, and that they should have felt themselves so comparatively secure when once they had removed themselves and families within the limits of my house or into my compound.

It tended to show very unmistakeably that the English name and prestige had gained for itself a wonderful moral influence over the minds of even poor (and on ordinary occasions) apathetic Burmese subjects, and that occasion alone was required to call forth a ready and cordial manifestation of this influence; for, after all, I was without the means of help or assistance myself, and the support and protection which it was in my power to afford was merely nominal, and, when the crisis arrived, might in all probability have been found valueless or altogether ineffectual. Still, from 2nd instant, the date of the outbreak, until the 8th, when I felt myself bound to abandon my post at Mandalay, my house and compound were the common refuge and abiding place for all Europeans, Armenians, and Burmese alike, who had any claim to admission. The house was given up almost entirely to the families of Europeans who required it, and property valued at several lakhs of rupees, besides large quantities of specie, were deposited in and around, wherever an available corner could be found.

11. On 3rd and 4th instant all remained quiet both within and without the city, with the exception of small bands of lawless adventurers, who prowled about here and there with plundering intent. The city gates were shut, and exit and entrance alike forbidden to all who were not officially deputed on duty from inside. The whole of the suburbs appeared almost deserted, the greatest portion of the population having removed themselves, according to custom, to hiding places, or places of shelter beyond the reach of lawless troops or marauding bands of robbers.

12. On the morning of 4th I made an attempt to get into the city and palace, in order to hand over the Pyee Mentha (a nephew of the King), who had narrowly escaped being put to death at the time of the outbreak, and had fled to me and asked for protection until affairs had settled down a little. I was refused admission into the city, but managed to send a verbal message to the Pakhan Mengyee by my Burmese clerk, who was well known, and who contrived with great difficulty and after considerable delay to get into the palace. The Pakhan Mengyee sent me two of his own men to escort me into the palace. On the following morning, the 5th, I accompanied these men, and on reaching the palace, was informed that the King would see me; I found him sitting with some of his Queens, and, as might be expected, in a somewhat dejected state of mind. He addressed me by name as soon as I entered, and spoke very feelingly about the folly of his rebel sons, and the possibility of insurrections like the present taking place in other countries besides Burmah. I left after a short visit, but it was evident from what I saw, that a great feeling of uncertainty prevailed both inside and outside the palace.

13. The means for defence were being steadily but stupidly advanced; for instance, in front of the east face of the palace building were ranged three rows of guns, one behind the other, and all on the same level, with about six feet space between each gun. This space again was occupied by jingals, or smaller guns. The ammunition for each gun lay underneath the gun itself, and the manifest intention appeared to be that each gun was to be used in the position it then occupied. The city and palace gates were closed, but very imperfectly guarded; the city itself was deserted, and beyond the guards at the several approaches to the city the houses and streets had lost all signs of habitation.

14. I am speaking now of the condition of affairs on the 5th August, but a state of anxiety amounting to almost panic ensued on the 6th, when a large fire occurred in the city. The fire was evidently the work of an incendiary, whose object was to burn down the late Crown Prince's palace. The object succeeded completely, and the fact was the more important on account of the political move or motive attached to it.

15. This leads me to mention the "Pudyne Mentha," the eldest son of the late Crown Prince; he is said to have been in the palace at the time of the outbreak on the 2nd, and to have made his escape by at once taking to flight. As soon as it became generally known that the Crown Prince was dead, most of his troops and adherents joined the Pudyne Mentha, who had proceeded northward to the city of Shoay Bo, the general rendezvous of any revolted or runaway prince who professes a design against the ruling powers, or feels in a position to assert his claims to real sovereignty.

16. When it was known to the King that the Pudyne Mentha had gone to Shoay Bo, a deputation of high officials was sent to offer him the heir apparentship in the place of his deceased father, and to use every endeavour to cause his return to Mandalay. The Mentha was known to possess a kind, quiet, and intelligent disposition, and if left to his own pursuits and inclination, it might well have been believed that he would return submissively to Mandalay as soon as his personal safety was fully ensured. But the fact that he would not return unless to claim the crown was well known to those who understood the various interests involved, as well as the character and expectations of the Mentha's advisers, who certainly looked upon the Mentha as a puppet set up for the mere purpose of advancing their own immediate prospects of power.

17. The consequence was that the several deputations sent failed to accomplish their purpose, and some of the individuals composing them, it was said, were even ill-treated and sent back in ignominy. Other fires besides that which burnt

burnt down the Prince's palace occurred in the city on the 6th, and it became very evident that a state of disorganisation was succeeding in natural order, and with the usual precision attending Burmese insurrections to the insecurity and uncertainty of a Government which was itself in danger; for by this time it was known beyond doubt that the Pudyne Mentha had aspired to fight, that his emissaries were preparing the way by fire and pillage, and that his advanced troops were already within a few miles of the city.

18. On the afternoon of the 6th, a Mr. Elias Gallisteen, an Armenian merchant, called upon me, and said he had been sent by the King to ask me whether I would make over the steamer "Nerbudda" to him; he informed me at the same time, that Moolah Ibrahim and Mr. Paul Camaratta had been despatched with a similar request to Dr. Williams. I replied that the matter was a very important one; that any negotiation regarding the steamer must be carried on direct with the King; and that I did not recognise Mr. Gallisteen's powers to treat, as he had never before been made an official medium of communication between myself and the Government. Early the next morning Mr. Gallisteen again appeared at my house with the Lamine Won, an officer of high rank, and I was informed that the King wished to see me as soon as possible. I prepared to accompany the Lamine Won, and under his escort reached the palace. On my road there I received a note from Dr. Williams written at the palace, in which he informed me that he had been asked to give the steamer; that he had expressed every willingness to do so; and begged that my consent might be given to enable him to complete his arrangements with the King. On reaching the palace I met Dr. Williams, and we went together to the King. As I entered, the King was sitting down with his principal Queen, and I heard him tell her in a joking kind of manner, "Sladen had a narrow escape the other day; he was obliged to run and get over a high partition, when he found himself in the Myanan, which was crowded with men, and where by good luck alone he escaped being killed."

19. Immediately after this the King turned to me and said, "What about the steamer?" I replied, "The steamer was detained by me for the sole purpose of saving the lives and property of European residents and their families in case the present disturbances continued and any dire necessity arose such as to cause our flight. If we are saved, it will be good for ourselves and for your Majesty's Government; but if your Majesty will explain to me why you want the steamer, and guarantee at the same time the protection to obtain which the steamer has been detained here at the expense of the British Government, I will at once replace the steamer at the disposal of Dr. Williams, from whom I received it.

20. The King evinced displeasure, and, turning away a little, said—

"I knew there would be some difficulty. As to guaranteeing lives, I will do the best I can, not only for Europeans, but for all alike. The occasion is a very emergent one; it is to the advantage of my whole kingdom that I should have the steamer; I merely want her to cruise up and down the river, a little off the town, and probably I may have to cross troops over to Sagyne, or bring them back again."

21. I saw at once that the King's wishes were intended to be commands. To have opposed them openly at such a time, when his necessities had probably rendered him unscrupulous about consequences, was an act which might have made my own position, and the condition of foreign residents at the capital, a more uncomfortable one than it then was, threatening, as it certainly would, immediate withdrawal of royal countenance and protection, and the probability of indignities, if not imprisonment; so I replied—

"In a case of such emergency I cannot oppose your Majesty's wishes. I give over the steamer to Dr. Williams."

The King then said, "Go to the Mengyees, and make the necessary arrangements."

22. We went at once to the Hlot in company with Mr. Camaratta, and there met the Pakhan Mengyee, and a document in Burmese was drawn out and read. Dr. Williams objected to the Burmese document, and said it was necessary to execute an instrument in English as well as in Burmese. Dr. Williams was dissatisfied, moreover,

moreover, with the pecuniary conditions relating to contingent damages, and it became pretty evident that an agreement was still far from being concluded. The Mengyee remarked more than once during the conference that the times were exceptional; that if he chose, he could do what he liked with us or with the steamer, and said, "If we took the steamer, what could you do?" I said that we should in that case be helpless; but that if a seizure was contemplated, the Burmese Government (in accordance with the practice followed in all countries where State emergencies or the necessities of the times seemed to justify an extraordinary course) would be responsible for all consequences, and that there would be no necessity for entering into written agreements of any kind.

"No," said the Mengyee, "we cannot enter into any written agreement, from the mere fact that the Government cannot comply with the conditions imposed by the Chief Commissioner's Agent, and under which alone he (the Agent) agreed to deliver over the steamer: we do not know what may take place in the present existing state of affairs, and cannot guarantee the lives and safety of Europeans or their families, but come again to-morrow morning early, and we will see what can be done."

23. We left the Mengyee after a fruitless conference, which had lasted more than two hours. I felt sure that the delivery of the steamer was inevitable, and was inwardly sorry that amicable arrangements had not been entered into, and the steamer made over with as good a grace as possible. The delay until the morrow had been merely intended by the Mengyee, I believe, to give him time to consult the King regarding the expediency of immediately seizing the steamer. It was further clear, judging by the state of the times, that a crisis had arrived in which, if the steamer was to be taken at all, immediate possession was a point of essential importance to the Burmese Government.

24. I reached my house at between 3 and 4 p. m. that day (7th), and in about half an hour afterwards Mr. Camaratta, with Mr. Gallisteen and a Sayay-dan-gyee, or Secretary of the Hlot, came and informed me that the King, on hearing that the steamer had not been delivered up to him, had become very angry, and had ordered that immediate and forcible possession should be at once taken of her by his officers. I was further informed that an officer (the Shoay Lam-Bo), with about 30 armed men, with four small guns, and a suitable supply of ammunition, was on his way to the steamer, under orders to proceed on board and take charge.

25. Dr. Williams at this time as agent for the steamer protested against the seizure, and said that before he agreed to give her up he required me to enter into a written guarantee, in which it was to be stipulated that the British Government was held liable for all the consequences of the seizure. This, of course, I would not, and could not, concede. Opposition to the seizure would have been futile; the only recourse, namely, to have despatched the steamer at once to Rangoon, would have involved a wanton breach of faith with the Burmese Government, for we had formally agreed to a further negotiation on the morrow, and conclude final arrangements for the actual delivery of the steamer.

26. Besides, the immediate despatch of the steamer under such circumstances, whilst it would have endangered our position at Mandalay, would at the same time, I believe, only have delayed the forcible seizure a short time until she had been obliged to anchor for the night. Without a sufficiency of arms or suitable means of defence, the steamer must have become an easy capture to the war boats, which it is only consistent and reasonable to conclude would have been despatched to bring her back.

27. My counsel, therefore, was to make no opposition, but to passively submit, under protest, to an act which the Burmese Government had wilfully and deliberately determined on, and for the result and responsibilities attending which the Government and country might justly be held liable.

28. I considered it necessary, however, to hold out or be particular on one point, and that was to obtain, if possible, a royal order in writing as a proof of the King's determination to make a positive and forcible seizure of a steamer belonging to an English Company, and then under British protection. I did not doubt that Mr. Camaratta had been deputed by the King on the duty upon which

which he had then come, for he had on several former occasions been officially made use of and recognized as an authorised medium of communicating the King's orders and wishes in reference to foreign residents and foreign affairs generally; but I thought of future complications, and was anxious, for the sake of future reference, to possess some tangible record of an order directing the forcible seizure of an English merchant steamer by a foreign power.

29. After much hesitation and opposition the Sayay-dan-gyee was despatched to the palace, and returned with the written order in due form, a copy of which is attached for information. The same evening the King's troops under the Shoay Lam-Bo were allowed to take quiet possession of the steamer, the Captain and crew electing to remain on her, and submit to the directions of the Burmese Commanding Officer on all points connected with the duties of the ship and its proper navigation.

30. Regarding the forcible seizure of the steamer, and the views entertained at the time by Dr. Williams, the agent for the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company at Mandalay, I beg to attach copy of letter to my address, dated steamer "Nerbudda," 7th August 1866.

31. I am compelled to remark, with reference to this letter, that the circumstances as related at paragraph 12 are somewhat distorted. Shortly after the fact had become known that the King had determined upon seizing the steamer, Dr. Williams took the Commander of the steamer (Captain Bacon) aside and spoke privately to him. Captain Bacon left Dr. Williams very hastily, and, as he went down the stairs to leave my house, said rather angrily, and with evident determination of purpose, "I won't give up the steamer; I'll be off to Rangoon." I concluded that the Commander had received his instructions from Dr. Williams, as I knew he could not act on his own responsibility. I then called upon Dr. Williams to be careful as to the order he had given, and to remember and realise the difficulties of our situation; that due regard must be had to events, which, however unsatisfactory or unpleasant they may be as regarded the interests of the steamer or her owners, were now beyond our control as regarded the course which I felt bound as a public servant, in the interests of all concerned, to counsel and advise. It was at this juncture that Dr. Williams directed the commander to wait and not return to the steamer, and I have not considered it out of place to refer to this particular circumstance in its connection with paragraph 12 of Dr. Williams's letter of the 7th instant, because, although I have no desire to advance any very material reasons for correcting the paragraph itself, it is due to myself, I think, to point out that the paragraph is not altogether correct as it at present stands.

32. It was a matter of no little anxiety to me to find that the King had ordered guns and troops to be put on board the steamer, for his doing so was an act which hardly accorded with the promises that the steamer should merely be used as a transport to convey troops backwards and forwards between Mandalay and Sagyne, a town a little to the south of Mandalay, on the opposite bank of the river. I was still more concerned to learn that it was the intention of the officer in command of the King's troops to proceed at once with the steamer a few miles up the river, north of Mandalay, to a point where it was known that the Pudyne Mentha was then crossing his troops with the intention of attacking Mandalay. But evening had set in before the King's troops had got on board, and it was understood that the steamer would not leave her anchorage until daylight the next morning.

33. The same night I contrived to despatch a private letter to the commander of the steamer, in which I asked him to do all in his power, and even to use his ingenuity, if necessary, to either altogether prevent the steamer's proceeding up the river any great distance from the capital, and at all risks and under all circumstances to delay her departure, or retard her progress by every direct or indirect means of which he could safely avail himself.

This letter never reached Captain Bacon; the steamer had left her anchorage at 11 p.m. on the night of the 7th, and steamed up the river with hostile intent.

34. On the same night, a little after midnight, or rather early in the morning of the 8th instant, the Myo-Woon, or Chief Magistrate, an official of high rank and position, came to my house for the express purpose of warning me to move

out of it, as, he said, it was impossible to defend myself there, or to make any stand against the irregular bands of mixed soldiers and dacoits who were now close to Mandalay, and would soon be let loose to commence the work of pillage and plunder. The crisis, he said, had arrived, and the attack might commence at any moment. My official position, he added, would not be recognised, because it would not be known amongst the savage hordes which would accompany the Mentha from Shoay Bo. He advised me to abandon my house at once, and seek protection either in his house or that of Dr. Williams situated in the heart of the town, either house being more defensible than my own. The Myo-Woon's warning was significant on account of his official position; he no doubt considered it his duty to give me timely intimation of impending danger, and to warn me (as one more experienced than myself in a Burman crisis) what course I ought to pursue in order to be as far removed as possible from the scene of indiscriminate confusion and riot, which it was believed was then soon to be enacted.

35. Early on the same morning (8th instant) Tseyab Oazan, the official appointed by the King as the medium of communication between his Majesty and myself (I had not seen him since the outbreak of the insurrection on the 2nd instant), came and informed me in a confidential sort of way that I ought to remove myself for a time from Mandalay. I told him to inform the King that he had deprived me of the means of getting away by seizing the steamer "Nerbudda," which steamer I now learned was going to be used offensively against the enemy. I said this was a breach of faith on the part of the King, which compromised as well as jeopardised my position here as British agent, and begged that the steamer might be returned, or suitable protection afforded. The royal messenger informed me that the King was not in a position to give protection.

36. As another instance tending to show the state of insecurity at this time, even inside the palace, I may mention that a message was sent to me on the morning of 8th instant (though not delivered at the time) from the chief wife of the late Crown Prince, then a resident of the King's palace, asking me to give her and her son, a lad about 12 years of age, protection and conveyance to British territory.

37. Matters had thus arrived at a crisis. From 2nd until the 8th affairs grew worse. Distrust and alarm pervaded all; my house and compound were besieged and literally filled with those who sought shelter; European residents, who had lived the greater portion of their lives at a Burman capital, now believed their lives in danger, and feared to inhabit their own houses. I was without the ordinary means of making any suitable defence, and was opposed from the first to many warlike propositions made to me from time to time by some of our community who thought we must fight.

Until the events of the 8th, I was never apprehensive of actual danger to life; my advice was, "Do not barricade; nothing that we can do will save our property from loot and fire, but our lives, I feel sure, will be respected and are safe."

For my own part I was prepared up to that date (8th instant) to remain at my post, and give up my property when called upon to do so to the several marauding bands who would assuredly bring up the rear, if not accompany the van of the attacking forces.

38. However, on the morning of the 8th, when it was known that the steamer had left with the King's troops on board, and with hostile intent, and when I felt the time had arrived for some decisive course of action by which to provide the best means of mutual support and co-operation, I called upon the Europeans who were with me to join in council and deliberate upon the new state or phase of events occasioned by the seizure of the steamer, her despatch northwards to engage the Prince's troops, and the advice given by the Myo-Woon and King's messenger the same morning, urging the necessity for immediately abandoning the Agency.

39. Various propositions were made, but no resolutions arrived at; all were assured that, had the steamer been available, the time had come for repairing on board and removing ourselves from the scene of insurrection, at all events for a few

few days, until matters had begun to settle down. The majority favoured the idea of fortifying ourselves in any building which could be most easily and readily rendered defensible. My own proposition was to remove the families and property deposited in my house on board the flat "Mahanuddy," which had been brought up by the steamer "Nerbudda," and was now anchored in the river in mid-stream, to occupy the flat ourselves if necessary, and for that purpose to place it in as good a state of defence as possible.

40. Our deliberations at this point were interrupted by a note which I received from Mr. Berry, the commander of the flat, in which he reported that the steamer "Nerbudda" had just been sighted coming down the river. We agreed to adjourn our meeting or consultation until four o'clock the same evening, or until we could ascertain the movements of the steamer, and what her operations had been since she left the previous night: we had no sooner got up and adjourned the meeting than the steamer's boat was seen pulling up the creek and making for my house. The officer in charge of the King's troops, with the Armenian gentleman, Mr. Elias Gallisteen, landed from the boat and came towards us; they soon gave us to understand that the steamer had not proceeded up the river many miles before she was challenged by some of the Prince's troops on shore and ordered to stop; that when she did not stop, two war boats filled with armed men left the shore and pulled alongside the steamer, one on either side, with the evident intention of boarding her: but the steamer, by order of the officer commanding the troops, was made to turn round and ran down the boats; that the Burmese troops had fired into the boats; and that altogether between 40 and 50 of the boat's crew (Prince's troops) had been killed by the operations of the steamer: that the officer in charge was now going to the King to report his victory, and to get more troops and a further supply of ammunition for another cruise. The Armenian gentleman's story was soon confirmed by Captain Bacon, the commander of the steamer, who shortly joined us from the steamer. Another consultation was held on the spot; it was unanimously resolved that the only course now left to us, either as regarded our own safety, as well as to prevent the steamer being further offensively used against the Prince's troops under the colour of British support, was to regain possession of the steamer at all risks and by use of force if necessary, and, taking all on board who sought British protection, repair to Rangoon with as little delay as possible.

41. To retake the steamer so as to avoid actual collision with the King's troops was a measure which required both tact and caution, in design as well as accomplishment: above all things, loss of time would have been fatal to success. Notice was sent to all to repair at once to the steamer, and Captain Bacon was sent there also to make preparation for our reception, and especially guard against giving any cause to the troops on board to suspect or distrust his actions. It was now two p.m. I sent Mr. Calogreedy, a Greek merchant, with a box of my clothes and a message to the Sayay-dan-gyee, who was on board the steamer, to inform that official that it was my intention to come and remain with the steamer. Suspicion had been aroused amongst the King's troops when they saw so many Europeans join the flat and steamer armed and with a portion of their effects; still they did not, I think, anticipate any hostile movement, such as a determination on our part to recapture the steamer. Mr. Calogreedy managed the task I had assigned him with great tact and skill; he quite allayed all suspicion, though many general questions were asked.

42. I left my house at about four p.m. with the greater portion of the Europeans who had not already gone to the steamer. As soon as we got on board our intentions were very quietly but palpably disclosed by the attitude we assumed, and by the fact that every man carried arms. When all was in readiness a message was sent to the King's troops (only 17 of them had remained on board) to say that I wished to speak to them; they left their arms in the fore-part of the vessel, and came to where I was standing: their arms were at once secured by Captain Bacon and a party of his men.

43. On the men coming aft they sat down in a row, and I at once told them that we had retaken the steamer and intended to keep her: the men were entirely passive, and their only fear seemed to be that we were about to resent the seizure of the steamer by the infliction of summary punishment on themselves.

selves. They were much relieved when I told them that it was my intention to land them at once with their arms; some of them even expressed a willingness to be taken on to Rangoon, but, of course, this idea could not for a moment have been entertained. The men were all placed in the steamer's cutter, when their arms were handed to them and they were sent on shore.

44. There were at this time four small two-pounder brass guns on board belonging to the King, which I found it impracticable, on account of their weight and the delay which would have ensued in shipment, to put into the boat with the men. It was my intention to have landed the guns at Menhla on the occasion of the steamer's remaining for the due payment of customs duties; but as Menhla was in possession of rebel troops, it was found expedient to pass it by without stopping, and, consequently, the guns have been brought on to Rangoon. It is my intention to hand them over to the agent of the King's steamer, now at Rangoon, and obtain from him, as well as from the officers in charge of each of the King's steamers, their receipts for the same.

45. The steamer was now entirely at our disposal; we proceeded forthwith to the flat, and taking her in tow, allowed both steamer and flat to drop quietly down the river. There was no undue haste or confusion in any portion of the proceeding by which we regained possession of the steamer, nor happily was force requisite. The several arrangements connected therewith, all of which required no little tact and firmness in detail, were carried out with precision and without a mishap of any kind. Full two hours' notice was given to those who elected to leave Mandalay to join the steamer before her departure for Rangoon; and when the time for leaving arrived, all who claimed protection or wished to join us were either on board or on their way to the steamer. We therefore merely dropped down the stream until clear of Mandalay, when the paddles were used, and the steamer shortly afterwards anchored for the night a little south of Sagyne.

46. It now became necessary to be on the alert. The force of circumstances had obliged us to adopt an extreme course in order to get back our steamer, and as that course had involved a display of force and determination, and inasmuch as we had at a time of great emergency so far compromised ourselves by open antagonism to the King's authority, I felt assured, and so did every one else with me at the time, that our own safety and the safety of those who had made themselves dependent on me rested entirely on the means and ability we possessed to further combat and defy that authority.

47. It was expected that armed boats would have been despatched to retake the steamer, and that we should have been compelled to act defensively. The orders on board were that no boat was to be allowed to approach the steamer. The whole of the male portion of our community, not excepting the Catholic and Armenian priests, were told off as guards and watches; our arms were all loaded, and although there was, perhaps, still cause for anxiety, there was nevertheless a greater feeling of security than had been experienced by some since the occurrences of 2nd instant.

48. During the night (a very dark one) Mr. Peter Camaratta arrived in a boat and wished to come on board the steamer; his boat was challenged, and the order being that no boat was to be allowed alongside during the night, he shot past down the stream before it could be clearly ascertained who he was, and without the possibility or opportunity of his reaching us that night. He appeared next morning, and brought five boxes with him, containing the jewellery and valuables belonging to the Camaratta family.

49. During the night of the 8th, as we lay anchored off Sagyne, large fires were seen to be burning in the direction of Mandalay, and on the morning of the 9th, as we proceeded down the stream, heavy clouds of smoke appeared to hang over the devoted city or its suburbs.

The signs of war or insurrection were very manifest as we proceeded on our course. At each of the towns we passed parties of armed men were seen, and war boats filled with men passed continually up and down the stream, apparently ready to join the standard of revolt and help in the general disrupture of the country. In some instances they were pronounced to be King's troops returning after an unsuccessful attempt to entrap the rebel Myeengoon Mentha; in others they

they were declared to belong to the Pudyne Mentha: we asked no questions, and continued on our way with apparent unconcern.

50. As we reached the town of Magway on 10th instant, a small boat came up to us, and I was informed by one of its occupants that the Myeengoon Mentha was at Magway in great force, and that he held possession of the country as far as the frontier station of Menhla. He had attacked Menhla, it was said, and removed from thence the treasure collected in the Custom-house, as well as a few guns which he had placed in position on board his steamer.

51. It seemed somewhat doubtful whether the Mentha might not attempt to obstruct our passage, with a view to obtain possession of the steamer "Nerbudda." The steamer which he already possessed, the "Yaynan Sekia," was known to be a much faster and more powerful boat than the "Nerbudda," and, being well armed and unencumbered with a flat filled with European families, might easily have run down upon, or into, us with certain ruinous effect.

52. As we approached Magway we descried the Prince's steamer, apparently with steam up: my determination was to pass her by without any notice, but if challenged and pursued, to stop and go on board myself for the purpose of holding a personal conference with the Mentha. When nearly abreast of the steamer a boat pushed off to us from the "Yaynan Sekia" with merely a Lascar crew on board; the boat was allowed to come alongside, and the Serang in charge informed me that the Mentha was friendly disposed, and had sent overtures to the English Government at Rangoon for assistance or co-operation: Captain Reilly was reported to be well. He was kindly treated on board, but not allowed to leave the steamer. We sent him some supplies which he asked for, and continued our course. The same evening we reached Menhla, the Burmese frontier customs station, which had been partly destroyed, and was now in the possession of the rebel government, and arrived early the next morning at Thayetmyo.

53. It was no little relief and satisfaction to find that those, many of them with experience gained by long years of residence at the Burmese capital, who believed their lives in danger, and who had sought my protection as refugees from a scene of insurrection and civil war, were at last in safety and within British territory.

54. I have thus attempted to relate the several incidents connected with the insurrectionary movement at Mandalay, and the causes which induced me to leave my post at the capital. I will now, for the sake of further elucidation, briefly recapitulate a few of the circumstances which immediately influenced my conduct, and led me, of necessity as it were, to adopt a course of action which, as an essential condition to success, it was necessary to carry out with decision, and not without disregarding in some respects, perhaps, mere personal interests and responsibilities:

1st. The state of the country did not improve, but rather grew worse since the date of the insurrection on 2nd instant.

2nd. Though the King was still in his palace when I left Mandalay on 8th instant, the city might almost be said to be in a state of siege. The Pudyne Mentha (eldest son of the murdered Crown Prince) had been joined by a large force of his father's troops, who had a special interest in placing the Mentha on the throne, and who, therefore, refused every offer of mediation.

3rd. Several other Menthas, or aspirants to chief power, were in the field collecting troops and aiding in the work of general insecurity and disorganisation, so that, whether the present king remained on his throne, or the kingdom passed over to the victorious Pudyne Mentha, a state of comparative anarchy would naturally ensue, terminable, perhaps, only after the lapse of several months.

4th. The Chief Minister, the Pakhan Mengyee, had distinctly informed me that he could not guarantee the safety of either the lives or property of European residents.

5th. Lawless bands of dacoits and marauders had already begun to infest

and plunder the suburbs; the city had been fired in different places by incendiaries, and even the Crown Prince's palace burnt.

6th. The chief city authority, as well as the King's own private messenger, had both officially and advisedly warned me that I ought not to remain.

7th. The English steamer had been seized by the King's government and used against the enemy in a way which was sure to be resented, because no means existed of entering into explanation with the Pudyne Mentha, and of assuring the minds of his people that the English had not taken part in destroying his troops.

55. But, leaving aside all the above considerations, the responsibility remained with me of deciding, not only a matter in which my own safety was concerned, but of determining at a moment's notice, and at a time of general anxiety and confusion, whether a step (which, though it may have involved doubt as regarded mere personal responsibility, or the commission of even an error in judgment) was not justified by the chances, or rather certainty it held out, of safety and protection to defenceless families, who believed, not without good reason, that their lives were in danger.

56. And with reference more personally to my own departure from Mandalay, I conceive that it is necessary, in determining upon the propriety, or otherwise, of such a move as apart from the necessities by which it was brought about, to bear in mind, or rather to ask, the question, whether, by remaining where I was, any object or purpose was being effected which could have in any way contributed to the public good, or to the end for which my appointment at Mandalay was created?

57. My own opinion is, that when my life was positively endangered (as I think I have shown it was), it was prudent to seize upon the means of removal, and avoid the complication which must have ensued upon the self-sacrifice of a Political Officer for the good, or, perhaps, possible evil, of his country.

* * * * *

64. I have merely to remark, in conclusion, on the course which I consider it advisable to adopt at the present crisis of events in Upper Burmah.

65. I propose that a steamer be placed at my disposal for immediate return to Mandalay. With this steamer it would be my object to keep open the communication between the capital and the frontier, and being on the spot, I should be able to watch and report events exactly as they occurred.

66. It would be an object at the same time to rescue Captain Reilly from his somewhat precarious position on board the Myeengoon Mentha's steamer, and afford protection further to any parties of European extraction left at Mandalay who, owing to the spread of the insurrection and the probable destruction of the city and suburbs, might be either in distress, or without the means of support or subsistence.

67. My return to the capital would, I think, give confidence to whichever party was in power, and might tend in some degree to the pacification of the country.

LIST of DOCUMENTS accompanying letter, No. 30, of 22nd August 1866.

Marked (A.)—List of Princes, &c., killed or wounded on 2nd August 1866 at the Summer Palace.

Do. (B.)—List of Princes in arms against the Government, or for their own protection.

Do. (C.)—Copy of letter, No. 28, of 3rd August 1866.

Do. (D.)—Copy of letter from Dr. Williams, dated 7th August 1866.

Do. (E.)—Copy of letter, No. 29, of 10th August 1866.

Do. (F.)—Copy of original written order directing seizure of steamer by the King.

Do. (G.)—Translation of Royal Order.

Rangoon,
22nd August 1866.

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Agent to Chief Commissioner, B. B.

(A.)

LIST of PRINCES and HIGH OFFICIALS killed or wounded at the Summer Palace during the outbreak of the Revolution on 2nd August 1866.

Crown Prince (Gyne Shay-men)	Brother of King	Killed.
Melloon Mentha	Eldest son of King	Do.
Peenizee Mentha	Brother of Melloon Mentha	Do.
Sagoo Mentha	Son of the King	Do.
Myadoung Mengyee	War Minister	Do.
Loung Shoay Mengyee	Fourth Minister	Wounded.
Menhla Ken Wongyee	Governor of Menhla and Western Provinces	Killed.
Thooyai-Won	Governor of Eastern Provinces	Do.
Toung Dawai Bo	Military Commandant of high rank and influence	Do.
Lai-Won-Thandanzen	High official	Wounded.
Moung-Po-Thandanzen	Ditto	Killed.
Yaw-at-Wen-won	Ex-Minister of Interior	Missing.

Rangoon,
22nd August 1866.

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Agent to Chief Commissioner, B. B.

(B.)

LIST of PRINCES who had collected Troops and were in arms in various parts of the country when I left the capital on 8th August 1866.

1. Pudyne Mentha - Eldest son of late Crown Prince at Shoay Bo.
2. Thonzay Mentha - Eldest surviving son of King (since death of Melloon Mentha) at Aloun Myoo.
3. Myeengoon Mentha } Brothers; commenced the insurrection; sons of the King at Magway.
4. Myeengoon-daing Mentha }
5. Nyoung-Yan Mentha - Half-brother of Myeengoon Mentha; supposed to be raising troops in Shan States.
6. Kyeppidoung Mentha - Adopted son of King with Myeengoon Mentha.
7. Bo-moo-Mentha-Tha - Related to the Royal Family; supposed to be raising troops in the Shan States.

Rangoon,
22nd August 1866.

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Agent to Chief Commissioner, B. B.

(C.)

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Agent to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Dr. *Clement Williams*, Agent to Irrawaddy Flotilla Company; No. 28, dated Mandalay, 3rd August 1866.

WITH reference to the verbal arrangement entered into with you yesterday for the recall of the steamer "Nerbudda" from Sagyne, and the fact of your having so obligingly placed the vessel at my disposal for Government service, I have the honour to inform you that I consider it advisable during the present crisis to detain her here until matters become somewhat settled.

2. The steamer is, I am aware, moored at present in mid-stream, and has been put into as defensible a position as the means at our disposal will admit. It will be necessary, I think, to lay in a good supply of rice (say 50 baskets) and provisions generally, as procurable, to meet possible contingencies. I shall be obliged by your making arrangements to this effect.

3. Very many applications are being made for freight and passage to Rangoon. I am of opinion that they should not be granted for the present, or until, with reference to the capabilities of the steamer, the number of applications, and the necessities of each case, we can ascertain the circumstances of those who may have a prior claim to protection.

P.S.—I shall be glad to learn as early as possible from yourself the number of passengers on both the steamer and flat to whom you have already granted passage-tickets, as well as what available space there may be for cargo in excess of that already taken in on board.

(D.)

From Dr. *Clement Williams*, Agent to Irrawaddy Flotilla Company, to the Agent to Chief Commissioner Mandalay; dated on board the Steamer "Nerbudda," 7th August 1866.

In reference to the seizure of this steamer by His Majesty the King of Burmah with your sanction, I have the honour to state that, on behalf of the Irrawaddy Flotilla and Burmah Steam Navigation Company, I hereby protest against this seizure without the Burmese Government giving any guarantee of reimbursement for damages sustained. The damage suffered by such a seizure must include various accounts.

2. The moment you inform me that it is no longer necessary to keep the vessel here on public grounds, I am bound to despatch her to Rangoon with the cargo entrusted to her.

3. The seizure prevents my doing so.

4. The result is that the cargo is here in jeopardy, when it might be on the way to Rangoon in time to escape danger. The delay itself is money value to the shippers.

5. A large quantity of valuable freight I must now refuse.

6. Even if no accident happens to the steamer or flat, the damage to the Company's interest will be very great. The disappointment and failure of promise will injure the Company's influence or connection here in a trading point of view.

7. The Woongyee declined to enter into an engagement to reimburse me for all damages incurred.

8. I must state that the owners of the vessels will hold the seizing authorities responsible for all damages and penalties, and for due compensation for the loss of the services of the vessels at such an important period.

9. Should the steamer be lost or irreparably injured, a lakh of rupees will be expected as indemnity and 40,000 rupees for the flat.

10. As you have sanctioned this seizure, the owners will naturally regard the British Government as guarantee for the Burmese Government in reference to all just compensation.

11. The captain and crew refuse to leave the vessel. Under these circumstances, I think it advisable that some one understanding the Burmese people should be on board.

12. You will kindly note that at once on the King's agent coming to take possession I stated to you that, were it not for the sake of the safety of yourself and the Europeans here, I should at once remove the steamer from the King's troops' reach and steam away to Rangoon. The consequences of such a step would be insurance of the owner and shippers' property and of those on board; but the resentment of the Burmese Government would be visited on you and others. I was therefore compelled to yield to the forcible seizure.

13. I have duly warned the captain and crew that, if he remains on board, it must be at his own risk and on his own responsibility, and have mentioned to him the law forbidding British subjects to perform military duties on behalf of alien governments without special permission.

14. The fact of all my documents and cash being on board, as well as a large quantity of specie belonging to other people, renders the safety of the vessel a question of extreme moment.

(E.)

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Agent to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Dr. *Clement Williams*, Agent to Irrawaddy Flotilla Company; No. 29, dated on board the Steamer "Nerbudda," 10th August, 1866.

I have the honour to inform you that, as soon as we reach British territory, I shall consider the steamer "Nerbudda" at your disposal, with the proviso that all those who have sought protection to life and property in her be allowed to continue their passages to Rangoon, if so inclined.

2. I am

2. I am of opinion that all passengers are liable for the amount of their own passage fares. Should, however, there be any who, either from distressed circumstances or losses incurred in leaving Mandalay, may be unable to pay what is due, I beg you will hold me liable for the same in the name of the British Government.

3. All bills and vouchers on account of expenses or damage incurred by reason of the steamer's detention at Mandalay under the circumstances mentioned in my letter, No. 28, of 3rd instant, should be prepared and sent to me as soon as possible I will submit them to Government for immediate payment.

(F.)

COPY of original written Order directing Seizure of Steamer by the King.

(In Burmese.)

(G.)

TRANSLATION of Royal Order—Document marked (F.)

"THE King wanted (the steamer Nerbudda); he consulted the agent to the Chief Commissioner, but could not come to terms. He therefore feels compelled, on account of pressing State emergencies, to seize and retain temporary possession (of the steamer)."

THE above Royal Order was recorded and proclaimed by Nukhan Dan-nay-myoo-nanda-meik-see-thoo on 12th decrease of the moon Dootiyah Wahzo in the year 1228, Burman era.

LET the steamer be seized and occupied in accordance with above Royal Order.

ORDER of Magway Woongyee and Pakhan Woongyee, given on 12th decrease of the moon Dootiyah Wahzo in the Burman year 1228, and recorded by Wondouk Dan Akhon-won-men.

From Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C.B., Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General,—No. 150-37, dated Rangoon, the 27th August 1866.

UP to the present time I have not received any additional news of importance from Mandalay. It is still uncertain who in the struggle now going on will be victorious.

2. The Myeengoon Prince, who first raised the rebellion, is understood to be gradually moving up towards the capital. The Pudyne Prince, the son of the murdered Crown Prince, is supposed to be urging his followers to the same point.

3. The King, still in the city palace, it is reported, has been joined by one of his sons, who at first had fled. This son, the Thouzay Prince, has influence in the Shan States, and might bring a considerable force to support the King. It is this last circumstance which now makes me doubt if the troubles will be decided so quickly as I at first expected. The appearance of the Thouzay Prince may prolong the civil war for some time.

From the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah,—No. 934, dated Simla, the 14th September 1866.

I HAVE had the honour to submit to the Governor General in Council your letter dated 25th ultimo, No. 143-31, forwarding a further report by Captain Sladen of the principal events connected with the insurrection at Mandalay,

and in reply am directed to inform you, that his Excellency in Council, though he will not actually prohibit your going to Mandalay, should you think it expedient to do so, is nevertheless of opinion that it will be better for you to wait at Thayetmyo and watch the progress of events. His Excellency in Council is also of opinion, that Captain Sladen should not return to his post at present, as there is nothing to be gained by this step.

2. With reference to the question of compensation mooted in the 6th paragraph of your letter, I am desired to state that the Government will not entertain any claims for compensation on account of private property abandoned or destroyed at Mandalay, but that the hire of the steamer "Nerbudda" may legitimately be defrayed from the public funds, because she was recalled to the capital at the desire of Captain Sladen, the British representative.

3. Instructions to the above effect were telegraphed to you on the 8th instant.

4. Your letter, No. 150-37, dated 27th ultimo, has also been received by me and laid before the Governor General in Council.

Foreign Department.—Political.—No. 181.

The Governor General of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India, dated the 23rd October 1866.

From Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, dated 18 September 1866, No. 159.
From Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, dated 24 September 1866, No. 166.
Telegram from Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, dated 15 October 1866.
Telegram to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, dated 16 October 1866.

In continuation of our Despatch, No. 161, dated 21st ultimo, we have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of the further papers noted on the margin regarding the state of affairs in the Burmese territory.

2. Your Lordship will perceive, that we have consented to Colonel Phayre's proceeding to Mandalay, should he think it safe and desirable to do so, and that we have directed that officer, in the event of his adopting such a course, to take a sufficient escort with him.

From Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C.B., Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General,—No. 159-52, dated Thayetmyo, the 18th September 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, that affairs in the Burmese territory appear to remain in the same state as already reported. The King is still shut up in his palace in the city of Mandalay; his nephew, the son of the murdered Crown Prince, is still at the town of Shwé-bo, to the north-west of Mandalay. It does not appear that his strength has increased. The Myengoon Prince, who commenced the disturbance, has the King's steamer, which he originally took possession of, and is now somewhere about Ye-nan-gyoung, about 100 miles beyond the British frontier. By means of this steamer the rebel Prince holds possession of the river, and communication with the capital is difficult. It does not appear, however, that the rebel Prince has any possession ashore, or any influence beyond the mere terror which the steamer creates.

2. There are at this place two steamers belonging to the King of Burmah but the commanders do not like to venture up the river, as they are not armed, and have, in fact, no men on board who would encounter the desperate characters whom the rebel Prince has under his command.

3. With reference to your telegram of the 10th instant, I will wait at this place and watch the progress of events. Captain Sladen will also await further orders.

From Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C.B, Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General,—No. 166-53, dated Thayetmyo, the 24th September 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, that two steamers belonging to the King of Burmah, which remained at this place, proceeded up the River Irrawaddy yesterday.

2. It appears that the Burmese Governor on the frontier did not wish them to pass beyond British territory until he had collected armed men to man them. They have, therefore, now proceeded into the Burmese territory, and it is presumed will endeavour to take possession of the steamer held by the rebel Prince, called the "Myengoon Prince."

3. The several parties opposed to each other remain much as before, but the King is stronger than he was a month ago.

SERVICE MESSAGE.

From Prome, dated the 15th October 1866.
From Colonel Phayre.
To Simla.
To Foreign Secretary.

"THERE is now a good opening for me to go to Mandalay; the Myengoon Prince has come in the country; south of the capital quiet; there will be no difficulty on the way up. By going now, I shall more readily obtain the objects on view than if I delayed: trade, which has been all but stopped, will at once revive. I propose to take a small escort. Full news report will go by mail."

SERVICE MESSAGE.

From Simla, dated the 16th October 1866.
From Foreign Secretary.
To Prome
To Colonel Phayre.

"YOUR message of 15th October received. If you think that a visit to Mandalay is safe and desirable, the Viceroy sanctions your going. His Excellency leaves the matter to your own discretion; but desires that you take a sufficient escort."

Political Department.—(No. 98.)

EXTRACT Despatch from Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 24 December 1866.

Insurrection at Mandalay.

Para. 2. THE most important letters are those (Nos. 161 and 181) which report the measures of your Government in consequence of the recent revolution at Mandalay. You have sanctioned the visit of Colonel Phayre to the disturbed district; but wisely instructed him not to proceed thither without a suitable escort. I await with much interest further advices on the subject.

Foreign Department.—Political.—(No. 194.)

The Governor General of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India, dated 8 December 1866.

IN continuation of our Despatch, No. 181, dated 23rd October last, we have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy

of a further report from the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah on the state of affairs in Burmah Proper.

2. We have approved of Colonel Phayre's views and proposals regarding his visit to Mandalay; but with reference to the arrangements for the Myeengoon Prince and his brother, who, it will be observed, have taken refuge in British territory, we prefer to await the recommendations which Colonel Phayre may be in a position to make after his arrival at the capital and his interview with the King of Burmah. At present, considering the conduct of these princes, we feel indisposed to allow them more than a mere maintenance.

EXTRACTS from LETTER from Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C.B., Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, Simla,—No. 63-192, dated Prome, the 15th October 1866.

I HAVE the honour to report, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, the state of affairs in the Burmese territory since the date of my last Despatch up to the present time.

2. On the 6th instant the steamer belonging to the King of Burmah, which had been seized by the rebel Prince, Myeengoon Mentha, arrived at Thayetmyo. The Prince was on board, with his younger brother and a relation, Kyoukpadoung-tsa, not belonging to the royal family, but called an adopted son of the King; he is, I believe, maternal uncle to the two young princes. It appeared that the steamer, called in English the "Honesty," had been attacked by the two King's steamers which had proceeded up from Rangoon, and were under the command of the governor of the frontier districts.

3. The Myeengoon Prince, according to his own account, did not wish to fight against his father's forces; he, therefore, when attacked, ordered that the steamer was to be so manœuvred as to escape. This was done, and the "Honesty" came down the river, pursued by the other steamers until within a few miles of the British frontier.

4. As soon as she reached Thayetmyo I sent Major Ripley, the Deputy Commissioner of Prome, and Captain H. Duncan, the Inspector General of Police, on board. I had given orders that the prince was to be informed that all arms must be given up, and that he must proceed to Rangoon, where he would be housed as comfortably as could be until orders regarding him could be received from his Excellency the Viceroy; that in the meantime the steamer must be given up at Rangoon, as being the King's property.

* * * * * *

6. The steamer, with the two princes, left Thayetmyo on the 7th instant. I have heard by telegraph of their arrival at Rangoon. They have not yet had a house got ready for them, but that will be done in a day or two more.

7. Since the 6th instant the intelligence which I have received from beyond the frontier shows that the country of the Irrawaddy Valley, between the British territory and the capital, is entirely under the King's officers. It is true that the Padyne Prince, the son of the murdered Crown Prince, is in arms to the north of the capital; but his power is now much weakened, and he cannot be considered as being likely to hold his ground. His chief desire, he has always stated, was to see his father's murderers punished; their exile will, at least, be a strong argument to advance to him that he has no longer any ostensible reason for continuing in arms.

8. On the other hand, it appears very desirable that, in order to secure favourable commercial terms without any undue pressure, I should appear at Mandalay as soon as possible: I shall be able to take up the King's steamer and restore it to him as a friendly act. My going up will entirely restore trade, which has much slackened, and, indeed, for some 50 miles south of the capital has actually ceased. My presence at the capital will, I feel convinced, prevent any destruction of the property of British merchants, a good deal of which was left there. It is true the King has done his best to protect it, and I trust that much less damage has been done than was at first anticipated. By being at Mandalay I feel sure of being able to save what remains. There is no probability at all of my being drawn into any hostility with the Padyne Prince's party,

party, and I shall abstain from all direct support of the King's party. I also feel assured that I shall be welcomed as a friend by all parties, and not as an intruder.

9. My mission originally was to have been undertaken by myself, with one assistant, Mr. R. S. Edwards. I have become so well known to, and have established such friendly personal relations with, the Burmese Court, that I felt I could proceed to Mandalay in this simple fashion without in the least impairing the dignity of his Excellency the Viceroy, whom I have the honour to represent. But the outbreak of the 2nd of August last has altered the position of affairs; it is now necessary to appear with more form and ceremony. I have therefore deemed it to be advisable to go up the Irrawaddy in a steamer, and to take with me an escort of British infantry. The escort will not exceed 60 men in all; they will be on board a troop-boat, which will be towed by the steamer. I at the same time take up with me the King's steamer, which was brought away by the Myeengoon Prince. Captain Sladen will accompany me. I propose that he should remain when I leave, if all events shall render that step advisable.

10. I am unable at present to make any distinct recommendation regarding the Myeengoon Prince and his brother. I trust that his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council will allow me to support both in a way becoming their rank, but at the same time without showing any sympathy with their acts. I shall see that their followers are reduced down to a number sufficient for the comfort of household requirements. I will endeavour to bring down the elder Prince's wife and children, as being the best way of having a hold on himself, and inducing him, should he not return to the King, his father, to abandon his ambitious projects, at all events for the present. I hope I am right in already having informed him that he cannot be allowed to go towards the Burmese frontier, as that would at once cause great disturbance. He may possibly ask to be allowed to go to Calcutta. I beg that I may be favoured with orders as to what I am to do in that case.

From *J. W. S. Wyllie*, Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah,—No. 1168, dated Camp Agra, the 24th November 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 15th ultimo., No. 63, giving further intelligence as to the state of affairs in Burmah Proper.

2. In reply, I am directed to inform you that the Governor General in Council approves of your views and proposals regarding your visit to Mandalay; but with reference to the arrangements for the Myeengoon Prince and his brother, his Excellency in Council will await your recommendations after you may have arrived at the capital and seen the King of Burmah. At present his Excellency in Council is of opinion that, considering the conduct of these princes, nothing more than a mere maintenance should be given them.

(Political Department, No. 33.)

The Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 28 February 1867.

I HAVE considered in Council the letter of your Excellency's Government, dated 8 December (No. 194) 1866, with enclosures, in which Colonel Phayre reports the arrival of the fugitive Burmese princes within British territory, the arrangements for their temporary location at Rangoon, and his own approaching departure to Mandalay. In reply, I have to intimate to you the approval of Her Majesty's Government of the orders passed by you in your Under Secretary's letter of the 24th November last, No. 1168, and to express a hope that Colonel Phayre's visit may be conducive to the maintenance of the present friendly relations between the Government of your Excellency and that of Burmah.

(signed) *Cranborne.*

(Foreign Department.—Political.—No. 14.)

The Governor General of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India, dated the 23rd January 1867.

No. 181, dated 23 October. No. 194, dated 8 December.

In continuation of our Despatches, noted in the margin, regarding the commercial mission to the Court of Mandalay undertaken by the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, we have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copies of two letters from Lieutenant Colonel Phayre, giving an account of his negotiations with the Burmese Government, and submitting recommendations as to the course which should be followed in consequence of his having failed to obtain the object for which he was despatched.

2. We also forward a copy of our orders in reply.

3. Your Lordship will perceive that we have empowered the Chief Commissioner to inform the King of the dissatisfaction with which we view the attitude taken by his Majesty in disallowing the very moderate and reasonable requisition of the British Envoy. Further, we are of opinion that, as a measure of retaliation, the export duties formerly levied by our Customs officers on the Burmese frontier should, as suggested by Colonel Phayre, be reimposed with effect from June next; and, subject to the sanction of Her Majesty's Government, which we now solicit, instructions to that effect have already been issued by us.

4. Our attention has been drawn to the valuable service rendered to the mission by the Right Rev. the Bishop Bigandet. We have already desired Colonel Phayre to convey the thanks of the Government of India to the bishop, but we would further beg to recommend that our high appreciation of the prelate's good offices may, if your Lordship think proper, be communicated through Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to the Government of His Majesty the Emperor of the French.

Extracts from Letter from Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, c.b., Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—No. 218-5000, dated Thayetmyo, the 10th December 1866.

2. During the period of my stay at Mandalay, which extended over one month, I have had constant interviews and prolonged discussions with the principal Woongyee, styled Pakhan Mengyee, regarding the necessity for an improved arrangement to regulate the trade between the two countries. I have also been received four times by the King of Burmah. I regret to report that my efforts to obtain a satisfactory settlement for future commercial intercourse have been unavailing. It would be useless for me to relate in detail the discussions of each day; I will, therefore, state briefly the terms which I insisted upon, the terms to which the Burmese minister acceded, and those which he finally refused to admit. The better to elucidate the final position of the negotiation, I have the honour to enclose the draft Treaty which we had agreed to; and I have added thereto the two articles on which I insisted, but which the Burmese minister stated he had no orders to consent to.

* * * * *

4. I will now proceed to narrate briefly the terms proposed, those acceded to, and those rejected. It will be recollected that Article 8 of the Treaty of the 10th November 1862 provided that, "should the British Ruler within one year abolish the duties taken at Thayetmyo and Toungoo, the Burmese Ruler would, if so inclined, after one, two, three, or four years, abolish the duties taken at Maloon." The main portion of the negotiation as to commercial affairs was based upon this article. The Treaty, of which it forms a part, settled satisfactorily the question of Customs duties at the Chinese frontier of the Burmese territory and on the sea-board of the British territory, so that goods coming from sea for China, or from China to go to seaward, pay only the nominal duty of one per cent. on entering either country. What remained was to effect a fair settlement regarding frontier duties, payable where the Burmese and British territories joined, on goods coming from the latter to be consumed in Burmah; to secure, if not free trade, a moderate rate of duty; and to have an effectual guarantee against dishonest practices,

practices at the frontier custom-houses, which, if not guarded against, neutralise the benefits which might be derived from the provisions of any treaty. In addition to these terms, I consider it essential to insist upon the necessity of all articles of commerce, excepting precious stones and petroleum, being free to be sold by the owners thereof to any purchaser; for the King has monopolised some of the most important products of the country, as cotton, raw sugar, and, to some extent, timber, so that the sale and export of them can be stopped at any moment; and the supply of them is materially diminished by means of the arbitrary interference, which deprives the people of profit and checks enterprise. Further, it was necessary to secure to foreign traders at Mandalay a safer and surer settlement of suits and disputes in mercantile business than is possible under the Burmese Civil Courts. This I proposed to provide for, by giving the agent to the Chief Commissioner at Mandalay exclusive jurisdiction in such cases. The above terms I considered absolutely necessary for a satisfactory arrangement of future commercial intercourse with Burmah.

5. Considering the financial difficulties of the Burmese Government, I admitted that they could not altogether give up their frontier duties. I, therefore, in Articles 1, 2, and 3 of the draft Treaty, a copy of which is enclosed, consented that they should be allowed to levy a five per cent. *ad valorem* duty on imports and exports, to have effect from April 1868, and to last for 10 years. I allowed until April 1868 in order to give the King time to restore his finances somewhat after the late disturbances. At the expiration of 10 years the rate was by consent to be either lowered or raised. As long as the rate did not exceed five per cent., the British Government was not to levy frontier duties. Practically, after 10 years, it would scarcely have been possible for the Burmese Government to raise the *ad valorem* duty higher than five per cent. Article 4 provided for a list of articles of import and export, and their tariff prices, for the levy of duty being delivered annually by the Burmese Government. Articles 5 and 6 provided for officers being placed by either Government at places in the territory of the other, where customs duty may be, or is, levied, to hear and report upon complaints by merchants as to any payments demanded by officials not warranted by the Treaty. Article 7 provided for the free export and import of gold and silver, hitherto prohibited by the Burmese, and for the import of arms from British territory.

6. The above articles refer to trade and customs duties. The next four provided for the material surrender of persons charged with the crimes of murder, robbery, dacoity, or theft, and who shall fly and take refuge in the territory of the other Government. Due care is taken to test the evidence in each case. Provision is also made for the trial of a subject of either Government who may commit any such crime in the territory of the other and fly back to the territory of his own Government.

7. The articles above described were agreed to by both sides. It will only be necessary for me to explain the arrangement regarding arms. I agreed to this solely on the condition that the whole of my propositions to be mentioned below were acceded to. I was induced to do this from the following considerations:— It is of paramount importance to British Burmah to have unfettered trade with Upper Burmah. It is essential to ensure security for our merchants against official oppression and obstruction in their dealings, and in the disputes which may arise with Burmese subjects. The question was whether, in consideration of all I required on these points being conceded, it was worth while to give up the frontier duties on the British side of the border and to allow the Burmese Government to import arms. Those were the two concessions I proposed to make, and in return I required that British subjects and trade generally should be effectually protected against oppression, annoyance, and interference. Regarding the propriety of the first concession, I believe there can be no doubt. As regards the second, I was authorized in 1862 to grant the point if found to be necessary; I did not find it necessary then, and therefore left it unnoticed. * * * * Considering the state of affairs, I am of opinion that the danger, political or military, of allowing arms to be purchased by the Burmese is reduced to a mimimum, and that, if the concessions I required had been granted, the privilege of purchasing arms and powder, though, as concerns the Burmese Government, great, would, as regards British interests and risks, be small indeed. It must also be considered that the Burmese Government really require arms to maintain

order both in Burmah Proper and in the Shan States. If, therefore, it is for the interest of the British Government to have the neighbouring country quiet and orderly, positive advantage is likely to be derived from the concession. On these grounds, therefore, I agreed to include in the Treaty an Article allowing the purchase of arms in British territory by the Burmese Government.

8. The Articles numbered 8, 9, 10, and 11, which refer to the extradition of criminals and trial of persons charged with offences, do not require detailed remark. I considered it advisable to restrict the arrangement to the four crimes which are most frequent on the border; for, as the Burmese Government required strict reciprocity, it was necessary to adopt precautions for testing evidence in each case before any accused person should be delivered up. To have extended the arrangement to criminal offences generally would have led to much inconvenience.

9. There are two remaining Articles, numbered 12 and 13, in the draft, regarding which the discussions were very prolonged. They proposed to provide for suits between British subjects, or those in which they were defendants, being decided by the British agent at Mandalay, and for all monopolies being done away with, except those in a few articles, the sale of which it may be admitted the Sovereign may legitimately control. From these exceptions it is considered that no general inconvenience would be felt by the people of either country.

10. With respect to Article No. 12, the Burmese Woongyee contended earnestly for two points: 1st, that in suits decided by the British agent, an appeal should lie to the Burmese High Court; and, 2nd, that a similar right should be secured for Burmese subjects at Rangoon; that is, that if a Burmese agent were appointed at Rangoon, that he should have jurisdiction in cases where Burmese subjects were concerned. The appeal at Mandalay I would not consent to; such an arrangement would have made the process of collecting debts and settling accounts by merchants as tedious and as uncertain as it is now. With regard to the Burmese agent at Rangoon, the Woongyee said it was only asked for as a point of honour, so that it might not be said by those who read the Treaty the British by their superiority of force had made the Burmese succumb. I have no doubt this was the only objection, and probably they never would have put an agent at Rangoon; indeed, the Woongyee candidly admitted they could not trust an agent of their own with any authority at Rangoon. However, I at once told him I would not admit the reciprocal Article on this point which he required. Finally, the King himself intimated that, if I would consent to give up Article 12, he pledged himself to issue a decree giving the whole authority asked for to the British agent within his kingdom, but declining to give it under treaty unless corresponding authority was given to a Burmese agent. I consented to this arrangement provided Article 13 was agreed to.

11. The whole question of Treaty or no Treaty then turned upon Article 13, that is, no monopolies. I have no hesitation in saying that as long as the King of Burmah allows certain persons to have the right of purchasing produce at fixed rates from the producers, as cotton, raw sugar, cutch, and so on, that no satisfactory trade can exist between the two countries. Any agreement as to rates of duty is, as far as monopolized articles are concerned, of comparatively little importance. What is required is entire freedom for the seller and buyer. This point was one on which the Woongyee plainly gave me to understand he had no orders; in other words, he was not allowed to discuss it. The King himself intimated through other channels that he could not dispense with the monopolies; that the state of his finances required them; that his wish was gradually to drop them, but that at present he could not promise to do so. Under these circumstances, I finally informed the Woongyee that I could not sign any treaty. I observed that with two countries so close together as ours, trade should be as unfettered as possible, and that the restrictions imposed and maintained did not bear out the appearance of the friendly professions which had been made. The demeanour of the Woongyee and the personal bearing of the King were certainly friendly, but nothing would move the latter regarding the monopolies.

12. I considered it better to sign no additional treaty than to agree to one which,

which, allowing monopolies to continue, indeed, thereby guaranteeing them, must inevitably produce more poverty in one country and more dissatisfaction in the other. I trust, therefore, it will appear to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council that in refusing to sign a treaty unless monopolies were abandoned, I have acted for the true interests of British Burmah.

13. On my departure from Mandalay I deemed it necessary to address the Woongyee regarding the construction of Article 7 of the Treaty of 1862; that Article provides that "traders from the British territory * * * * who may travel in the Burmese territory * * * * shall be allowed to purchase whatever they may require." I pointed out that there is here no restriction whatever admitted. If, therefore, a trader from the British territory finds a person the lawful owner of produce which he is willing to sell, the former may purchase it. There is after that nothing to prevent him from exporting such produce under the existing tariff. This point, which has never been distinctly admitted by the Burmese Government, but also has not been denied, will, to some extent, mitigate the evil of monopolies. But it is still in the power of a despotic Government, like that of Burmah, so to intimidate owners of produce that they would not dare to sell it, except to purchasers approved by the Government. It may possibly be necessary seriously to warn the Burmese Government against any such infringement of the whole spirit of the Treaty of 1862.

14. Finally, before leaving I wrote to the Woongyee, announcing that, as no arrangement had been made by the Burmese Government regarding the frontier duties in the spirit of Article 8 of the Treaty of 1862, the British Government would consider the propriety of reimposing the frontier duties as they existed at the time when that Treaty was concluded. I shall have the honour to address you upon that subject in a separate Despatch.

DRAFT of TREATY negotiated with the Burmese Chief Woongyee at Mandalay in November and December 1866.

Article 1.—GOODS imported into the Burmese territory from British territory, or other western countries, as likewise goods imported from the Burmese territory to British territory, or other western countries, shall be liable, with the exception of goods reserved by the Burmese Government, to the payment of five per cent. duty *ad valorem* from the 1st day of the Burmese year 1230* during the term of 10 years. Import or export duty shall be levied once only at the frontier, and no other charges shall be made on accouut of the conveyance of goods from one place to another, or on any other account.

* April 1868.

Article 2.—After the expiration of the term of 10 years, as provided in Article 1, when taking into consideration the capabilities of the merchants and people, if it should be deemed necessary either to decrease the rate of the five per cent. duty to three per cent., or to increase it to seven and a half per cent., or to 10 per cent., and no more, *ad valorem*, to be levied once only, it may be done, and no other charges shall be made for the conveyance of goods from one place to another, or on any other account. Three months' previous notice shall be given of the change in the rate of duty, namely, in what year, and on what goods it is to have effect.

Article 3.—During the term that the Burmese Government, under Article 1, shall levy the five per cent. duty, or a lesser rate of duty, the English Government shall, in accordance with Article 8 of the Treaty of 1224 (1862), exempt all goods from the payment of any duty. If the rate of duty levied by the Burmese Government at the expiration of 10 years should exceed five per cent. and up to 10 per cent. *ad valorem*, the English Government may likewise levy duty not exceeding 10 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Article 4.—A list of all goods under Articles 1 and 2, with the market prices thereof, shall be furnished to the agent of the Chief Commissioner within two months after the conclusion of this Treaty for the year 1228 (1867-68), and the market value of goods may hereafter be altered with the consent of the British agent and a new list be given for each year.

Article 5.—A British officer may be appointed at any place within Burmese territory where customs duty is levied, to hear complaints regarding trade or customs duty; he shall be allowed to purchase ground to build a suitable brick house for his residence.

Article 6.—A Burmese officer may be appointed at any place within British territory where customs duty is levied, to hear complaints regarding trade or customs duty, who shall be allowed to purchase ground to build a suitable brick house for his residence.

Article 7.—In accordance with the existing great friendship between the two countries, Burmese or British subjects shall not be prohibited from importing or exporting gold and silver from one country to the other, but shall be at liberty to do so. The Burmese Government shall not be prohibited from obtaining guns, swivels, muskets, lead, powder, flints, and warlike ammunition, but shall be allowed to purchase whatever they may require.

Article 8.—A person, being a Burmese subject, who may be accused of having committed murder, dacoity, robbery, or theft within Burmese territory, and who may be found taking refuge in British territory, shall be delivered up to the Burmese Government, provided an investigation is first made by the Burmese authorities in conjunction with the British agent, and provided the said agent, being satisfied, affixes his signature to a written requisition for delivery, which shall be made by the Burmese Government to the British Government.

Article 9.—Any person, being a British subject, who may be accused of having committed murder, dacoity, robbery, or theft, within British territory, and who may be found taking refuge in Burmese territory, shall be delivered up to the British Government on a requisition being made to that effect by the British authorities, provided that, in case the Burmese Government thinks proper to appoint an agent (at Rangoon), the requisition shall be made according to the form laid down in the previous Article.

Article 10.—Any person, being a Burmese subject, who may be accused of having committed murder, robbery, dacoity, or theft within British territory, and who may be found taking refuge in Burmese territory, shall be apprehended and brought to trial according to the laws and procedure of Burmah. It shall be optional with the British Government in any such case to appoint a British official to be present at the trial of any person or persons so accused.

Article 11.—Any person, being a British subject, who may be accused of having committed murder, robbery, dacoity, or theft within Burmese territory, and who may be found taking refuge in British territory, shall be apprehended and brought to trial according to British law. It shall be optional with the Burmese Government to appoint a Burmese official to be present at the trial of any person or persons so accused.

Article 12.—British subjects coming into Burmese territory, and whose names have been registered by the British agent as British subjects permanently residing in Upper Burmah, shall be subject in all suits arising between them, or in which they are defendants, to the jurisdiction of the British agent. The Burmese Government will give effect to all orders and decrees on the application of the British agent.

Article 13.—The goods reserved by the Burmese Government under Article 1 are precious stones, jade stone, and petroleum; all other produce may be sold according to the will and pleasure of the owner, and the Burmese ruler will put no restriction on the sale and purchase of such produce.

EXTRACTS from LETTER from Colonel *A. P. Phayre*, C. B., Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 219-5001, dated Thayetmyo, the 10th December 1866.

IN my letter, No. 218-5000, of this date, I have detailed the provisions of the Treaty which, in accordance with the orders of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, I proposed to the Burmese Government, and have explained the

the circumstances under which I refused to conclude any agreement at all. I beg now to add a separate despatch showing how the negotiations were conducted, and to state what I beg respectfully to recommend consequent on the failure to effect any satisfactory arrangement.

2. It was the 7th December 1866 before I could land at Mandalay. Arrangements could not be made for me to have an audience with the King until the 12th idem. I was accompanied to the palace on this and on all other occasions by Captain Sladen, the agent at Mandalay, and by Mr. R. S. Edwards, collector of Customs at Rangoon. The reception was a formal one, which precluded the mention of business.

3. I had been accompanied from Rangoon by the French Bishop, the Right Reverend Dr. Bigandet, who has been for many years in Burmah, and is well known to the King. Two days after our arrival the bishop informed me that he had been received at a private audience by the King, who spoke on the subject of my mission. He was already aware of the general nature of what I had come to demand, but intimated that in the present state of his country, recently so deeply disturbed and still unsettled, he could not give sufficient attention to the negotiation of a treaty. It was evident that the King wished to postpone coming to any distinct understanding. At his request I sent to the palace a draft of what I proposed.

4. After visiting the Woongyees, or ministers of state, and a return visit having been paid by them to me on the 15th, the chief Woongyee, in reply to my inquiries, said he had no orders from the King as to any negotiation. I again, therefore, had an audience with the King on the 16th; his observations were vague, the tenor of them being that it would be better if I would not press matters now, but return after one year. He, however, referred me to the chief Woongyee to settle everything. I considered it better not to discuss any details with the King himself, as it might be necessary to say before a number of persons what might not be agreeable to him.

5. On the 17th I went to the Woongyee; according to his wish, we first discussed the extradition clauses, which, in fact, he brought forward. He again said he had no orders regarding the articles I had proposed relative to trade. On the 19th the Right Reverend the Bishop informed me that, from a private conversation he had had with the King, it was evident his Majesty wanted to put off what he considered the evil day of coming to any settlement at all. He constantly spoke of the necessity of reserving in his own hands the monopoly of certain articles of produce, as without that resource, he said, his revenue was not sufficient. He again also spoke of the disturbed state of the country, and of the present time being unsuited to the settlement of affairs regarding trade.

6. On the 20th we had another interview with the Woongyee. I laid before him the several propositions to facilitate trade between the two countries, and of which a copy had been furnished 12 days before. He said he had as yet no specific orders from the King: he thought the proposed decision of suits by the British agent would produce confusion. On the 22nd we again went to the Woongyee, but could not induce him to discuss each point separately. On the 24th the Woongyee came to me; after several hours' conversation on the propositions as a whole, no conclusion was arrived at.

7. On the 26th we were again received at the palace. The King said nothing distinct regarding the proposed treaty, but told me to discuss everything with the Woongyee; to look to the good of both countries, and hold an even balance; and to let the French bishop be present, as he was impartial, and would be of use. We at once had a meeting with the Woongyee; a discussion of some length ensued as to what the duties and powers of the British agent at Mandalay would be, connected with the investigation of merchants' suits. He seemed to fear that this power would extend to all cases in which British subjects might be concerned, as payment of taxes, and so on, and that Burmese jurisdiction would be altogether set aside. The Woongyee was informed that it was only proposed to give the British agent jurisdiction in mercantile cases, such as claims on trading transactions and settlement of accounts.

8. The next day the Woongyee placed before me a draft of articles embodying what he proposed in reference to those which I had already delivered to him. This draft is substanially contained in Articles 1 to 11 of that attached to my letter, No. 218-5000, of this date; it also contained a provision similar to that in

Article 12 for a Burmese agent to be stationed at Rangoon. The subject of monopolies was altogether omitted. I at once informed the Woongyee that I could not admit of a Burmese agent at Rangoon with judicial powers, which he affected to be utterly astonished at, but that I would carefully consider his other propositions.

9. On the 29th I simply informed the Mengyee that unless he allowed the investigation of suits by the British agent, and unless the monopolies were resigned, I would not agree to the other articles. I also added, gravely, that unless these terms were agreed to, the cordial understanding which now existed could hardly be maintained. This appeared to have considerable effect, and I left somewhat abruptly. For three days after this there was a lull. On the 3rd December, after a discussion of several hours, the Mengyee finally said the points in question (contained in Articles 12 and 13 of the draft) could not be yielded.

10. I then at once required an audience of leave-taking with the King, which was granted on the 5th December. No mention was made on either side of the proposed treaty. The King was friendly in his manner, and announced his intention of writing a letter to the Governor General, and also of giving to Bishop Bigandet and to me a copy of the whole original Boodhist Scriptures, termed the Beedagat. I expressed my thanks for this. The King also said he wished to send a copy to Ceylon to be preserved there in a suitable building secure from fire. I stated that I would represent this to his Excellency the Viceroy for his orders. The next day I embarked in the steamer to return to Rangoon.

11. I cannot conclude this sketch of the negotiation without bringing to the notice of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council the cordial assistance which I have received throughout from the Right Reverend Bishop Bigandet, Catholic Bishop and Vicar Apostolic in Ava and Pegu. The bishop, who was frequently received by the King in a more private manner than the etiquette of the court allowed of in my case, steadily and earnestly supported my propositions regarding the abolition of monopolies. He also frequently accompanied me to the Woongyees, and earnestly advocated the measures I proposed. I beg respectfully to recommend that an expression of the value of the bishop's services, rendered heartily for the good of the people of both Governments, may be conveyed to the French Government in such manner as to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council may appear appropriate.

* * * * *

13. As the selfish policy of the King of Burmah leaves the trade of the two countries restricted and fettered, it remains now to be considered what will be the best course to pursue regarding it. The frontier duties on the British side were provided for by Section 6 of Act XXX. of 1854; under the Treaty of 1862 and Section 3 of Act IV. of 1863 they have been discontinued. With reference to the interests of British subjects, I would venture to recommend that no import duty be imposed at the frontier. The collection of import duty requires minute inspection and registration of a great number of small articles—fresh fruits and vegetables, for instance—the amount derived from which is scarcely worth the time required to collect it. The people in British territory also find it more remunerative to grow rice, and to look beyond the frontier for their supply of many articles of agricultural produce. Besides, under Article 4 of Act XXX. of 1854, goods which have paid import duty at the frontier, if exported by sea, pay no sea export duty. This, therefore, exempts goods going to foreign countries by sea, and leaves the burden upon the people of British Burmah in using those articles they require from Upper Burmah. On the whole, therefore, I would, at all events, for the present, not reimpose any duty on imports at the Frontier Custom Houses.

14. The case is different as regards exports. The duty on these has been limited under Section 9 of Act XXX. of 1854 to certain articles which are produced largely in Pegu, and are much required in Upper Burmah. Salt, though made in Upper Burmah, is imported there in considerable quantity, and will always be required. The people of Upper Burmah may be said to be absolutely dependent on Pegu for Ngapee, or fish paste, and for salted or preserved fish of every description. Rice is required more or less every year from Pegu. I think, then, it will be advisable to reimpose the frontier duty on the articles enumerated in the Schedule attached to the above-mentioned Act.

15. Article 8 of the Treaty of 1862 impliedly gives the Burmese four years to arrange for the abolition of duty on their side. As the duties on the British side

side were not abolished until June 1863, it might be considered proper in the spirit of the above-mentioned Article to consider the four years as commencing from that date. If this be approved, the export duties would again take effect from June 1867.

From *J. W. S. Wyllie*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah,—No. 40, dated Fort William, the 10th January 1867.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters, No. 218-5000, and No. 219-5001, dated 10th ultimo, giving an account of the mode in which your negotiations with the Burmese Government during your recent visit to Mandalay were conducted, and stating the measures which you recommend the Government to adopt in consequence of the failure of the mission.

2. The Right Honourable the Viceroy and Governor General in Council entirely approves of all your proceedings at Mandalay, and, however much your failure is to be regretted, his Excellency in Council is quite satisfied that you did all in your power to bring the negotiations to a successful issue.

3. You were quite right in promptly rejecting the unreasonable proposal of the Burmese Court that there should be an agent of that Government stationed at Rangoon with judicial powers.

4. The Government of India sanctions your acceptance of the copy of the Boodhist Scriptures presented to you by the King, as also the intention which you are understood to entertain of transferring the work to the British Museum. With regard to the copy which his Majesty wishes to send to Ceylon, a communication has been addressed to the Government of that Colony inquiring whether the King's wish may be gratified.

5. The valuable service rendered to the mission by the Right Reverend the Bishop Bigandet is cordially acknowledged by the Viceroy and Governor General in Council. A recommendation will be made to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India that the high appreciation which this Government has of the prelate's good offices may be communicated through the English Foreign Office to the Government of his Majesty the Emperor of the French. In the meantime you are requested to convey the Viceroy's thanks to the bishop.

6. It is disappointing that the King of Burmah should have disallowed your very moderate and reasonable requisitions. You are empowered to inform his Majesty of the dissatisfaction with which the Government of India has received your account of the attitude taken by him in this matter. The King should be made to understand that the spirit of the Treaty of 1862 gave the Government just grounds for anticipating a very different result.

7. The question whether, as a measure of retaliation for the selfish policy of the Burmese Court, export duties should be reimposed at the British frontier, will be taken into consideration in the Financial Department, and orders communicated to you hereafter.

8. In respect of the two Burmese princes who are now under your surveillance at Rangoon, the Governor General in Council has reason to believe that you would wish to deport the elder prince to Port Blair. His Excellency in Council can well understand that his continuance in British Burmah is unadvisable. I am, however, to suggest, for your consideration, whether it might not sufficiently answer the purpose, besides saving the prince from disgrace, if Mergui were preferably selected as his place of future residence. Should you, however, still be of opinion that at Mergui he would not be adequately isolated from the scene of his recent revolutionary outbreak, the Governor General in Council authorises you to despatch him to Port Blair.

(No. 41.)

COPY of the above letter, together with extract, paragraphs 13 to end of Chief Commissioner's letter, No. 219-5001, forwarded to the Financial Department for early consideration of the question regarding the export duties.

EXTRACT from the PROCEEDINGS of the Government of India, in the Financial Department,—No. 249, under date Fort William, the 14th January 1867.

READ a communication from the Foreign Department, dated the 10th January, No. 41, forwarding a copy of papers relating to the result of the recent negotiations of the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, with the Burmese Government for early consideration of the question of the proposed re-imposition of Customs duty on certain articles exported to Burmese territory.

Resolution.—Under the present circumstances of the case, the Governor General in Council fully approves of the recommendation of the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, for the re-imposition of the frontier export duty in question.

Ordered, That the Foreign Department be informed accordingly.

(A true Extract.)

(signed) *E. H. Lushington,*
Secretary to Government of India.

From *H. Le Poer Wynne,* Esq., Officiating Under-Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, —No. 61, dated Fort William, the 15th January 1867.

No. 249, dated 14th January.

WITH reference to paragraphs 14 to 16 of your letter, No. 219-5001, dated 10th December last, I am desired, in continuation of the reply, No. 40, from this office, dated 10th instant, to forward to you the accompanying copy of a resolution of the Government of India, in the Financial Department, conveying the formal sanction of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council to your recommendation for the re-imposition of the frontier export duties on the articles mentioned by you.

2. I have to request that you will communicate this resolution to the Court of Mandalay.

(Political Department.—No. 46.)

The Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 23rd March 1867.

Para. 1. I LEARN with much regret, from the Despatch of your Excellency's Government, dated 23rd January, No. 14, 1867, that Colonel Phayre's recent mission to Mandalay has, so far as the regulation of your commercial policy with the Burmese State is concerned, not been crowned with success.

2. It is not improbable, however, that at a more propitious time, when the minds of the King and of his minister are not distracted by internal seditions and dissensions, they may be better disposed to listen to any reasonable representations that may be made by your officers, and that a more favourable result may then be attained.

3. But I am of opinion that the retaliatory proceedings sanctioned in your Financial Department are not those best calculated to conduce to the desired end.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

EAST INDIA (UPPER BURMA).

COPY of PAPERS and CORRESPONDENCE relating to the late REBELLION in *Upper Burma*, and to the Measures taken by the Indian Government for Protecting the Interests of British Subjects.

(*Mr. Kinglake.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
4 *April* 1867.

193.

Under 4 *oz.*

EAST INDIA (LADAKH).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 5 March 1868;—*for*,

"COPY of CORRESPONDENCE between the Secretary of State for *India* and the Governor General in Council, relating to the Appointment of a COMMERCIAL AGENT in *Ladakh*, and to his Proceedings there."

India Office,
12 March 1868.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political Department.

(*Lord William Hay.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
16 *March* 1868.

CONTENTS.

From	To	Date.	Page.
Governor General - - -	Lord Cranborne - - -	23 February - 1867	3
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	13 December 1866	3
India Government - - -	Punjab Government - -	22 January - 1867	5
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	10 January - 1867	6
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	21 January - 1867	6
Mr. T. D. Forsyth - - -	Punjab Government - -	5 January - 1867	6
Governor General - - -	Sir S. Northcote - - -	22 June - 1867	11
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	21 February - 1867	11
(Ext.) Sir S. Northcote - -	Governor General - - -	15 November 1867	12
Governor General - - -	Sir S. Northcote - - -	7 December 1867	12
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	26 September 1867	12
India Government - - -	Punjab Government - -	14 October - 1867	13
Sir S. Northcote - - - -	Governor General - - -	15 February - 1868	13
Governor General - - -	Sir S. Northcote - - -	7 December 1867	13
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	9 October - 1867	14
India Government - - -	Punjab Government - -	22 October - 1867	16
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	17 October - 1867	16
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	24 October - 1867	16
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	28 October - 1867	17
(Ext.) Dr. Cayley's Diary - -	- - - - - -	15 October - 1867	17
India Government - - -	Punjab Government - -	16 November 1867	18
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	8 November 1867	18
(Ext.) Dr. Cayley's Diary - -	- - - - - -	24 September 1867	18
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	17 October - 1867	19
(Ext.) Dr. Cayley's Diary - -	- - - - - -	1 October - 1867	19
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	14 November 1867	20
India Government - - -	Punjab Government - -	29 November 1867	20
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	24 October - 1867	20
(Ext.) Dr. Cayley's Diary - -	- - - - - -	8 October - 1867	20
Sir S. Northcote - - - -	Governor General - - -	15 February 1868	21
(Ext.) Sir S. Northcote - -	Governor General - - -	30 March - 1867	21
Governor General - - -	Sir S. Northcote - - -	6 February - 1868	22
Punjab Government - - -	India Government - - -	9 January - 1868	22
Dr. Cayley's Report on Dispensary Operations.	- - - - - -	23 December 1867	22
India Government - - -	Punjab Government - -	31 January - 1868	25

COPY of CORRESPONDENCE between the Secretary of State for *India* and the Governor General in Council, relating to the Appointment of a COMMERCIAL AGENT in *Ladakh*, and to his Proceedings there.

(No. 40.—Foreign Department—Political.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Viscount *Cranborne*, Secretary of State for India; dated Fort William, 23rd February 1867.

IN continuation of our Despatch, No. 164, dated 8th October last, regarding the exactions of Cashmere officials on British traders in Ladakh, we have the honour to transmit, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy of a further correspondence with the Punjab Government, from which it will be seen that we have sanctioned the deputation, as an experimental measure, of an English officer to Ladakh. The first duty of this officer will be to secure the observance of the Customs Tariff fixed by the Maharajah of Cashmere in 1864; but he will also be instructed to obtain as much information regarding the trade and politics of Central Asia as may be available.

2. Further, upon the representations of the Punjab Government as to the inadequacy of the emoluments enjoyed by the Native Official who superintends the neighbouring British District of Lâhoul, we have taken this opportunity to raise the allowance of the Negee of Lâhoul to 550 rupees per annum.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to *J. W. S. Wyllie*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Calcutta (No. 534–2514); dated Lahore, 13th December 1866.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Despatch, No. 930, dated 10th September 1866, conveying an expression of the views of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council regarding the obstacles placed on the development of trade with Central Asia by the exactions of the Ladakh officials, and regarding the levy by them of a money contribution from the people of the British district of Lahoul.

2. In reply, I am desired by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor to intimate, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, that the Maharajah of Jummoo and Cashmere has been addressed upon the subject, and has promised to make a searching investigation into the complaints made against the conduct of the Ladakh officials, the result of which will be reported hereafter.

3. With regard to the measures to be taken by this Government to secure the due enforcement of the tariff of duties agreed to by his Highness in 1864, I am desired to state that, during the latter part of the past hot season, a news-writer was deputed by this Government to Ladakh, partly for the purpose of collecting information regarding events in Eastern Turkistan, and partly with a view of reporting whether the terms of the agreement abovementioned were properly carried out, and with that view he was furnished with vernacular copies of the schedule of duties agreed upon.

4. It may be desirable to depute a news-writer to Ladakh next season also, and in that case his Honor proposes to place that official in communication with the Assistant Commissioner in charge of the subdivision of Kulu, who will for that period be located in Lahoul; and his Honor would further recommend that he be empowered, should he think fit, and notwithstanding the distastefulness of such an arrangement to the Maharajah, to depute an Assistant Commissioner, specially selected for his fitness for the post, to remain at Ladakh during the next hot season and rains to protect the interest of traders, and report upon the measures which may be best calculated to develop trade between the regions beyond Leh and British India. The arrangement will cause no extra expense to the State beyond the usual deputation allowance of five rupees per diem.

5. With regard to the levy by the Maharajah of a contribution of 164 rupees per annum from the people of Lahoul, I have the honour to report that the levy of that contribution has now ceased; and with reference to the position and emoluments of Tara Chund, Negee of Lahoul, adverted to in paragraphs 7 and 8 of your Despatch, I am desired to submit the accompanying extracts of correspondence,* and to remark thereon as follows:—

6. Tara Chund having been strictly prohibited for the future from receiving any allowance from the Maharajah, there can, in his Honor's opinion, be no doubt whatever that the income which will then remain to him is wholly insufficient to enable him to maintain the position which he ought to hold; and notwithstanding the comparatively insignificant character of the tract, the responsibilities devolving on the head of the Lahoul pergunnah, owing to its secluded position, are really very considerable; and all concurrent testimony shows that he fulfills them in a very commendable manner, so that he is deserving of much consideration personally, while his office stands in need of substantial support.

7. Elsewhere in the Punjab it has been a common practice with former rulers, and their practice has been in some instances followed by ourselves, to allow to influential chiefs, as a reward for their services and to secure their loyalty, one-fourth of the revenue of the tract over which they preside; and it would, in his Honor's opinion, be in every way more appropriate to extend this principle to Tara Chund and his successors, should they prove themselves worthy of the grant.

8. The revenue of Lahoul is at present but 2,200 rupees per annum; the Lieutenant Governor would accordingly recommend that, without interfering with the small jaghire which Tara Chund holds, one-fourth of this, or 550 rupees per annum, be granted him in lieu of his present allowances. The sum is a small one for the Government to surrender, but it would suffice to satisfy the Negee's aspirations and place him above the necessity of looking elsewhere for a provision. It would evince to the people of Lahoul the consideration in which Tara Chund is held by the Government, and would ensure for the post he holds that respect which he at present secures by his own personal qualities, while a percentage of this kind would give him a direct interest in increasing the productiveness of the tract.

EXTRACT, Paragraphs 39, 40, and 41, of a LETTER from *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Jullundhur Division, to *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab (No. 187); dated 23rd July 1866.

Tara Chund's Jaghire.—Tara Chund enjoys a jaghire of 134 rupees as Negee of Lahoul, and 100 rupees per annum as honorary magistrate. He is a man universally respected, and possesses letters from numerous European officers, all of whom speak of him in the highest terms. From the missionaries I hear that he rules with consideration for the people, is very hospitable and generous; but unfortunately his means are small, and quite inadequate to meet the demands of his position. He occupies an important place, looking at it in a political view. His countrymen are the great traders between British territory and Ladakh and Yarkand, and it makes a material difference to them whether their own chief is on friendly terms or the contrary with the rulers of the foreign countries into which they penetrate. Thus, Tara Chund is ever ready to give a friendly reception to any of the Ladakh officials or influential natives of the Thibetan countries who visit Lahoul, and in various ways he has incurred heavy expenses, which he can ill afford, in order to keep up the trade between his country and Thibet. On this subject of trade I shall treat hereafter; at present I merely record the fact of Tara Chund's liberality at the expense of his pocket.

40. He was supposed by Mr. Jones to have considerable perquisites, but the result of further inquiry, confirmed by the opinion of Mr. Heyde, shows that Tara Chund derives very little income from the cesses on ponies, sheep, &c., which the Government have been pleased to continue to him for his life.

41. The revenue of his province is insignificant, only 2,200 rupees per annum, and if it be taken into consideration, I fear the Government would not be disposed to increase his allowance; but if we look at the case in a political light, and consider the advantage to be gained by advancing our influence and our trade beyond Himalaya into Central Asia, I think our object would be furthered by improving the position of our representative in the frontier province of Lahoul. If, therefore, Tara Chund's allowance cannot be increased, I trust that he may be granted a khillut in cash and kind from time to time as the Lieutenant Governor may be pleased to order.

---

* Extract, paragraphs 39 to 41, of Mr. Forsyth's Memorandum, dated 23rd July 1866.

Extract, paragraphs 14 to 16, of his letter, No. 235, dated 14th September 1866.

Extract, paragraph 6, of Secretary to Financial Commissioner's letter, No. 456, dated 11th September 1866.

Extract of diary of Captain Smyly, Assistant Commissioner, Kulu, dated 16th August 1864.

EXTRACT, paragraphs 14, 15, and 16, of a LETTER from *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C. B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Jullundhur Division, to *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab (No. 235); dated 14th September 1866.

14. THE last point which requires immediate attention is the question of allowances to the Negee of Lahoul.

15. In a former communication I remarked that I had reason to believe that Tara Chund had been offered certain pecuniary help from Cashmere, though I could not get at the truth of this.

16. Since then, and when the abolition of tribute was being agitated before the Viceroy, I found that Hurree Chund was suddenly rather lukewarm on the subject, and at last he told me that his father received in presents and perquisites about 250 rupees or 300 rupees per annum from Cashmere. I mentioned this to the Viceroy, who was pleased to remark that in any arrangements now made the Negee of Lahoul ought not to be a loser; and with this expression of His Excellency's opinion, I now would ask that some formal assurance may be given to Tara Chund, so as to remove all fears from his mind. I think that Tara Chund ought to have an increase of 400 rupees to his present allowance, so as to remove him from all temptation. For the Nono of Spiti I have proposed a grant of 300 rupees.

EXTRACT, paragraph 6, of a LETTER from *J. A. E. Miller*, Esq., Secretary to Financial Commissioner, Punjab, to *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab (No. 456); dated 11th September 1866.

THE Financial Commissioner considers that it would be good policy to treat with liberality and consideration an influential man on our frontier like Tara Chund.

EXTRACT of DIARY of Captain *Smyly*, Assistant Commissioner, Kulu; dated 16th August 1864.

I HAVE been pleased with what I have seen and heard of Tara Chund's conduct of affairs in Lahoul, and I believe him to be, as far as his light goes, a trustworthy person to exercise authority in such an isolated position, where so many opportunities for extortion and injustice offer. He has a kind and gentle disposition, and in all his dealings with the people there is a tendency to the *suaviter in modo* rather than towards the *fortiter in re*, which is a favourable trait, seeing that the Lahoulees are generally so truthful, obedient, and honest. I have been informed by the Moravian Missionaries, who see a great deal of the country people and have frequent opportunities of conversing freely with them, that Tara Chund is above taking *douceurs*. There is no doubt about his popularity with the Lahoulees, who invariably acquiesce to his dictum, which of itself is a healthy sign. As for Tara Chund's attention to the wants of European travellers, the testimonials he has earned, some of them most flattering and gratifying, prove that the trouble he has taken in this respect is fully appreciated. Like so many of those hill chiefs, Tara Chund has exceeded his income, and is indebted to Kulu Mahajuns, Wuzeer Gooshaon of Mundee amongst the rest.

Might be granted a khilut on such a good report.
(signed)
A. Brandreth.

From *J. W. S. Wyllie*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to Government of the Punjab (No. 79); dated Fort William, 22nd January 1867.

I HAVE laid before the Governor General in Council your letter, No. 534-2514, dated 13th ultimo, with its enclosures.

2. The points requiring consideration are, first, the allowance to be given to the Negee of Lahoul; and secondly, the deputation of a European officer to Ladakh.

3. On the first point His Excellency in Council desires me to state that the proposals of the Lieutenant Governor, as detailed in the last paragraph of your letter under acknowledgement, are sanctioned; but it must be distinctly understood that these allowances are personal and in lieu of service, and therefore will not be heritable, unless the Government should, on Tara Chund's death, think proper again to entrust the charge of Lahoul to the male representative of his family.

4. On the second point I am to state that the Governor General in Council agrees to the deputation of an officer to Ladakh as an experimental measure for one season. At the close of the season sufficient data will have been obtained for considering whether the arrangement is to be further continued. Should it be made permanent, the cost, I am to

remark, will amount to the whole allowances of one officer, seeing that his place in the general administration must be filled up by a substitute.

5. It will be necessary to exercise great care in the selection of the officer now to be deputed, and he must, of course, be cautioned against any interference in the internal administration of the country. The primary object he will have to keep in view will be the maintenance of the tariff fixed by the Maharajah in 1864. Any infraction of this tariff, which his remonstrances on the spot may be unable to prevent, should be promptly reported to the Punjab Government. Another and very important branch of his duties will be to enquire closely into the nature and extent of the traffic, as it at present stands, between India and Central Asia, and to report the measures which he would recommend to secure a further development of this trade. Lastly, he will pick up and sift all the political information that may come in his way, especially as regards the progress of events in Chinese Toorkistan.

6. It is obvious that an officer possessed of sufficient intelligence and discretion for such a position cannot readily be found. The main qualification to be sought for will be aptitude for commercial and political inquiries. But if the Lieutenant Governor should know of any Medical Officer who may unite, with the capacity chiefly required a willingness to exercise his profession gratuitously among the people of Ladakh, the Governor General in Council thinks that a medical officer would, on the whole, be the happiest selection that could be made.

7. The deputation of an English officer to Ladakh will supersede the necessity for a native news-writer at that place. Any information which the news-writer of last season may have collected should now be submitted for the information of the Government of India.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to *J. W. S. Wyllie*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, Fort William (No. 16-105); dated Lahore, 10th January 1867.

In continuation of my No. 534, dated 13th December 1866, I am directed to forward a khureeta (with translation annexed) from the Maharajah of Jummoo, stating that he has remitted the tribute hitherto levied by his Highness from the people of Lâhoul.

Translation of a Letter from the Maharajah of Jummoo, to his Excellency the Viceroy of India; dated 21st December 1866.

Reports that, in obedience to the orders of his Excellency, given to Dewan Nihal Chund, at Simla, the Maharajah has remitted the tribute in money and iron levied from the Zemindars of Lâhoul since the time of the former rajahs of that territory.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to *J. W. S. Wyllie*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 34–164); dated Lahore, 21st January 1867.

In continuation of my letter, No. 534-2514, dated 13th December 1866, I am directed by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor to transmit, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor General, copies of a further communication from the Commissioner, Jullundhur Division, and its enclosure, No. 6, dated 5th instant, relative to the exactions by officials of the Cashmere State on British traders at Ladakh.

2. These papers appear to his Honor to afford additional grounds for the measure recommended of deputing an European officer to Ladakh during the ensuing season.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Jullundhur Division, to *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., D.C.L., Secretary to Government, Punjab (No. 6); dated 5th January 1867.

With reference to your letter, No. 1912, dated 15th September 1866, forwarding translation of the letter from the Mahrajah of Cashmere asking for information as to the particular exactions of which individual traders complain, I have obtained a reply from Tara Chund and Wuzeer Goshaon, which I now forward with a translation.

2. At the same time Tara Chund has forwarded me a copy of the new tariff printed and promulgated in 1864.

3. I have

3. I have now to remark—

1st. That the vernacular tariff does not agree with the English counterpart.
2nd. That the reductions announced in it have not been carried out.
3rd. That in addition to these duties, other heavy exactions are levied.

4th. That further inquiry leads me to think that Mr. Davies laboured under a misapprehension when he remarked, in the 10th paragraph of his letter, No. 223, dated 29th April 1864, to Supreme Government, that the rates on goods proceeding to Leh by the Kooloo route were always pretty reasonable, and are still generally below the revised rates.

4. In the English copy of Statement IIB., table of rates on goods passing from Ladakh to Kooloo and Rampoor, the column of present duty on goods exported to Kooloo is left blank, and so is that showing the difference.

Similarly, the columns showing former rates on goods by Rampoor and the difference are blank, thus leading to the conclusion that there has been no change in either case.

5. But in the Vernacular Statement there is some difference between the former and present rates as regards both routes; and, again, there is a reduction in some cases made in favour of Rampoor which is not accorded to Kooloo.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*	
For instance, Cherrus - - -	1	–	–	By Kooloo route. The same
Silk - - - -	1	4	–	are charged only 10 annas
Gillur Puttur - -	1	4	–	by Rampoor route.

Yamboo - - - -
Silung - - - - - } Are charged double by Kooloo what is taken by Rampoor.
Gooli darcheenee - - -

Tuwar is entered in the English Statement as paying nothing by Kooloo and 4 annas by Rampoor, but in the Vernacular Statement it is charged *Rs.* 1. 4. by Kooloo and 2 annas by Rampoor.

6. Again, in Statement IIA. there is a striking difference between the duties levied on Kooloo and the Rampoor route, opium, kiriana, otter skins, copper vessels being taxed only one-half by Rampoor, and English piecegoods are subjected to *Rs.* 2. 3. per maund by Kooloo, and only 10 annas 6 pie by Rampoor.

7. Tara Chund's Statement shows that the professed reductions are not attended to, and Hurree Chund gave in to the Viceroy, as I see is alluded to in Mr. Secretary's letter, a statement from which, for convenience sake, I give the subjoined extract.

Some of the most important articles are taxed as follows:—

OPIUM.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*	
Customs dues - - - - - -	2	8	–	per maund, kutcha.
Choongees, Leh - - - - -	–	13	2	„ „
Nuzzur Bhuttee taken by Thanadar at Leh $1\frac{1}{2}$ annas per rupee, or about - -	12	7	6	„ „
Brokerage, 2 per cent. - - - -	2	8	–	„ „
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	18	4	8	per maund, kutcha.

Average value of maund, *Rs.* 133 – –

SUGAR.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*	
Customs dues - - - - - -	1	4	–	per maund.
Choongee - - - - - -	–	1	7	„
Nuzzar Bhuttee - - - - -	1	8	–	„
Brokerage - - - - - -	–	5	2	„
TOTAL - - - *Rs.*	3	2	9	

SPICES.	BROADCLOTH.
The Same.	The same.

IRON.

Customs duty, 2 rupees. Choongee, &c., as above.

8. In addition to all these rates, there is the export tax as enumerated in the penultimate column of Statement IIA.

9. All these exactions were probably not made known to Mr. Davies when he made his report, but I wish to point them out, for they will remove the impression which a perusal of that report gives, that the Kooloo route was the most favoured, whereas, in reality, it is the least so of all the lines.

10. But leaving the past, my object is to secure a proper reduction of rates for the future.

11. According to paragraph 13 of Mr. Davies's letter, No. 223, dated 29th April 1864, a uniform transit duty of 5 per cent. has now been fixed for goods going to Leh, and it is added that thus the trader to Yarkand by Srinuggur is placed in a position, fiscally, not less advantageous than that of one trading with Bokhara by Peshawur.

12. We have here, then, a clearly-enunciated standard to work by, and during the approaching season I should wish to see this carried out under the supervision of the English officer who may be sent to Leh. All goods, of whatever kind, which do not break bulk in the Ladakh territories, but which pass through the town of Leh, ought not to pay to the Government or any official one fraction more than 5 per cent. If opened in Leh, and any portion is sold there, then the higher rate of 8 per cent. on piece-goods and 12½ per cent. on other articles would be levied.

13. I consider this rate much higher than ought to be levied, but we must work by degrees. Elsewhere transit duties are either abolished or reduced to 1 per cent., and if the Maharajah takes 5 per cent., he ought to repair the road for his merchant travellers.

14. I have hitherto written regarding goods passing through Leh. But you are aware that it is my desire to send traders and merchandise to Khotan and Yarkand by the Chang Chemoo route, as thus by far the easiest passage over the Karakorum range can be effected, and by this route I hope the Maharajah may be induced to allow goods to pass free.

15. I sincerely trust an European official may be sent to Ladakh. It is quite hopeless otherwise attempting to free our trade, for, however much the Maharajah may desire to help us, experience teaches us that native underlings placed at so great a distance from control cannot resist the temptation to commit petty oppression. An European traveller, who was at Leh for some time last year, told me a day or two ago that some Guddees from Kangra came to him to intercede with the thannadar to allow them to buy food, which had been forbidden unless they presented a nuzzur of several rupees; and in a hundred ways our traders can be, and are, subjected to annoyances and exactions.

16. And from what Tara Chund, writing from Lahoul, and my European informant tells me, I doubt whether any reliance can be placed on the information supplied by the news-writer stationed at Leh by the orders of Government.

TRANSLATION of PETITION.

IN accordance with your orders I enquired from the traders of Ladakh regarding duty, and find that the list of duty which my son, Hurree Chund, at Simla, submitted before yourself is the one according to which duty is realised in the Ladakh territory, and that the tariff of customs duty prescribed by Government for the Jummoo territory is not in force there.

On inquiry I have also learnt from Noora and other traders that the "Ladakhwallas" have increased the duty on some articles, on that entered in the tariff of customs duty. For instance—

First.—Formerly *Rs.* 1. 4. was realised as duty on a maund of "Shukkur," or "Goor," but by the tariff of customs duty it was reduced to 2 annas and 3 pie, and the Ladakhwallas, contrary to the tariff of customs duty, realised, as formerly, *Rs.* 1. 4.

Second.—*Rs.* 1. 4. was the duty on a maund of Misree, reduced by the tariff of customs duty to 9 annas 6 pie, realized by the Ladakhwallas, as formerly, *Rs.* 1. 4.

*Per pony load.

Thirdly.—When a bale of churrus is imported from Yarkand to Ladakh, *Rs.* 18. 6.* are realised, and when exported from Ladakh to Kooloo seven rupees more are realised from the traders, although no mention of the realisation of any duty on goods exported from Ladakh to Koloo is made in the tariff of customs duty, except a duty of one rupee per load.

All

All the traders now pray that Government may fix duty on our goods at the rates fixed for the routes by Rampoor and Cashmere, for it is a wrong custom to take double rates from the subjects of the Government, and only single rates from those travelling by Cashmere and Rampoor. We therefore beg that Government may make some permanent arrangement for taking the single rates, or somewhat less.

Herewith is submitted, separately, a list of exactions levied during the present year. A copy of the tariff fixed for the levy of customs duties accompanies this petition.

(signed) *Tara Chund.*

STATEMENT showing the Name of MERCHANDISE Imported to and Exported from *Ladakh* by *Kooloo*, and the Amount of Duty realised in Excess of that noted in the Tariff of Customs Duty.

Number	Name of Trader.	Name of Merchandise.	Duty realised formerly.	Duty to be realised at present according to Tariff.	Reduction made by Government.	Duty now realised as formerly.	REMARKS.
			Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	
1	Noora - -	Goor and shukkur, per maund.	1 4 -	- 2 3	1 1 9	1 4 -	The duty on misree, goor, shukkur, and sugar has been realised according to the former usage.
-	—	Sugar, ditto - -	1 4 -	- 9 6	- 10 6	1 4 -	—
-	—	Bhung, per bale -	- -	- -	- -	- -	When a bale of bhung is imported from Yarkand to Ladakh, *Rs.* 18. 6. on account of duty are levied on each pony load, and when it is exported from Ladakh by way of Koloo, seven rupeess per load are again realised. But no mention of the export duty is made in the tariff of customs duty sanctioned by Government.
2	Nicka - -	Goor, per maund -	1 4 -	- 2 3	1 1 9	1 4 -	Ditto - - - ditto.
	—	Misree - ditto -	1 4 -	- 9 6	- 10 6	1 4 -	Ditto - - - ditto.
3	Goonga - -	Goor - ditto -	1 4 -	- 2 3	1 1 9	1 4 -	Ditto - - - ditto.
-	—	Misree - ditto -	1 4 -	- 9 6	- 10 6	1 4 -	Ditto - - - ditto.
4	Hasu - -	Ditto - ditto -	1 4 -	- 9 6	- 10 6	1 4 -	Ditto - - - ditto.
5	Deen Mahomed -	Ditto - ditto -	1 4 -	- 9 6	- 10 6	1 4 -	Ditto - - - ditto.

STATEMENT of Increase and Decrease of DUTY levied on GOODS at *Ladakh*, submitted by *Wuzeer Goshaon*.

No.	Name of Articles.	Duty on Goods Exported from Yarkund to Ladakh and Imported from thence.					Duty on Goods Exported from Punjab and Kooloo to Ladakh and Imported from thence.				Duty on Goods Exported from Yarkund to Ladakh and Imported from thence to Rampoor and Bussahir.				STATEMENT MADE BY THE TRADERS.
		Number or Quantity.	Former Duty.	Present Duty.	Difference. Decrease.	Difference. Increase.	Former Duty.	Present Duty.	Decrease.	Increase.	Former Duty.	Present Duty.	Decrease.	Increase.	
			Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*		*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*					
1	Opium	Per maund	–	–	–	–	2 8 –	2 8 –	– – –	– – –	–	–	–	–	Duty is levied according to the fixed rates.
2	Misree	Ditto	–	–	–	–	1 4 –	– 9 6	– 10 6	– – –	–	–	–	–	Noor Bux.—The reduction of 10 annas 6 pie made is not allowed.
3	Lakhee	Ditto	–	–	–	–	1 3 –	1 3 6	– – –	– – 6	–	–	–	–	Buldeo.—Six pies are levied in excess.
4	Copper	Ditto	–	–	–	–	1 4 –	1 4 –	– – –	– – –	–	–	–	–	No decrease or increase.
5	Otter skins	Ditto	–	–	–	–	2 8 –	2 8 –	– – –	– – –	–	–	–	–	Ditto – – ditto.
6	Indigo	Ditto	–	–	–	–	1 8 –	2 8 –	– – –	1 – –	–	–	–	–	Noor Bux.—There is an increase of one rupee in this.
7	Tamarind	Ditto	–	–	–	–	1 4 –	1 4 –	– – –	– – –	–	–	–	–	No decrease or increase.
8	Copper utensils	Ditto	–	–	–	–	2 8 –	2 8 –	– – –	– – –	–	–	–	–	Ditto – – ditto.
9	Iron	Ditto	–	–	–	–	– 3 9	– 3 9	– – –	– – –	–	–	–	–	Ditto – – ditto.
10	Goor and shukkur	Ditto	–	–	–	–	1 4 –	– 2 3	1 1 9	– – –	–	–	–	–	Noor Bux.—The former duty of *Rs.* 1. 4 is still levied, and the excess, *Rs.* 1. 1. 9, has not been refunded.
11	Sugar	Ditto	–	–	–	–	1 4 –	– 9 6	– 10 6	– – –	–	–	–	–	Ditto – – – ditto.
12	Buzzazee piece goods, cotton, silk, woollen.	Ditto	–	–	–	–	2 3 –	2 8 –	– – –	– 5 –	–	–	–	–	Buldeo and others.—Five annas are levied in excess.
13	Turmeric and dry ginger, &c.	Per rupee	–	–	–	–	– – 6	– 2 –	– – –	– 1 6	–	–	–	–	Noor Bux.—One anna six pie are levied in excess.
14	Khinkhab, per large piece.	– –	–	–	–	–	1 8 –	1 – –	– 8 –	– – –	–	–	–	–	Buldeo.—There is a decrease of 8 annas in this.
15	Ditto – – small	– –	–	–	–	–	– 12 –	– 8 –	– 4 –	– – –	–	–	–	–	Ditto – – – – – – – – 4 annas.
16	Broadcloth	Per maund	–	–	–	–	1 4 –	1 12 –	– – –	– 8 –	–	–	–	–	Buldeo.—Eight annas are levied in excess.
17	Soap	Ditto	–	–	–	–	1 4 –	1 12 –	– – –	– 8 –	–	–	–	–	Ditto – – – ditto.
18	Kulgee Moodyzeereen	Per 100	–	–	–	–	One kulgee.	Ten kulgees	– –	Nine kulgees.	–	–	–	–	Buldeo.—Formerly one kulgee was taken as duty for 100 kulgees, and now 10; 9 are in excess.
19	Gurda Bhung, *i. e.*, Churrus.	Per pony-load.	1 – –	7 –	–	6 – –	– –	– –	– –	– –	–	–	–	–	Noor Bux.—Formerly the duty was 1 rupee per pony load, and now 1 rupee per maund; 6 rupees are levied in excess.

(signed) *Buldeo.* *Abdoolla.*
Noor Bux. *Bhoomhull.*
Jhurrung, *Abdool Raheem,*
Mahomed Ally, *Gholam,*
Hussun, *Hussun Mullik,*
Subrung, *Deen Mahomed,*
Reheem Sheik.

All Traders.

Witnesses,
(signed) *Gunesh,* of Kooloo.
Dulla, ditto.
Ramdial, ditto.

(No. 113.—Foreign Department.—Political.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Stafford Northcote*, Bart., Secretary of State for India, dated Simla, 22nd June 1867.

In continuation of our Despatch No. 40, dated the 23rd February last, reporting the experimental deputation of an officer to Ladakh, we have the honour to forward the accompanying copy of papers showing that, subject to the approval of Her Majesty's Government, we have fixed 1,000 rupees as the remuneration to the officer in question.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab and its Dependencies, to *J. W. S. Wyllie*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 81-451); dated Lahore, 21st February 1867.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 79, dated 22nd ultimo. With reference to your sixth paragraph, I am directed to state that the Lieutenant-Governor fully concurs in regarding the deputation of a Medical Officer to Ladakh as highly desirable, if a suitable one can be procured. But as in this case his substantive duties will have to be performed by another medical officer on full allowances, it is presumed that the Supreme Government is prepared to regard as a special extra outlay the full pay and allowances drawn by the officer who may be deputed for the six months to which his deputation to Ladakh must probably be limited. And before endeavouring to select an officer for the post, it is necessary that his honour be informed what deputation allowance will be granted to such officer. Medical officers attached to a native regiment and performing the civil duties ordinarily receive at present in this province 780 rupees per mensem; and it appears to the Lieutenant Governor that the consolidated allowance to be granted to the officer deputed to Ladakh should be somewhat in excess of this, to cover the extra expenses which he must necessarily incur, and to enable his Honor to secure the services of the best officer available.

Ladakh Report for 1866.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, in the Foreign Department (No. 282); under date Fort William, 25th March 1867.

Read a letter from the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, No. 81–451, dated 21st February last, submitting an abstract of the Ladakh news-writer's report during the last season, and requesting the decision of the Government of India as to the pay to be allowed to the medical officer who is to be deputed to Ladakh in the coming season.

Observations.

As regards the pay of the medical officer whom it has been determined to depute to Ladakh, the Governor General in Council is of opinion that 1,000 rupees per mensem, to include travelling allowance, might be given for one season to cover all expenses.

(No. 283.)

Ordered, that in continuation of No. 80, dated 22nd January last, a copy of the foregoing observations be sent to the Financial Department for early consideration regarding the pay of the medical officer.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Government of India, in the Financial Department—(No. 1771); under date Fort William, 30th March 1867.

Read order of the Foreign Department, No. 283, dated 25th instant, forwarding, in continuation of No. 80, dated 22nd January last, observations relative to the pay of the medical officer to be deputed to Ladakh during the ensuing season.

Resolution.

The Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction a monthly salary of 1,000 rupees, to include travelling expenses to the medical officer who may be deputed to Ladakh during the ensuing season.

Ordered, that the foregoing resolution be communicated to the Foreign Department and to the Accountant General, Punjab.

(No. 182.—Political.)

EXTRACT of LETTER from Sir *Stafford Northcote*, Bart., to the Governor General of India in Council, dated India Office, 15th November 1867.

I have received and considered in Council your Excellency's letters, Nos. 40, 113, and 114, in the Foreign Department, of the 23rd February and 22nd June last, the two former reporting the appointment of a British Commercial Agent, in the person of Dr. Cayley, at Ladakh, to observe the operation of the Cashmere Customs Tariff of 1864, and the fixing of his salary at 1,000 rupees per mensem.

I approve your having fixed Dr. Cayley's monthly salary at 1,000 rupees, and observe that he is to be stationed at Ladakh for six months in the year, and in the first instance, experimentally, for one season only.

I approve the small increase to the allowances of the Negee of Lahoul.

(No. 176.—Foreign Department.—Political.)

The Governor General of India in Council to Sir *Stafford Northcote*, Bart., Secretary of State for India; dated Fort William, 7th December 1867.

IN continuation of our Despatch, No. 113, dated the 22nd June last, we have the honour to transmit, for the information of her Majesty's Government, the accompanying copy of a correspondence with the Punjab Government regarding the deputation of an officer annually to Ladakh.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, Simla, Confidential (No. 352-755); dated Murree, 26th September 1867.

I AM desired to submit an extract from a demi-official letter from Dr. Cayley, on special duty at Ladakh, and to solicit an expression of the wishes of the Government as to that officer's future proceedings.

2. The Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that Dr. Cayley should certainly stay until the arrival of the last kafila from Yarkand in November; but he thinks it unadvisable that an English officer should remain alone at Ladakh during the winter.

3. But with reference to Dr. Cayley's remark that, "unless it is known that the appointment will be continued or renewed, little or no permanent good will result," his Honor would suggest that, in the event of the Supreme Government being willing that the deputation of an agent to Ladakh should be repeated each season during the pleasure of Government, he be authorised to intimate accordingly to his Highness the Maharajah.

4. The presence of Dr. Cayley at Ladakh has already led to a reduction of duty on goods imported *viâ* Kulu, and his Honor hears from the Commissioner of Jullundhur that it has greatly increased the confidence of the traders of Lahoul.

EXTRACT from a demi-official LETTER from Dr. *Cayley*, on special duty at Ladakh, to *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab; dated 15th July 1867.

WITH regard to the effect of my residence here, I think, from what I hear, that the Rajah wishes to act justly both to the traders and people of the country; but I am quite sure that, as regards the officials here, directly my back is turned the corruptions of previous years will be resumed; and unless it is known that the appointment is to be continued or renewed, little or no permanent good will result. Under these circumstances, should it be the wish of Government, I am quite ready to remain up the winter, although it would involve no small personal discomfort, and, I may say, hardship; but as all communication would then for some months be quite cut off, it would, I think, be equally advantageous for me to remain here as late as possible, and return as soon as the road is open next year, if it is intended to renew the appointment. I am not asking this on personal grounds, but in the interests of my work, and of the traders and people of the country (for though with the latter I have nothing to do officially, I cannot shut my eyes to the system of

of oppression by which they are ground down to the dust), who, unless they are assured of protection next year, will never venture to open their lips as to any wrong they may suffer; such is their terror of the local officials. I cannot directly make use of any information I pick up, lest I subject the informer to future cruelty, and even the servants I have engaged here, not supplied by the Thannadar, are in terror, lest, on my leaving, they should suffer ill-treatment on my account.

(True extract.)

(signed) *W. Kirke,*
Assistant Secretary to Government, Punjab.

From *J. W. S. Wyllie,* Esq., Under Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, to the Secretary to Government of the Punjab (No. 1034); dated Simla, 14th October 1867.

In reply to your letter, No. 352–755, dated 26th ultimo, I am directed to state that the communication which the Lieutenant Governor proposes to make to the Maharajah of Cashmere, announcing the present intention of the British Government to depute an agent every season to Ladakh, is approved by the Governor General in Council.

(No. 22.—Political).

Sir *Stafford Northcote,* Bart., to the Governor General of India in Council.

India Office, 15 February 1868.

1. I gather from the letter of your Excellency's Government, in the Foreign Department, No. 176, of the 7th of December 1867, that you have sanctioned the deputation of a British Officer every season to Ladakh, for the purposes brought to my notice in your letter, No. 113, of the 22nd of June, the arrangement having been originally proposed to and acquiesced in by me, as an experimental measure for one season only.

2. The extension of this policy, as now suggested, is sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government with the full understanding that Dr. Cayley, as commercial agent in Ladakh, is ever to bear in mind that he is in foreign territory, and, whilst exerting his influence for objects which you may consider it to be expedient and just to secure by friendly representation and advice, to abstain from any peremptory acts and dictatorial language calculated to give offence to the rulers of these countries.

(No. 177.—Foreign Department.—Political).

The Governor General of India in Council, to Sir *Stafford Northcote,* Bart., Secretary of State for India; dated Fort William, 7th December 1867.

In continuation of our Despatch, No. 153, dated 9th October last, we have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, the accompanying copy of a letter from the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, and of its enclosures, regarding the restrictions imposed by the Cashmere authorities at Ladakh upon the trade between Eastern Toorkistan and British India.

2. From further papers herewith submitted, it will be seen that his Highness the Maharajah has, at the instance of the Punjab Government, applied the rate of 5 per cent. to all imports from Central Asia.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, Simla (No. 371-786); dated Murree, 9th October 1867.

I AM desired to transmit, for the information of his Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General in Council, copies of the papers marginally noted on the subject of the interference exercised at Ladakh with trade from Yarkand and Turkistan with British India, which trade promises considerably to increase if the duties levied are not exorbitant, and the merchants fairly treated.

Extract, paragraphs 1 and 2, from the diary of Dr. Cayley, on special duty at Leh, dated 27 September 1867.
Reply, No. 787, of this date.
Translations of khureetas addressed to the Maharajah.

2. In the letters addressed by this Government to his Highness the Maharajah, it has been assumed that the acts of which Dr. Cayley complains are the acts of the Ladakh officials only, but there is reason to believe that they are really done with the cognizance and approval of the Cashmere authorities; indeed, as regards the importation of wool, my predecessor, in his Despatch, No. 343, dated 29th April 1864, remarked that "it seems that the Maharajah is quite determined that none of the fine turfani wool shall go out of his territory, as the rates on this article are nowhere detailed."

3. It is not improbable, therefore, that his Highness the Maharajah will object to comply with one or both of the requests of this Government contained in the above letters.

4. Should such be the case, I am desired to inquire what action in the matter his Excellency the Viceroy in Council would wish to be taken by this Government.

EXTRACT, paragraphs 1 and 2, from the Diary of Dr. *Cayley*, on Special Duty at Leh; dated 27th September 1867.

IN continuation of my last report, I have to bring to your notice a few points connected with the trade through Ladakh, and which, owing to the arrival of the Yarkand kafila, are of the greatest importance, and I request the favour of your furnishing me with instructions on the subject as soon as possible. In the "tariff of transit duties," 1867, page 59, para. 4, it is laid down (when referring to the transit duties in Ladakh on goods coming from Lahoul) that the transit duty on goods intended for Turkistan, Yarkand, &c., should be limited to 5 per cent. *ad valorem* (this has not, however, yet been really carried into effect), but nothing is anywhere mentioned that I can discover, in any letter or in any tariff, of the amount of transit duty to be levied on goods passing unopened through Ladakh and coming from Yarkand, &c. It appears that in former years few or no merchants ever passed through, but always bartered their goods in, Leh, the through trade being almost confined to the trading agents of the Cashmere officials; but this year independent merchants are flocking in from Yarkand, and many wish to carry their goods through unopened to Palimpar and the Punjab. These men had heard from a party of return pilgrims from Mecca (who left Leh soon after my arrival, and who had all been under my medical treatment for severe illness, the result of cold and exposure on the Zooji La pass, where two of their number were frozen to death), that there was a British officer at Leh to protect the traders, and that the duties were much reduced; and, in consequence, nearly all the Yarkand merchants who formerly went to Badakshan, or travelled by Chatial and Swat to the Punjab, are now coming this route, which is so much safer and easier. Those who open or sell their goods in Ladakh must of course pay the duties laid down in the tariff, amounting, import and export, to about 25 per cent., or more than 100 per cent. on the cost price; and the officials here want to charge the same duties on goods passing through unopened; but as there is no authority for this, and nothing laid down in the tariff, I have insisted that, until instructions are received from Government, only a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty should be charged, corresponding to the transit duty sanctioned for goods passing the other way. The Dewan will not consent to this, but is willing to take a receipt from each merchant of the amount and value of his goods, and not to levy the duty until he has received the Maharajah's orders; the merchants, however, are not to be detained, as they would in that case suffer great loss. This is a matter of very great and immediate importance; in fact, the future extension of trade with Turkistan greatly depends on the decision now given. Nearly all the merchants now arrived, and those on their way have never come this route before, and are now come in the full belief that the duties are reduced, and that they will meet with fair treatment. There is no doubt that the trade from all the chief cities of Turkistan will flow this way another year. If, however, a transit duty of 100 per cent. (on the cost price) is imposed, it will prove simply prohibitive, and will at once kill the trade, which has been languishing for years, but seems now ready to spring up into vigour if fairly treated. As the point has now for the first time to be settled, I cannot too strongly represent how injurious it will prove if the Cashmere Government is allowed to impose a transit duty of anything like the amount above mentioned; a transit duty of 5 per. cent. for passing through a few miles of Ladakh territory should be the limit.

2. I have another point to urge; the authorities here have never allowed the shawl-wool (pushm), which comes from Yarkand, to pass by any other route than into Cashmere; in fact,

fact, a few years ago they forcibly seized and confiscated a large amount that was being taken by British traders into Lahoul. As, however, there is no mention of such a restriction in any of the tables of duties, I cannot discern that any such right has ever been demanded by Cashmere, or admitted and sanctioned by the Punjab Government. I have insisted that merchants are to be allowed to carry "pushm" or any other article they wish into British territory on paying the recognised duties, and that no such restrictions are admissible. This has met with the strongest opposition on the part of the Ladakh officials, but I feel sure that I am only acting in accordance with the spirit of my instructions in enforcing this point, which is one of the great subjects of complaint on the part of the traders, and has hitherto thrown most serious obstacles in the way of trade.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to *H. Cayley*, Esq., on Special Duty, Ladakh (No. 787); dated 9th October 1867.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your diary on the 27th September, bringing to notice that the officials at Ladakh were desirous of charging on goods in transit from Yarkand to British territory the import and export duties prescribed for goods intended for sale or consumption in Cashmere, instead of a 5 per cent. *ad valorem* duty charged for goods in transit from the Punjab to Yarkand; and that you had objected to their demand.

2. In reply, I am desired to intimate to you that his Honor approves of the action you have taken in this matter, and I beg to annex for your information translation of a letter this day addressed to the Maharajah on the subject.

3. His Honor further approves the course you have taken in regard to the shawl-wool merchants, whose case has been made the subject of a separate communication to his Highness, copy of which is annexed.

TRANSLATION of a KHUREETA to His Highness the Maharajah of Cashmere.

I REGRET to have to bring to your Highness's notice another instance of the obstruction caused by your officials at Ladakh to the development of trade with British India.

It appears that traders bringing shawl-wool from Yarkand are not permitted to carry their wool into British territory like other merchants, but are compelled to proceed with their goods to Cashmere.

As there is nothing in the prescribed tariff to justify this arbitrary conduct on the part of your Highness's officials, Dr. Cayley has insisted upon the shawl-wool merchants being permitted to proceed by whatever route they please, like any other merchants, on payment of the recognised duties.

The Lieutenant Governor approves of Dr. Cayley's conduct in this matter, and he trusts that your Highness will at once issue the necessary orders to prevent further interference on the part of the Ladakh officials.

A copy of this communication will be sent to Dr. Cayley for his information and guidance.

TRANSLATION of a KHUREETA to his Highness the Maharajah of Cashmere.

IN the note appended to Statement I. A. of the revised tariff of duties chargeable on goods entering Cashmere territory, it is stated that goods from the Punjab passing through Leh *en route* for Yarkand and Turkistan, without being opened or sold, should be liable to a five per cent. *ad valorem* duty only, but no express allusion is made to the case of goods passing under similar circumstances from Yarkand and Turkistan through Leh to the Punjab.

Your Highness's officials, taking advantage of this omission, desire to charge on such goods the exorbitant export and import duties prescribed for goods brought into Cashmere for sale or consumption in Cashmere, and thus greatly to interfere with the trade between Turkistan, and Tibet, and British India.

To this proceeding on the part of your Ahilkars, Dr. Cayley, the officer on special duty at Ladakh, has objected, and his Honor the Lieutenant Governor considers he is quite justified in so doing, for though the note I have above quoted only provides for the case of goods passing through Leh from the Punjab, and makes no special mention of the case of goods passing through Leh from Yarkand, &c., yet the same principle is applicable to both cases, and any other interpretation would be opposed to the spirit of the rules.

The charge of a transit duty at all on goods passing through an angle of your Highness's territory unopened is, as I have remarked in a previous communication, greatly to be regretted, as it is a practice which has been abandoned by the more civilized States of India and elsewhere; but to charge on such goods the high export and import duties levied on goods intended for your Highness's dominions would be calculated to act most injuriously on the trade with British India, and can never have been contemplated by any enlightened ruler.

Accordingly, I am desired to request that your Highness will, without delay, issue orders to your officials at Leh to apply the tariff prescribed for goods passing from the Punjab to Yarkand, &c., to goods passing from Yarkand, &c., to the Punjab; and to inform his Honor of your having done so.

A copy of this communication will be sent to Dr. Cayley for his information.

From the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to Government of the Punjab (No. 1083); dated Simla, 22nd October 1867.

I HAVE laid before the Governor General in Council your letter, No. 371, dated 9th instant, with its enclosures, regarding the restrictions imposed by the Cashmere authorities at Ladakh upon the trade from Eastern Turkistan with British India.

2. In reply, I am directed to state that his Excellency in Council approves of the communications which the Lieutenant Governor has addressed to the Maharajah of Cashmere on the subject, and authorises his Honor to press the demands made in those communications on the Maharajah's attention with equal courtesy and firmness.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to Foreign Secretary to Government of India, with the Governor General, Simla, Confidential (No. 381-807); dated Mureee, 17th October 1867.

I AM directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy in Council, extracts, paragraphs 6 and 7, from Dr. Cayley's Diary, dated 1st instant, regarding emissaries of the Cashmere Government in Central Asia, and obstacles thrown by that Government in the way of Dr. Cayley to prevent traders freely communicating with him.

EXTRACT, paragraphs 6 and 7, from Dr. *Cayley's* Diary, dated 1st October 1867.

Para. 6. The Cashmere Government has agents and news-writers in Yarkand and Khotan and other cities of Turkistan, and there is no doubt that this year it has sent an envoy by Gilgit, and probably Badakshan, either to the Russians, at Khojend, or else to Kokan. It is kept a close secret, but all the traders, &c., know of one having gone.

7. Obstacles are still secretly thrown in my way to prevent the traders freely communicating with me. The Yarkand merchants are on their arrival privately told that they had better not give information or make any complaints to me, as their doing so will be displeasing to the Wazir and to the Maharajah; but that the Maharajah is going to reduce the duties and show them favour in every way. All this is done by some of the trading agents of the Wazir's, and under the directions of the Dewan here, and of course causes shyness and reserve on the part of the merchants, who are not sure whether they may not offend the Maharajah, and so injure their own interests in future years. This is a return to the obstructive system that I before brought to your notice.

(True Extract.)

(signed) *T. H. Thornton*,
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 836-394); dated Murree, 24th October 1867.

IN continuation of my letter, No. 371-786, dated 9th instant, and its enclosure, regarding levy of duty on through-trade from Yarkand to British territory, I am directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency in Council, translation of a letter from the Maharajah of Cashmere, and of my reply of this date thereto.

TRANSLATION of a LETTER from the Maharajah of Cashmere to *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab; dated 17th October 1867.

REPLY to letter of Punjab Government regarding an *ad valorem* duty at the rate of 5 per cent. being levied on unopened merchandise imported from Yarkand, as in the case of similar goods exported from the Punjab.

References have been received from you repeatedly desiring that the tariff of 1864 should be acted upon. In the letter dated 13th April 1867, intimating the appointment of Dr. Cayley, it is expressly stated that the appointment has been made merely with the object of making inquiries regarding the rates of duties laid down in the tariff of 1864.

In

In Schedule 2 B. of that tariff the rate of duty to be levied on goods imported from Yarkand into Ladakh is laid down as follows:—

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
Garda Bhung and Shawl-wool - - - - - - -	18	6	–
Ditto - - ditto - imported from Rampore Bussaher	–	10	–
Ditto - - ditto - - ditto - Kulu - - -	1	–	–

But as my kingdom thrives by the kindness of the British Government, I have made various reductions in the rates of duty.

In the letter of Sir R. Montgomery, dated 14th January 1863 (a copy of which is annexed hereto), the rate of duty on grocery is entered at 15 rupees per cent.; the same rate of duty, viz., 15 rupees per cent., is laid down therein as leviable on all merchandise imported into my dominions, whether intended for Jummoo or Cashmere, or for exportation to Turkistan, and without reference to its being opened or otherwise. But with the view of promoting commerce and pleasing the British Government, notwithstanding that the fulfilment of the conditions mentioned in the above roobacari was deferred by the British Government, I reduced the rate of duty on goods arriving in the Jummoo territory by more than one-half, and on goods arriving at Ladakh or Srinuggur to 12-8 rupees: the rate on unopened goods I fixed altogether at 5 rupees on the prices entered in the invoice, which, considering the price fetched for the goods at Ladakh, will not amount to more than 2 per cent. In the beginning of the present year, four months before the arrival of Dr. Cayley, I made further large reductions in the rates of duty on goods coming from Kulu, and entirely remitted the brokerage duty.

Now, if Dr. Cayley had considered that further revision of the duties was desirable, it was proper that he should have referred the matter to your office, and consulted me, but he took action on his own authority.

I have (before and since the receipt of your letter) written to my officials to carry out Dr. Cayley's orders, pending orders which the Government may issue hereafter.

My agent, whom I intend to depute to wait on his Honor the Lieutenant Governor at Lahore, will make proper representations in this matter.

I seek your satisfaction, and surely you will do nothing to subject me to loss.

Translation of a Letter from *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to the Maharajah of Cashmere; dated Murree, 23rd October 1867.

I AM desired to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated 17th instant, and to express his Honor's regret that your Highness has failed to give a direct reply to the request conveyed in my khureeta of the to the effect that orders should be at once issued that goods arriving from Yarkand and the other countries beyond Cashmere in transit to British territory without being opened should not be charged with a duty of more than 5 per cent. *ad valorem*, the same as that leviable on goods passing from British territory unopened to Yarkand.

But your Highness, instead of giving a direct reply, or promptly complying with the request of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, proposes to send a confidential agent to Lahore, and thus to waste another year in useless representation.

But his Honour, I am desired to state, can admit of no further delay; the matter is urgent, and it is most important that the merchants now assembled at Ladakh be at once informed that the exorbitant export and import duties shall no longer be charged on the through-trade from Turkistan to British India, or they will return disappointed to their homes,—a circumstance which cannot fail seriously to retard the progress of British commerce.

I am, therefore, again to request that your Highness will at once issue the requisite orders; and further, to warn you of the responsibility you incur by further delay.

I am to add that Dr. Cayley will be instructed to remain at Ladakh until the orders are duly promulgated.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General—(No. 407-848); dated Murree, 28th October 1867.

I AM directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy in Council, extracts, paragraphs 1 to 3, from Dr. Cayley's diary, dated the 15th instant.

EXTRACT, paragraphs 1 to 3, from Dr. *H. Cayley*'s Diary, dated 15th October 1867.

Paragraph 1.—A MAN named Shere Sing, an agent of the Maharajah, arrived here two nights ago from Yarkand, and went on the next morning to Jummoo. This man was formerly Kotwal of Srinuggur, and in the guise of a Mussulman was sent two years ago *viâ* Cabul and Badakshan to Bokhara, and then on to Samarkand and Khojend, as agent

of the Maharajah, and returned by Kokan and Yarkand. His arrival here was kept a close secret; he came in the night and went off the next morning. There is little doubt that he went as envoy from Cashmere to the Russian governor at Khojend. I hear that two men, named Ahmad Khan and Mahomed Khan, were brought to you from Jummoo in February and March last by Dewan Jowala Sahai to give you such information as they picked up on a visit to Bokhara, from whence they had returned two months before. I am told by men coming from Yarkand that these two men were sent as agents of the Maharajah to Khojend, and had a friendly interview with the Russian governor there. Two agents of the Maharajah have returned this year, one from Khotan and one from Yarkand, and there are now two agents and news-writers in Yarkand who are constantly trying to get the traders from Hindoostan into trouble by representing them as spies, and one or two have been imprisoned in consequence. These two men seem to be even spreading ill reports about the intentions of the British Government with regard to Eastern Toorkistan.

2. The latest accounts of the Russians say that they have not taken, or advanced on, Samarkand, but after defeating the Bokhara army at Yangkurgan, 12 koss in front of Samarkand, they have not made any further advance, but that the people of Sheri Sebz (to the south of Samarkand) have submitted to Russia, and are prepared to join against Bokhara. The Khan of Kokan, too, has come to an understanding with Russia that, if Bokhara is taken, they will submit without resistance, but till then they are to be left alone.

3. Yarkandi traders are still arriving, and many have gone on *viâ* Lahoul to the Punjab.

From the Foreign Secretary, with the Governor General, to the Secretary to Government of the Punjab (No. 1128); dated Camp Lucknow, 16th November 1867.

I HAVE laid before the Governor General in Council the extract from Dr. Cayley's diary forwarded with your letter, No. 407, dated 28th ultimo, and with reference to the passages cited in the margin, I am directed to request that Dr. Cayley may be called upon to furnish the evidence on which these statements are based.

"There are now two agents and news-writers in Yarkand, who are constantly trying to get the traders from Hindoostan into trouble by representing them as spies." * * * * *

"These two men seem to be ever spreading ill reports about the intentions of the British Government with regard to Eastern Toorkistan."

2. His Excellency in Council observes that such statements should not be made lightly, and unless their correctness can be placed beyond doubt by a careful scrutiny of the evidence on which they are founded.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 872–419); dated Camp Dina, 8th November 1867.

I AM directed to forward, for the information of the Supreme Government, extract paragraph 2, of the weekly narrative of the officer on special duty in Ladakh, dated 24th September last.

EXTRACT, paragraph 2, from DIARY of Dr. *H. Cayley*, on Special Duty, Ladakh; dated 24th September 1867.

Paragraph 2. THE road from Turkistan has at last been opened, and Yakhoo Kush Begi has given permission to all traders to pass, and a large number have already reached Ladakh; and yesterday evening two of them arrived in Lé; they say that more than 1,000 ponies with merchandise are now on their way. This morning I had a long conversation with one of the merchants named Gul Mahomed, who was in Khotan at the time of its capture, and afterwards went to Yarkand, from whence he has now come. He confirms all that I have before related about the war between Yarkand and Khotan, and says that when Kush Begi had seized the Khotan ruler and his sons and all the head men and entered Ilchi, the capital of the country, the people of that city, and of Kharraskash and other towns, and of all the country, joined together to resist him, and were completely defeated, and all the towns and villages were given up to plunder, and about 14,000 were slain, but no women were injured, and the traders were all protected and treated with great consideration, and some who had been robbed during the disturbance were compensated for their losses. Only the agent of the Cashmere Government was fined 50 "Kurns" (nearly 10,000 rupees) for having interfered in politics. Kush Begi sent Hababoolah Khan of Kholan, and his two sons and grandchildren, and about 80 of the chief men of the place, to Yarkand, and there had them all beheaded; he then went and took Aksu and Kucha, and all the surrounding places. The Tunganis of these two cities joined him, and by their help he easily overthrew the rulers, who, with their followers, were all either killed or

or fled away, but the people were not plundered or otherwise injured. Kush Begi is now on his way back to Yarkand, and sent the order beforehand to open all the roads to traders. He seems to be greatly respected for his energy and determination, and for the justice and order that he maintains in his army and in the country generally. The army, which musters about 15,000 men, is said to be regularly and well paid, and kept under most strict discipline, and any man guilty of any violence or oppression is most seriously punished, and thieves and robbers are most seriously dealt with. He is most anxious to promote trade with and through his dominions, and the duties he imposes, viz., 2½ per cent. import and no export duties, are very light.

It is said in Yarkand that both Kokan and Bokhara have submitted to Russia, but have not been occupied; this agrees with the news received by other channels.

Nothing is known of any advance of the Chinese to retake Turkistan, but it is said that the Tunganis and Imperialists are still fighting in North-Western China.

There is every reason to believe that Kush Begi will do his best to keep on friendly terms with the Indian Government, and to advance trade between the two countries, and that great advantages will result from his having made himself master of Khotan and the other countries.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 382-808); dated Murree, 17th October 1867.

I AM directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy in Council, extracts, paragraphs 4 and 5, from Dr. Cayley's diary, dated 1st instant, together with copy of a postscript attached to the diary, regarding the state of affairs in Eastern Turkistan.

EXTRACTS, paragraphs 4 and 5, from *Dr. Cayley's* Diary, dated the 1st October 1867.

Paragraph 4.—The state of affairs in Eastern Turkistan seems to be as follows:—Yakub Kush Begi is now master of Yarkand, Khotan, Kashgar, Aksu, Ush Turfan, and Kucha, but is nominally a Lieutenant of Khoda Yar Khan, the King of Kokand, to whom all these States own allegiance and pay tribute; but Kush Begi seems inclined to throw off the Kokand yoke and become independent; and, apparently, he has power and resources enough to enable him to do so, as he has completely destroyed or driven out all his enemies in the countries now under him. It is said that he has this year refused to pay the usual annual tribute of 2,000 "Kurus," about 300,000 rupees. He has now with him in his camp, and is treating with great attention and honour, Mahomed Ali Khan, whose father, the former King of Kokand, was killed in battle by the King of Bokhara some 20 years ago, and who himself escaped from captivity in Bokhara a year or two ago, and it is thought that Kush Begi will support this Prince against the present King of Kokand, and try and drive the latter out. If any such dispute were to take place, it is probable that the Russians would step in and assist one side. There seems to be a general feeling of distrust and dislike towards Russia all through Eastern Turkistan, and a determination to resist any further Russian encroachments in that direction; but of course internal disputes would quite prevent any effectual resistance being made. The authority of Kush Begi seems to be submitted to without opposition, and he seems to be both feared and respected for his bravery, justice, and liberality.

5.—A vakeel has just arrived from Yarkand with presents of ponies, silks, silver, &c., from Yakub Kush Begi for the Maharajah of Cashmere. The envoy is an officer of rank in the Yarkand army, named Mahomed Nazar Meer Akhoor; Suddiq Koolie, one of the Maharajah's vakeels at Yarkand, is accompanying him. The envoy, accompanied by the Dewan, paid me a visit this morning. He said that Kush Begi wished to be on friendly relations with the English Government, and was desirous of promoting trade between Yarkand and Hindustan. I explained to him that I was sent here by the British Government to protect the traders from ill-usage, and to see that they were not made to pay excessive duties or undue exactions; and I hoped that the Yarkand ruler would assist in furthering trade, and in rendering the roads safe and free from robbers, and so on.

P. S.—The following intelligence is, I believe, authentic:—Kush Begi has (for a time) made friendly terms with Kokand, and has sent envoys to that place, and to the Tunganis of Ili (Kuldja), and to the King of Bokhara, calling upon them all to join him against the Russians, and telling the Bokhara king that if he will only hold out bodly, they will relieve him in a very short time. Kush Begi is collecting a large army, and soldiers join him from all sides, and has a good supply of guns, ammunition, &c. The cannons have been manufactured under the directions of a number of Sikhs, who, two years ago, returned with the Khotan envoy from the Punjab.

(True Extracts.)

(signed) *T. H. Thornton*,
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

From the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department (No. 428-890); dated Camp Baganwala, 14th November 1867.

In forwarding, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General in Council, extract, paragraph 2, from Dr. Cayley's Narrative from Ladakh, for the week ending 29th ultimo, I am directed to state that the Maharajah of Cashmere has consented to the reduction of transit duties to five per cent. *ad valorem*, and has issued orders to this effect to his officials in Ladakh.

2. I am further to mention that traders from Yarkand bring a report that Yakoob Kush Begi has been assassinated, but this is a mere rumour requiring confirmation.

Extract, paragraph 2, from Narrative of *Dr. Cayley*, on Special Duty, Ladakh, dated 29th October 1867.

Paragraph 2.—Your letter, No. 787, of October 9th, with copies of two letters addressed to the Maharajah, reached me on the 25th. I at once put in force the rule of a five per cent. *ad valorem* duty on all goods passing unopened through Leh, and to those traders still here who had paid the full import duties; pending the result of my reference to you on the subject, I ordered a refund to be made of the amount they had paid in excess of five per cent. Although it is not quite definitely so stated, the meaning of your letter clearly is, that all goods passing through unopened, and which are not for use or consumption in Cashmere territory, should pay the five per cent. transit duty only. The duty is on the goods and not on the owners, and is not affected by the goods changing hands in transit. As a general rule the Yarkandees exchange their merchandise in Leh with the Hindustani merchants, and each party returns with its respective purchases to its own country. All such goods pass unopened through Ladakh (except so far as is necessary to examine samples), and are not for sale or consumption in Cashmere, but remain as it were in bond, and of course such goods come under this rule, and in this spirit I have applied it. The merchants, of whom there are many now in Leh, came forward to me in a body to hear the transit duty explained, and nothing can exceed their gratitude at this boon being granted them. One man had to pay only 50 rupees, instead of 800 rupees duty; and, as a rule, they had only to pay one-sixth of the previous amounts. It is fortunate that so many of the Yarkandees are still here, as they now see what has been done for them, and all say that there will be no limit to the trade in future years.

(True Extract.)
(signed) *E. W. Trotter*,
Officiating Assistant Secretary to Government,
Punjab.

From the Foreign Secretary to the Government India, to the Secretary to Government of the Punjab (No. 1160); dated Fort William, 29th November 1867.

In reply to your letter, No. 428–890, dated 14th instant, submitting an extract from Dr. Cayley's Narrative from Ladakh, for the week ending 29th ultimo, I am directed to state that the liberal action of the Maharajah of Cashmere in reducing the transit duties to five per cent. *ad valorem*, is duly appreciated by the Governor General in Council.

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., Secretary to Government of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General (No. 837–395); dated Murree, 24th October 1867.

In continuation of my letter No. 371–786, dated 9th instant, and its enclosure, on the subject of interference exercised at Ladakh with trade from Yarkand and Turkistan with British territory, I am directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy in Council, extracts, paragraphs 1, 2, and 3 from Dr. Cayley's diary, dated 8th instant, regarding the state of trade in Ladakh and the presence of a Russian envoy at Kashgar.

Extracts, paragraphs 1, 2, and 3, from Diary of *Dr. Cayley*, on Special Duty, Ladakh, dated 8th October 1867.

Paragraph 1.—The accompanying tables show the extent of the trade through Ladakh during the past month. The imports at the Punjab rates have amounted to nearly 36,000 rupees in value, and on the spot are worth nearly double that sum; and goods to the value of 23,000 rupees have been exported. Merchants are still arriving both from Yarkand and the Punjab.

2. The

2. The Yarkandi merchants, who are coming in large numbers, chiefly, as I have before mentioned, in consequence of having heard that a British officer was stationed here, and that the duties were lowered, are now thoroughly disgusted at finding the old extravagant duties still in force, and they will never return here unless some reduction is made this year. The exorbitant import and export duties on goods from Yarkand, amounting to over 30 per cent., must destroy all trade by private individuals, and will again throw it all into the hands of a favoured few.

I am convinced from all I hear that English goods would entirely beat Russian goods out of the field in Eastern Turkistan, and would probably soon find their way to Western China. All the merchants say they could supply English goods from Bombay and Calcutta cheaper and of better quality than any that came from Russia if only the Ladakh transit duties were lowered; and there is no doubt that reducing these duties would vastly increase the revenue that the Maharajah derives from customs after a very short time, even so soon as next year. I am most anxious for an early reply on the subject of the transit duty to be imposed on goods from Yarkand passing unopened through Ladakh, for the future of the trade almost depends on this point being at once settled in favour of the traders.

3. I have no further news to give of Central Asian events, but a Russian envoy has been sent to Kashgar, and is there awaiting the return of Kush Begi.

(True Extract.)
(signed) *T. H. Thornton,*
Secretary to Government, Punjab.

(No. 21.—Political.)

Sir Stafford Northcote, Bart., to the Governor General of India in Council.

India Office, 15 February 1868.

1. The enclosures to your Excellency's letter in the Foreign Department, No. 177, of the 7th December 1867, contain much interesting information relating to the commerce and politics of Central Asia; but the only subject which calls for any notice from Her Majesty's Government is that to which you have especially invited my attention, namely, the "restrictions imposed by the Cashmere authorities at Ladakh upon the trade between Eastern Toorkistan and British India."

2. The general sentiments of Her Majesty's Government, with respect to the conduct of native chiefs in maintaining illiberal systems of commercial policy, have been communicated to you in my Despatch of the 30th of March 1867, and I regret to observe that the instructions therein contained, with reference to the course to be pursued towards them in the event of their imposing duties on transit through their dominions unfavourable to British trade, have not been sufficiently regarded by the authorities of the Punjab. The peremptory tone of the letter addressed by the Secretary of the Punjab Government (not, as is usual, by the Lieutenant Governor himself) to the Maharajah on the 23rd of October, is neither in conformity with the views which I have communicated to your Excellency's Government, nor consistent with the courtesy and respect which should be shown to an independent Prince in the position of the ruler of Cashmere.

3. I observe that the Maharajah has finally agreed to an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent. on all goods passing unopened through Leh; and I trust that, having consented to this liberal measure, his Highness will adhere to it, and that he will eventually find that the increased development of trade is advantageous to the interests of his own country. I hope, however, that there will be no undue interference on the part of any of your officers (such as is apparently indicated in Dr. Cayley's letter of the 29th of October) in enforcing these regulations.

Extract from Despatch of the 30th March 1867.—No. 50.

2. Her Majesty's Government have learnt, from official and other quarters, that complaints of the commercial policy of the Native Princes of India are of frequent occurrence; that there is a general tendency on their part to maintain high transit duties, which are necessarily disadvantageous to our own subjects and to our own Government. The sentiments of Her Majesty's Government have

recently been communicated to you with respect to the proceedings of the King of Burmah and the Maharajah of Cashmere. In the present instance, the complaint suggests special considerations in connection with the passage of our railways through the territories of Native Princes, undertakings which, I fear, are still regarded by them with much suspicion and distrust. But in addition to these feelings, which time will probably assuage, there can be little doubt that it is the material loss of revenue, unaccompanied with benefits very directly affecting their own subjects, that Native Princes most regard. Every care, in such a case, should be taken to render these enterprises as little obnoxious as possible to the native durbars, and if concessions are required injurious to the finances of the State, some corresponding advantage should be granted to the native chief to reconcile him to the loss which he sustains.

(No. 23.—Foreign Department.—Political.)

The Governor General of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India, dated Fort William, 6 February 1868.

We have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, copy of a correspondence with the Punjab Government, showing the satisfactory result of Dr. Cayley's medical operations in Ladakh during the past year.

(No. 28–18, dated 9th January 1868.)

From the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India.

I am directed by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor to forward, for submission to his Excellency the Viceroy, copy of a letter dated 23rd ultimo, from Dr. Cayley, reporting the results of his medical operations in Ladakh during the past year.

2. In the Lieutenant Governor's opinion the Report appears a very appropriate and satisfactory one, and the results of the season's operations are on the whole gratifying and creditable to Dr. Cayley.

3. On the receipt of your reply, the Lieutenant Governor proposes to publish the Report in the "Punjab Gazette" for general information.

(Dated 23rd December 1867.)

From *Henry Cayley*, Esq., on Special Duty, to Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

In compliance with your letter No. 960, dated 3rd December, I have the honour to submit the following Report, showing the result of my medical operations in Ladakh:—

2. I reached Le on the 24th June, and at once opened a dispensary; that is to say, I let people know that all applicants would receive medical treatment. I was accompanied by a hospital compounder as a native doctor, and had brought up with me a small supply of what I supposed would be the most useful medicines and instruments.

3. During the first few days patients began to come freely, and then the attendance suddenly ceased, or was confined to the sepoys and other servants of the Government. This was owing, as I represented in my Reports at the time, to the orders of the Dewan and local officials, who endeavoured to prevent any one from coming near me; but on my vigorously protesting against such opposition, the obstructions were removed, and the sick again attended freely.

4. Early in July, when the small bungalow was ready for my reception, I gave up a room for the native doctor and for seeing out-patients; and after another month I commenced to make use of some of my tents for the accommodation of in-door patients; chiefly operation cases.

5. The

5. The following Tables show the attendance of sick during each month, the principal diseases that came under treatment, and the number of admissions under each disease:—

	June 25th to 30th.	July.	August.	September.	October to Nov. 6.	Total.
Admissions - - -	22	239	149	120	129	659
Daily average of sick -	6	30	29	26	22	27·5

Diseases.

Fevers - - - - 92	Skin diseases - - - 10	Dyspepsia - - - 99
Ophthalmia - - - 64	Paralysis - - - 8	Hepatitis - - - 1
Diarrhœa - - - 3	Epilepsy - - - 5	Caries of teeth - - 39
Dysentery - - - 7	Cephulœa - - - 3	Abscess - - - 7
Throat diseases - - 8	Deafness - - - 11	Ulcer - - - - 20
Rheumatism - - - 57	Cataract - - - 14	Accidents - - - 19
Neuralgia - - - 23	Amaurosis - - - 2	Erysipelas - - - 1
Venereal diseases - - 69	Staphyloma - - - 3	Piles - - - - 2
Scurvy - - - - 9	Entispion - - - 6	Ascarides - - - 1
Scabies - - - - 3	Bronchitis - - - 28	Frost Bite - - - 2
Tumours - - - 11	Colic - - - - 16	Other diseases - - 17

As shown in the foregoing list, fever cases were numerous, but were nearly all of the form of simple continued fever, depending usually upon cold, fatigue, exposure to the sun, and similar causes. Amongst the pilgrims, merchants, and others coming from the plains, there were, however, many cases of severe remittent and intermittent fever. In Ladakh itself, and among the people of the country, malarious fever seems almost, if not quite, unknown.

Chronic ophthalmia is very prevalent, and is the cause of loss of sight in many cases, this result being chiefly due to want of treatment and care.

Amongst the people of the country diarrhœa and dysentery are almost unknown; the cases that came for treatment were nearly all amongst pilgrims and traders from other countries.

Chronic rheumatism is very prevalent among the Ladakis, and gives rise to great and protracted suffering; the causes seem to be insufficient food and clothing, exposure to cold, constantly working in the wet whilst irrigating the fields; and the disease is frequently accompanied by a tendency to scurvy. Neuralgic affections, which are also very common, seem to depend on the same causes.

Venereal affections are everywhere prevalent, and the sepoys of the Le garrison suffer to a great degree; but the diseases of this class are not generally of a very malignant type; less so than in the plains of India.

Skin diseases generally are very rare, and scabies, in spite of the dirty habits of the people, is almost unknown.

Scurvy, or rather a scorbutic tendency, is very general, and accompanies many of the other diseases. This is owing to the poor diet on which the people generally live, and the absence of fruit and fresh vegetable in their food during the greater part of the year.

Cancerous diseases are not uncommon, and several cases attended at the dispensary for treatment. Cataract prevails to a great degree, and 14 patients with this disease applied for relief, in most of which I performed the operation of extraction.

Other diseases of the eyes, leading to ultimate blindness, are frequently met with.

Bronchitis and lung diseases are very rare among the Ladakis. There were a good many cases of bronchitis among merchants and other strangers, but they were seldom severe, notwithstanding the severity of the climate, the extreme dryness of which seems to counteract the effects of the cold. I did not see or hear of a single case of pulmonary consumption.

Amongst the people of the country dyspepsia is one of the most prevalent and troublesome complaints, and gives rise to great and long-continued suffering. It is most undoubtedly due to the unvarying and indigestible diet of the people, who in a great measure live on masses of uncooked dough made out of "suttoo," or flour of parched grain.

Sufferers from toothache and decayed teeth were very numerous, and always came forward with the greatest readiness to have the painful tooth extracted, bearing the pain of the operation with the most stoical indifference.

Accidents presented nothing unusual; severe contusions from kicks by horses were very frequent among the Yarkandis. Many of the Yarkand horses refuse to be shod unless they are first thrown down and their legs firmly tied, and in this process many severe blows are received.

The diseases, stone in the bladder, leprosy, goitre, a nd scrofula, which are so common in the lower ranges of the hills, and which one would expect to find in Ladakh, are almost, if not quite, unknown.

6. *Operations.*—The principal operations performed were the following:

I. *Cataract.*—The operation of extraction was performed in 12 cases, generally by the method of linear section, so strongly advocated by Dr. Macnamara in Calcutta. Of the 12 cases, in seven fair sight was restored, three were doubtful, and in two the eyes were quite lost by inflammation. The performance of this operation, by which sight was restored to the blind, made a great impression on the people, and on my return journey the blind were brought from all sides to meet me on the road, though, of course, I could not then perform such an operation. Another year all these cases would be ready to go into Le for treatment.

II. Entispion, or growing inwards of the eyelids and eyelashes, which is generally the result of neglected ophthalmia, I found a very common affection. It is one that causes constant and acute pain and irritation, and frequently in time leads to blindness and destruction of the eye. I operated in 11 cases by the usual method of removing a fold of skin and muscular fibre from the affected eyelid, and the cure was in every case complete.

Operations for the removal of tumours were performed in five cases; some of the tumours were cancerous.

Besides the above, many minor operations were performed.

7. The climate of Ladakh, at the altitude of Le, about 11,500 feet above the sea, is, during the summer months, most delightful and remarkably healthy.

The air is always dry and bracing, never hot in the shade, though pleasantly warm. The weather is almost uninterruptedly fine; the rain-fall during the four or five months is not above three inches, and there are very few cloudy days.

During the months of July and August the readings of the thermometer in the shade were as follows:

Maximum - - -	80°	Minimum - - -	42°
Average maximum - -	72°	Average minimum - -	49°

In the sun's rays an ordinary thermometer rose to 136°.

During September.

Maximum - - -	65°	Minimum - - -	36°
Average maximum -	60°	Average minimum - -	38°

In the sun - - - 127°

During October and first week of November.

Maximum - - -	58°	Minimum - - -	18°
Average maximum - -	40°	Average minimum - -	22°

In the sun - - - 102°

During winter the climate is very severe and extremely cold. Even in October there were slight falls of snow in the valley of Le, and in the beginning of November the whole valley of the Indus was covered with snow two or three inches deep.

8. Of the patients, 532 were male and 126 female; there were only 10 children under 12 years of age. There were patients from almost every race and people, either dwelling in or passing through Ladakh, as shown in the following list:—

Ladakis - - - - - - - - - -	260
Bultistanis - - - - - - - - - -	84
Yarkandis or Turkis - - - - - - - -	71
Cashmiris - - - - - - - - - -	45
Argoons, or half-breed between Cashmiris and Ladakis - -	49
Sepoys of Le Garrison - - - - - - - -	97
Men from Lhassa - - - - - - - -	5
Men from Kulu and Lahoul - - - - - - -	14
Cabulis - - - - - - - - - -	3
Hindustanis - - - - - - - - -	35
Others - - - - - - - - - -	5

Of the total number, 138 were traders and 37 pilgrims from Central Asia.

This varied list proves that the dispensary was appreciated, and there was no prejudice felt against European treatment. One man came all the way from Yarkand for the sole purpose of receiving medical treatment for a chronic disease.

9. Considering the circumstances under which the dispensary was established, that it was newly introduced amongst an ignorant people unused to our customs, and who had to discover for themselves that they derived any benefit by attending, that the Ladakis are extremely poor and with difficulty able to leave their work, however ill they may be, and many of those who did attend were carried off to perform enforced labour, and that for a long time there was the general impression abroad among the people that the Cashmere official would be offended at their attending the dispensary—considering all these circumstances, I think that the results of the medical operations in Ladakh have been on the whole successful, and have certainly been the means of relieving much suffering. I may add,

add, too, that the opportunity the dispensaries afforded me of communicating with the traders and others, and of conversing freely with them, were very great, and this I found of the greatest advantage in enabling me to pick up information; and there is no doubt that the merchants have many of them returned to Central Asia, feeling a very lively gratitude for the benefits they have received; and such a feeling is calculated to spread abroad a spirit of friendship towards India among the races beyond the Himalayas, and thus indirectly promote future trade.

10. The hospital compounder, Khuda Buksh, who acted in the capacity of native doctor, has done his duty with zeal and activity, and to my entire satisfaction. He has by hard work picked up a very fair knowledge of the Boti language, and thus greatly increased his usefulness.

(No. 116, dated 31st January 1868.)

From the Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to Government of the Punjab.

I AM directed by his Excellency the Governor General in Council to acknowledge your No. 28-18, of the 9th current, submitting copy of Dr. Cayley's Report on dispensary operations at Le in Ladakh.

2. The results set forth appear to be highly creditable to Dr. Cayley's professional zeal and humanity. The good hereby effected in those remote regions will extend even beyond the physical benefits conferred.

3. These interesting papers will be published in the Supplement to the "Gazette of India."

EAST INDIA (LADAKH).

COPY of CORRESPONDENCE between the Secretary of State for *India* and the Governor General in Council, relating to the Appointment of a COMMERCIAL AGENT in *Ladakh*, and to his Proceedings there.

(*Lord William Hay.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, ***to be Printed,***
16 *March* 1868.

"COPY of PAPERS relating to the Route of Captain *W. C. McLeod* from *Moulmein* to the Frontiers of *China*, and to the Route of Dr. *Richardson* on his Fourth Mission to the *Shan* Provinces of *Burmah*, or Extracts from the same."

India Office,
9 August 1869.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political Department.

(Mr. Somerset Beaumont.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
10 *August* 1869.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.
CLASS

COPY of PAPERS relating to the Route of Captain *W. C. McLeod* from *Moulmein* to the Frontiers of *China*, and to the Route of Dr. *Richardson* on his Fourth Mission to the *Shan* Provinces of *Burmah*, or Extracts from the same.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

Revenue Department, 3 August (No. 16) 1838.

I HAVE the honour to submit, for the information of your Honourable Court, a condensed Report of the missions on which Captain McLeod and Dr. Richardson were deputed by the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces, together with copies of the original documents forwarded by the Commissioner to this Government, and of the orders passed thereon.

2. On the 17th December 1836, Mr. Commissioner Blundell reported that, under the permission granted by Government on the 22nd September 1835, he had deputed his assistant, Captain McLeod, on a mission to the Shan States tributary to the Siamese, instructing him to penetrate to the frontier towns of China, with the view of opening a commercial intercourse with the traders of that nation. Dr. Richardson was in like manner deputed to the Shan States in connection with Ava, and charged with the conduct of a caravan of traders from Moulmein; instructions had been given him to penetrate through the country of the Red Karens as far as "Moné," thence to endeavour to make his way to "Ava," and join the Resident at that court.

3. Although the latter mission had not been authorised, still as it was likely to prove of great utility, and the distance of Moulmein from the Presidency was too great to admit of an answer to any application being received before the season had become too far advanced, the Commissioner hoped that his Lordship would not withhold his sanction from the proceeding, the more particularly as the expense would be comparatively trifling. The aggregate outlay on account of these two missions had been 1,300 rupees for presents to the chiefs, and 1,696 rupees for the purchase of elephants, both of which sums the Commissioner stated would probably be recovered by the sale of return presents, and of the animals after the termination of the missions; 250 rupees would cover the monthly expenditure on account of coolies, interpreters, provisions, &c.

4. Mr. Blundell submitted copies of the instructions and letters of credence with which he had furnished Captain McLeod and Dr. Richardson, and remarked that, from the mild and conciliatory manners of these two officers, and from their scientific acquirements, he had every reason to expect a most favourable result. He observed also, that it would be very desirable if he were invested with a discretionary power to depute officers to the bordering countries with the view of conciliating the chiefs, or of opening any new channel of trade on the spur of the moment, which if delayed for the special authority of Government, might not afterwards be so favourably prosecuted.

5. Lord Auckland, in approving and confirming the Commissioner's proceedings, remarked, that he was willing to entrust that officer with the discretionary power solicited, provided no considerable expense should be incurred, and he only availed himself of the permission when circumstances would render it inexpedient to await the previous sanction of Government.

6. On the 20th June, the Commissioner submitted the Report of Captain McLeod, and subsequently that of Dr. Richardson.

7. From Captain McLeod's Report, it will appear that he quitted Moulmein on the 13th December 1836, and after proceeding as far as "Zimmay" (a town of the Shans belonging to the Siamese), it was evident that the authorities were unwilling to permit him to penetrate to China, in the first place asserting that

the roads were impassable, in consequence of their being infested with robbers, and afterwards, with withholding their permission for him to proceed. A detention of some days consequently took place, during which time Captain McLeod took every opportunity of impressing upon the people the advantages which must result from an open and unrestricted commerce, and of ingratiating himself with the chiefs, in which he appears to have been successful.

8. Personally, the authorities were well disposed to forward Captain McLeod's views, but it was evident they were fearful of incurring the censure of the Government of Bankok, who, it would seem, were wholly opposed to any communication being opened with our Government. At length, after frequent remonstrances, permission was given to Captain McLeod, as a favour, to proceed to Kiang Tung (which place appeared, from the reports of the Chinese traders, to be one of importance, and on the route to which there were many considerable stations). Accordingly, on the 29th January 1837, that officer set out for that town, under the escort of a Shan officer, who had been privately instructed to mislead and conduct the party by the route the Chinese caravans travelled. As, however, Captain McLeod had anticipated some such deception, and firmly persisted in pursuing the route to Kiang Túng, the escort acquiesced and consented to accompany him.

9. On Captain McLeod's arrival at Kiang Túng, on the 20th February 1837, the chiefs of the town were lavish in their terms of respect, and evinced a hearty desire to cultivate our friendship, the Tsaubwa promising that he would do all in his power to induce traders to visit Moulmein if the route by Zimmay were open to them.

10. From all the information which Captain McLeod could obtain, it would appear that these people are nominally tributary to the Burmese, for whom they have little affection, and would willingly throw off their yoke to place themselves under British protection, of which they have a very high opinion. The country is well peopled, and is most favourably situated for commerce with China, with which nation a considerable trade is carried on.

11. The merchants who accompanied Captain McLeod, finding a good market for their merchandise, stopped at Kiang Túng, while that officer, having provided himself with ponies, left on the 1st March for Kiang Húng, where he arrived on the 9th. This place is described as one of considerable importance, and it might almost, Captain McLeod observes, be considered a Chinese province, though at the same time it acknowledges some dependence on the Burmese. The country was hardly resettled, after having been convulsed by political events arising out of an attempt, on the part of the uncle of the heir to the throne (who was a minor), to possess himself of the reins of government. At first the functionaries of the place seemed suspicious of the motives which had induced the mission, and reference was made by them to the Chinese authorities at Yunan for instructions. The orders received thence forbade Captain McLeod's proceeding, and stated that the proper route was by Canton, where British ships were constantly arriving. As far as the trade went, the Chinese officers observed that their own merchants were at liberty to visit Moulmein, and ours to trade with them on the Chinese frontier. After remaining at Kiang Húng some days, orders were received from the Burman Court, directing Captain McLeod's return by the route he had come, and finding that it would be useless to remonstrate, he left Kiang Húng on the 26th March, reached Kiang Túng on the 31st of that month, and Zimmay on the 18th of April. At this town Captain McLeod remained some time, endeavouring to obtain permission for the road through Zimmay to Kiang Túng being thrown open to the traders, as it appeared to that officer the success of the mission depended upon this concession, and as this was the only good and safe route by which the merchants could travel, and on which, too, many important towns were situated. The Chou Hona (or chief officer) positively refused to permit traders to pass through the Zimmay territories to Kiang Túng, and stated that the King of Siam had forbidden all communication between the two States; for although the Kiang Tungs were not Burmans, yet they were subjects of Ava, and the hatred between the Siamese and Burmese could never be eradicated. All discussion and remonstrance were in vain; the Chou Hona would not, and could not, permit the traders to pass by Kiang Túng, and over the other route by which the Chinese caravans came to Zimmay, and which is

very

very difficult and dangerous; Captain McLeod consequently returned to Moulmein by a different route.

12. Upon the whole, the people generally were very well inclined to carry on an extensive trade, and also to permit the Chinese and our traders to pass freely through the country; the great obstacles are the jealousy and animosity existing between the Courts of Bankok and Ava, and without the permission of the rulers of those countries, it would not be possible to prosecute the trade with any advantage. All the Chinese who were spoken to on this subject, appeared very anxious to trade with Moulmein, but represented the difficulties as too great by any other route than that of *viâ* Kiang Túng and Zimmay.

13. Dr. Richardson's Report is not so favourable as that of Captain McLeod. After having with great difficulty and with a very scanty supply of provisions, penetrated through the Red Karen country, the inhabitants of which though rude were very friendly, that officer reached the Burmah town of Moné, in the Shan States; here he was subjected to much indignity, and not permitted to proceed until instructions had been received from Ava. The interval was employed in endeavouring to ingratiate himself with the chiefs, and to prevail upon them to protect such traders as might visit the place. In these endeavours he was partially successful, and those traders who had accompanied him were permitted to open and expose their goods for sale. Shortly after intelligence of Prince Sarrawaddie's rebellion was received, and the chiefs strongly urged the necessity of Dr. Richardson's return; but a few days subsequently a permission arriving for him to proceed to Ava, he determined on going thither, and after much difficulty and detention, he reached that city on the 28th May in company with some of the chiefs; he left Ava on the 17th June following, in the company of Colonel Burney, the Resident at that Court.

14. The Commissioner in commenting upon these two missions, observed, that much benefit might accrue, were it possible to prevail on the Court of Bankok to open the road to Kiang Túng *viâ* Zimmay. He proposed, with Lord Auckland's sanction, to address a letter to the Minister of Siam, detailing the objects and urging the expediency of the measure. Regarding the eastern route, noticed as the one now used by the Chinese traders between their country and Zimmay, he thought it would not be amiss if an officer were deputed to visit the chiefs of the people on that route, which had never yet been travelled by Europeans. The country was represented to abound in cattle, and could supplies be drawn from thence, it might prove a matter of great consequence, and one likely to bring about a considerable reduction in the expense of provisioning the European troops stationed in the Tenasserim Provinces, besides rendering them independent of the precarious sources from which the supplies are now procured. It is to be regretted, Mr. Blundell remarked, that the route so successfully travelled over by Dr. Richardson cannot be available, in consequence of the unsettled state of the Burmese Empire, and the jealousy of their present ruler.

15. Subsequently the Commissioner forwarded the Journals of Messrs. McLeod and Richardson, and along with that of the former officer, he submitted a letter explanatory of several circumstances alluded to therein, and expressive of Captain McLeod's willingness to undertake a mission to the more easterly Shan States, which appeared to be very desirous of cultivating a friendly intercourse with us.

I have, &c.
(signed) *A. Ross.*

Fort William,
the 3rd August 1838.

This Despatch having been laid before the Honourable the President in Council of India in Council on the 24th September 1838, is forwarded with his approbation.

(signed) *T. H. Maddock,*
Officiating Secretary to the Government of India.

No. 32.

From *E. A. Blundell,* Esq., Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, to Lieutenant *W. C. McLeod,* Assistant to the Commissioner; dated the 25th of November 1836.

HAVING received the sanction of Government to depute an officer to endeavour to reach the frontier provinces of China, in order to open a communication with that country and with the intermediate States, I have the honour to acquaint you that I have selected you for this interesting duty, and to request your attention to the following instructions.

2nd. You are aware, from a perusal of the Report of Dr. Richardson's last mission to Laboung and Zimmay, that he fell in with the caravan of Chinese traders who annually visit those places, and who expressed to him both a willingness that he should accompany them on their return home, and an assurance that he would meet with no difficulties or obstruction either on the route or in their country. Judging from this, and from the little information I have obtained on the subject, I am led to entertain sanguine hopes of your success on this, the main object of your mission, though, after reaching Zimmay, the ulterior means of effecting it must be left entirely to your judgment and discretion.

3rd. You will quit Moulmein as soon as practicable after the 1st proximo, and proceed direct to Laboung and Zimmay, to the chiefs of which States you will be furnished with letters of introduction. In another paper you will receive instruction on some points relating to those States not connected with your mission to the frontiers of China. A perusal of Dr. Richardson's Journals of his several visits to these States, will supply you with ample information regarding them. There is every reason to expect that your reception among them will be cordial and friendly, and that you will readily be allowed to proceed through them. The object of your mission will be made known in my letters to the chiefs, and their assistance requested in promoting it. In your communication with them, you will explain that it is our anxious wish to open a trade with all our neighbours, whereby each may be mutually benefited, and that as they have always expressed themselves to Dr. Richardson, willing to promote those views, you have been instructed to proceed as far as China in order to make known to the different countries through which you will pass the market that is open for their produce at Moulmein, and the facility of obtaining there all they want in exchange; and, on your return, to make known to your countrymen what description of merchandise they may send to those distant countries, or have ready here to dispose of to their traders who may visit us. You will point out how advantageous in every respect has our position here already been to them, and how much they will benefit by an extended trade passing to and fro in their territories. You will use every endeavour to impress on them, and indeed on the authorities of every place through which you may subsequently pass, that the object of your mission is solely to open new channels of trade, and to give and receive information by which trade may be promoted. You will endeavour to ascertain in conversations with the chiefs the light in which they would view caravans of traders from other countries bound to Moulmein passing through their jurisdiction, the impediments that may be placed in their way in the shape of tolls or other exactions, and the protection that would be extended to them. Some may be objected to from old enmity, others from jealousy, commercial or political, though no such objections may exist to our traders proceeding thither. Should any particular arrangement on this head be proposed, to which you may think it advisable to accede, you will do so, subject to my approval, and whether deemed by you objectionable or otherwise, you will report to me from Zimmay on the subject before proceeding on your mission.

4th. At Zimmay you will of course fall in with the Chinese traders, in concert with whom, or on information obtained from them, your subsequent movements must be guided. On this point no definite instructions can be laid down for you. It would be desirable that you reach your destination early in the season, so as to be enabled to return before the rains set in; but should you find this impracticable,

impracticable, and you see reason to anticipate a friendly reception among the Chinese, there will be no objection to your passing the wet season with them; but you will consider it preferable to avoid this if practicable and consistent with the whole scope of your mission. In whatever manner you proceed, and by whatever route, you will endeavour to render yourself agreeable to the people and their chiefs through whose country you pass. You will cautiously avoid doing or saying anything that may give offence, or that may lead to the inference that your object is anything but that of opening a trade with them and recommending a commercial intercourse with us.

5th. Mon Lá appears to be the town from whence the Chinese traders, who visit our neighbourhood, come, and towards it you will direct your route. Should you reach this place, you will be guided by circumstances, either to extend your journey still further into the Chinese country, or to return either by the same or by another route from that which you will travel on your way up. You will consider it, however, a most material point to effect your return by another route, and especially direct your attention towards reaching either Ava or our settlements in Assam. Travelling as you will do in countries as yet unknown to us, it is impossible to give you any instructions that will assist you in this desirable object. Everything will depend on your prudence and discretion, and much may be expected towards removing all impediments to your movements in any direction you may desire, from your success in rendering yourself personally agreeable to those who have it in their power to interrupt your progress.

6th. I need not particularise the various points of information on the countries you will visit, to which your attention should be directed. As relating to countries and to people of whom we know little or nothing, every information will be valuable. Your abilities and experience in surveying will, I trust, enable you to furnish a map of your route, to fix the sites of the towns you may pass through and the course of the rivers you will cross. I would recommend, however, a cautious use of your surveying instruments, so as to avoid giving cause of jealousy or apprehension of your object, and to refrain from using them altogether whenever such jealousy may be manifest. You will endeavour to collect every information on the produce of the countries you visit, the probable demand for English manufactures, the course of trade, the encouragement and protection afforded to traders, and every other point that may prove useful towards opening a commercial intercourse with them. You will note the manners and habits of the people, the nature of the Government, the influence, direct or indirect, of the surrounding more powerful nations of China, Ava, and Siam, the estimation in which we are held, the desire or otherwise of cultivating an intercourse with us, and the cause of any impediment that may exist towards it. I have reason to believe that several adventurous individuals, natives of India, have already found their way in that direction, and that they have passed themselves off as deputed by authority here, and confiding in the ignorance of us that must exist among these people, have given themselves considerable airs, and perhaps done much mischief. One instance of this has been reported to me by Lieutenant Colonel Burney, the Resident at Ava, who had seen an individual of this description, who was apprehended and sent to Ava. You will put a stop to future adventures of this kind by explaining to the several authorities that we are not in the habit of deputing such persons, and that they should listen to no stories of the kind that may be related to them, that they are mere traders, towards whom their protection should be extended, but beyond this they are entitled to no attentions. Should any instance be brought to your notice, you will strongly discountenance it, and point out the improbability of deputing such persons without letters or other modes of introduction. You will be careful, however, to separate their trading from their assumed official characters, and while you claim protection and encouragement for the former, remonstrate against their being received in the latter.

7th. On scientific subjects, productions in natural history, botany, mineralogy, &c., &c., you will collect every information within the scope of your knowledge on these subjects.

8th. Should you succeed in reaching Ava, on your return, you will place yourself under the orders and instructions of the Resident in that Court, to whom

you will be furnished with letters, and who will be written to on the subject of your possible visit. Should you reach our possessions in Assam, you will consider yourself at liberty to proceed to Calcutta, and report the result of your journey immediately to Government.

9th. You will be furnished with letters to the chiefs of Zimmay, Laboung, Keintoung, Keinhong or Kein Yongye, and Mon Lá. You will also be supplied with various articles of presents to these chiefs, and to others as yet unknown to us, but whose assistance and protection may be extended to you, or you may find it desirable to obtain.

Additional Instructions to Lieutenant *W. C. McLeod*, relative to the Shan States of Zimmay and Laboung; dated 25th November 1836.

These States are now annually visited by considerable numbers of natives of India, who are sent there to purchase cattle, and whose conduct, it is to be feared, is the cause of considerable annoyance to the authorities and of mischief in other respects. You will not consider yourself invested with any peculiar authority over these people, but if instances of their misconduct be brought to your notice in your communications with the chiefs, you will assist them in restraining it by explaining that such of our subjects as visit other countries, must abide by the laws of those countries, in any breach of which they will never meet with the support of their own Government, and that such offenders are as liable to punishment as their own people.

You will make inquiries on the present state of the cattle trade, and ascertain as far as practicable the probable continuance of supplies, and the impediments that may exist to the free exportation, which has been assured to us on Dr. Richardson's several visits.

You will collect information on the settlement of the Government, and the present state of affairs consequent on the death of the late principal chief Chou Chi Wit, the head of the family, who retain among them the several Shan States to the northward.

You will mention that the Karens residing south of the Thoung Yin still complain of the Shan officers calling on them for tribute money. You will not bring this forward as a subject of official complaint, but represent it as a disobedience of orders on the part of their officers, which may some day subject these subordinates to serious consequences, as these Karens have been instructed to resist all such payments, and to apprehend and send to Moulmein anyone that may demand them.

You will cautiously avoid all political subjects in your conversations with the chiefs, and, if introduced by them, you will state at once that your object is solely that of extending trade, and that you are not authorised in any way whatever to discuss other subjects with them. You will discountenance all allusions to them even in private conversations, but do so always in a kind and friendly manner. You will avail yourself of opportunities, both public and private, of making known to the chiefs how greatly we acknowledge their friendliness and liberality, and how desirous we are of ensuring a continuance of it.

It is to be feared that some of the natives of India who proceed to the Shan States in trading excursions, are occasionally engaged in the traffic of slaves that takes place between the Shans and the Red Karens. You will warn them against such proceedings, and explain to them the penalties to which they subject themselves should they introduce slaves from thence into these provinces under any pretence whatever.

From *E. A. Blundell*, Esq., Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, to the Chief of Laboung.

When Dr. Richardson returned to Moulmein in the month of Katsoung 1197 (May 1835), he reported to me that he had been most kindly received by you, and that you stated that you would permit an English officer to pass through your

your territories and afford him every assistance, should I wish to send one to the countries beyond yours, even to China. I have reported this to the Ruler of India, and I have received his orders to depute an officer on a friendly visit to China and to the intermediate countries, in order to open a road of trade with them, to obtain their permission for our traders to visit them, and to recommend their traders to bring their produce to Moulmein and exchange it for ours. The officer whom I send is Captain McLeod the Governor of Mergui, whom I hope you will receive as kindly as you always have done Dr. Richardson, and that you will find him equally agreeable to you. Dr. Richardson has this year gone with a caravan of traders to Moné, as it is the wish of the English to become known to, and to trade with, all the countries in the neighbourhood, in order to the mutual benefit of all. As there is now a constant intercourse between your country and Moulmein, and numerous traders from hence go annually to Laboung and reside there a long while, it is desirable that an officer should occasionally visit you, in order to thank you for the protection afforded to our traders and to ascertain your wishes, and whether by the misconduct of inferior persons any offence is given that may injure the strong friendship that ought always to exist between us. Nothing has occurred here to give offence, and if anything has occurred in your country, Captain McLeod will hear it and report it to me. After this, I hope you will fulfil your promise and allow Captain McLeod to go on his journey to the countries, and afford every assistance and protection he may require; to open a trade with other countries is a good work, because the people of all countries benefit by it. Moulmein is a seaport town from whence the produce of distant countries can be conveyed to all parts of the world, in ships, which bring other merchandise to Moulmein. It is therefore the wish of the English to induce the people of distant countries to bring their produce to Moulmein, because it will always sell well, and they can purchase English articles cheap, therefore Captain McLeod is deputed to point this out to the countries between yours and China; you will benefit also by so large a trade passing through your country, and your name will become renowned among the English who will always be your friends. As a promise was given to Dr. Richardson on his last visit to allow a free permission to traders to pass to and from Moulmein through your territories, and as some Chinese traders visited Moulmein last year, I feel confident you will continue this friendly permission, and Captain McLeod will report to me your wishes on the subject. I have given Captain McLeod a few presents for you as a token of respect and friendship.

A similar letter to the above is also written to the Chief of Zimmay.

From *E. A. Blundell*, Esq., Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces to the Tsaubwa of Kein Yon-gyi; dated the 25th November 1836.

EVER since the English have had possession of Moulmein, they have been desirous of opening a trade with all the countries round about. The people of your country have never visited Moulmein, and are therefore unaware what a market is here open for their merchandise. The people of Moulmein have never visited your country because they have never learnt whether you will allow them to do so. It is not right that the two countries should remain any longer in ignorance of each other, and lose the benefit which would accrue to both by an exchange of their several articles of merchandise. I have therefore deputed an English officer, Captain McLeod, the Governor of Mergui, to pay to you a visit. Captain McLeod has been to Ava, where he was presented to the King, and is known to all the ministers of the Court, who will be informed hrough the British President, Colonel Burney, of this visit. I hope you will receive him and all his followers kindly, and allow any merchants who accompany him to dispose of their goods. Captain McLeod will give you every information regarding Moulmein, and will explain to you how beneficial it would be to both countries that a trade should be open between them. I have directed Captain McLeod to proceed on to Mon Lá, to visit that place in order in the same way to open a trade with Moulmein. I request you will, as a token of

your friendship, allow him to proceed there, and afford him every protection and assistance he may require. I have given Captain McLeod a few presents in token of my friendship for you. Dated 25th November 1836, corresponding with 3rd Waning of Natdau 1198.

From *E. A. Blundell*, Esq., Commissioner, Tenasserim Provinces, to the Governor of Mon Lá; dated the 25th November 1836.

THE merchants from Talé, and from your country, who annually visit Zimmay, Laboung, Lagon, and Yahaing, some of whom visited Moulmein last year, and were kindly received by all the officers of the town, have doubtless informed you that the merchants of Moulmein are desirous of trading overland with your country. I was very glad to see the traders from your country at Moulmeim, and I hope they will come every year in great numbers. The traders of Moulmein would be very glad to visit your country, but it is very distant, and they do not like to do so until they know whether they will be received in the same manner that your traders are received here. I have therefore deputed an English officer, Captain McLeod, to pay you a friendly visit, and to ask permission for the traders of Moulmein to visit Tallay and your country with goods to sell and exchange for goods of your country. Captain McLeod will give you every information on the subject of trade at Moulmein, and explain to you how desirable it is that the traders of one country should visit the other, in order to dispose of their goods. The people of your country are great traders, and the people of this country are the same, therefore the Governors of the two countries should become known to each other by friendly messages. If an officer from your country should visit Moulmein, I shall be very glad to see him, and I will receive him like a younger brother. I hope you will receive Captain McLeod in the same manner, and allow him, if he wishes it, to go to Talé to pay his respects to the Tsaubwa, and present a letter from me to ask permission for the merchants of Moulmein to bring their goods and dispose of them in his country. Whenever Captain McLeod desires to return, I hope you will assist him to do so. He will present you with a few things from Moulmein in token of friendship which should always exist between us. Dated the 25th November 1836, corresponding with the 3rd of the Waning of Natdau.

From *E. A. Blundell*, Esq., Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, to the Tsaubwa of Talé; dated the 25th November 1836.

THE bearer of this is an English officer, Captain McLeod, whom I have sent to pay his respects to you, and to ask your permission for the merchants of Moulmein to carry their goods into your country and dispose of them there. Your country is very distant from Moulmein, and the merchants of this place would be afraid to venture so far, unless they were assured you would give them permission and treat them kindly. The merchants of Talé have already visited Moulmein, and have been kindly received, and I hope they will come in great numbers every year. Captain McLeod will give you every information about what merchandise is to be procured here in exchange for that of your country; and if you will send an officer to visit me in the same manner as I send Captain McLeod to you, I will receive him like a younger brother. By friendly messages of this kind countries become known to each other, and both benefit by exchanging their commodities. As I do not speak your language, I am obliged to write this letter in Burmese, which I hope you will be able to understand. Captain McLeod takes a few things from me to present to you. Dated the 25th November 1836, corresponding with the 3rd of the Waning of Natdau 1198.

(No. 32.)

From *E. A. Blundell*, Esq., Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, to *D. Richardson*, Esq.

A CARAVAN of traders from among the inhabitants of this province, to proceed to the Shan States of Englay and Moné, with articles the produce of this country and others of British manufacture, to be exchanged for the produce of the countries they may visit, having been formed, with the understanding that they should be accompanied by a British officer, I have the honour to select you for this duty, and to request your attention to the following instructions :—

2. The object for which the countenance and protection of a British officer is sought, is that of ensuring them a safe passage through the slip of territory on the west bank of the Salween occupied by the Red Karens, who were visited by you last year. There is no reason to anticipate your encountering any difficulty in passing through that country, as the chiefs there seem well impressed with an idea of our power, and, as far as we have had any communication with them, seem desirous of being on friendly terms with us; but their predatory habits would render the caravan now proceeding through their country too great a temptation unless protected by the warrant of their being British subjects, afforded by the presence of a British officer. You will make a point of visiting all the chiefs of districts or villages through which you pass (for they seem to be in a great measure independent of each other), make them a few suitable presents, explain to them the nature of your mission, and obtain their permission to pass through their country.

3. You will be careful to see that advantage is not taken of your presence by the traders to evade payments of such duties as may be customary or may be fairly and lawfully demanded, though you will resist, in as far as may be practicable, all exorbitant demands and exactions.

4. As circumstances may intervene to prevent your accompanying the caravan on its return, it will be desirable that you obtain from the several chiefs you may visit on your way up, and, if possible, in writing, their promise to allow a free and unmolested return passage.

5. Having conducted the caravan through the Karen-nee country, you will enter others of which little or nothing is known beyond the fact of their being dependent on Ava. Having accompanied the caravan to its destination, and secured for it the protection of those in authority there, you will endeavour to make good your way to Ava with the letters with which you will be furnished to Lieutenant Colonel Burney, the Resident at that Court, and report to that officer the result of your conduct of the caravan. As the route you will have to traverse in order to reach Ava is unknown to us, and has not hitherto been visited by Europeans, I am unable to give you any but general instructions as to the best mode of effecting your object, leaving you to be guided by your own judgment and discretion in all contingencies that may occur.

6. The caravan under your conduct will, in all probability, halt at Moné, though should any of the people feel desirous of accompanying you to Ava, it would be desirable to allow them to do so. You will state to the authorities of Moné that you have despatches from me to the Resident at Ava, and that you have been directed by me to deliver them personally to that officer, and to report to him, for the information of the Court of Ava, the result of your mission. In your communication with the authorities of the places you may visit or pass through, you will be perfectly open as to the object of your mission, explaining to them that it is solely for the purpose of opening a trade with Moulmein, where a ready market will be found for their produce, and where, if their merchants will visit it, they will find every encouragement and protection extended to them. You will steadily avoid even the appearance of having any other object in your visit. It is not improbable that overtures may be made to you by some of the people in the country beyond the Karen-nees, on the subject of emigration to these provinces. You will be very cautious about encouraging or even listening to any proposition of the kind, so as to give no cause for jealousy or apprehension of the object of your visit.

7. As the countries you are about to visit are almost entirely unknown to us, I need not remind you that information of every kind relating to them will be highly desirable, more especially on commercial points, the nature of the demand for English manufactures among them, and the produce obtainable in return; the feelings and wishes of the authorities and of the people with regard to a more intimate intercourse with us; the duties or tolls demandable at the several towns, and the protection afforded to our traders visiting them.

8. You are aware that a few years ago numerous traders from that part of the country used to visit Moulmein by the route of Tongngoo and Shoay-gein, and the discontinuance of their visits is ascribed to the exactions and oppressions they met with at those places. The route you are about to travel is free from these exactions, and it will be an object with you to point this out to the people there, and to ascertain how far the influence or authority of the Court of Ava, exerted directly or indirectly, may prevent its being followed in future seasons. It is said here that were the route through the Karen-nee country known to the Shan traders to be safe from depredations, they would immediately avail themselves of it. It is to be feared, however, that this is not the sole preventive, and that the Court of Ava is jealous of this portion of its people having too intimate communication with us. The first objection to trying this route is likely to be entirely removed by your mission; and if you discover any influence at work to prevent its being followed, you will be enabled to communicate the result of your observations to the Resident at Ava, and, with his assistance, remove all other obstructions that may exist to a free commercial intercourse between the countries.

9. You will be furnished with letters to the known three chiefs of the Karen-nee country, and to the Tsaubwa of Moné; in that written to the latter it will be mentioned that you are directed to proceed on to Ava with despatches to the Resident, and his assistance requested to enable you to do so.

10. You will be furnished also with different articles as presents to those in authority whom you may visit.

From *E. A. Blundell*, Esq., Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, to *Pa Bo*, Chief of Karen-nees; dated the 25th November 1836.

Dr. Richardson, who visited you two years ago, has been directed by me to accompany a caravan of Moulmein traders to Moné, in order to open a trade between that country and Moulmein. You received Dr. Richardson very kindly when he last visited you, and promised a free and unmolested passage to traders to and from Moulmein, passing through your country. If you do this, there will always be a friendship between you and the English, who you know are a very powerful nation, and their friendship very valuable. All that Dr. Richardson will ask of you is, to give orders to your people not to stop or molest traders who may be going from Moulmein to Moné, or from Moné to Moulmein. If you do this, and cause your orders to be strictly obeyed, the English will be thankful to you, and you may always reckon on being friends with them. Dr. Richardson will give you a few presents from me.

From *E. A. Blundell*, Esq., Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, to *Pa Bang*, Chief of the Karen-nees; dated the 25th November 1836.

Dr. Richardson, who visited the Chief Pa Bo two years ago, has been directed by me to accompany a caravan of Moulmein traders to Moné, in order to open a trade between that country and Moulmein. The Chief Pa Bo received Dr. Richardson very kindly when he last visited him, and promised a free and unmolested passage to traders to and from Moulmein, passing through his country. If you do this also, there will always be a friendship between you and

and the English, who you know are a very powerful nation, and their friendship very valuable. All that Dr. Richardson will ask of you is, to give orders to your people not to stop or molest traders who may be going from Moulmein to Moné, or from Moné to Moulmein. If you do this, and cause your orders to be strictly obeyed, the English will be thankful to you, and you may always reckon on being friends with them. Dr. Richardson will give you a few presents from me.

A similar copy to the above is also written to Kay Bo, another chief of the Karen-nees.

From *E. A. Blundell*, Esq., Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, to the Tsaubwa of Moné; dated the 25th November 1836.

I HAVE directed an English officer, Dr. Richardson, to accompany a caravan of traders of this country, who desire to proceed to Moné, and there dispose of their goods and purchase others, in order to request your protection towards them, and to point out how desirable it is that a constant trade should exist between Moné and Moulmein, whereby both countries would so greatly benefit, and the friendship existing between the two great countries of the English and Burmese be increased and strengthened. During these last two years a few traders have gone from Moulmein to Moné, and a few have come from Moné to Moulmein, but now that an English officer is deputed to visit you, in order to open the road of trade and to request your protection of the traders from Moulmein, they are greatly rejoiced, and will accompany him in much larger numbers than before, and their numbers will no doubt increase every year, when they see and know the two countries are so friendly as to be like one, and that they will be received at Moné, and treated in the same way that all traders coming to Moulmein from distant countries are received. Dr. Richardson is well known at Ava, where he received a title from the king, and where he enjoyed the goodwill and friendship of the Woongyis and Atwen Woons; I have therefore desired Dr. Richardson to proceed to Ava, in order to deliver a despatch from me to the British resident, Colonel Burney, and to inform him of his visit to Moné through the Karen-nee country, for the purpose of opening a trade, in order that the Resident may communicate the same to the Lhwotdau.

I have written to the Resident, Colonel Burney, by the route of Rangoon, to say that I have deputed Dr. Richardson on a friendly visit to you, and from thence to proceed to Ava with letters for him. Dr. Richardson takes a few articles as presents from me, as a token of strong friendship.

CAPTAIN M^{c}LEOD'S JOURNAL.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

From Captain *McLeod*, Assistant to the Commissioner, to *E. A. Blundell*, Esq. Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces; dated 25th August 1837.

I HAVE the honour herewith to forward a copy of the journal kept by me during my mission to the Frontiers of China, and a map constructed from the rough survey made by me with my compass, and such materials as I could collect, thus filling up a blank in our geographical information.

Knowing as well as we do the little dependence to be placed in the accuracy of native sketches, &c., much still remains to be done; yet, however, what I now offer will, I trust, in the absence of absolute survey, be considered of service and of assistance to others, who may turn their attention to the countries represented in the map.

The latitudes of the places I visited have been fixed by observation, but the longitudes have been roughly calculated from the direction travelled by compass, checked by my latitudes as often as taken, which was almost daily. I did

Captain McLeod's Journal.

not fail to take lunars, but not having instruments I could implicitly depend on, and not having worked them out from the want of a nautical almanac before I commenced the construction of the map, I have thought it advisable to adhere to my original plan.

Having brought the duty I had the honour of being selected to perform to a conclusion, I trust that, should I not have realised the expectations of my superiors in having, in my journal, thrown sufficient light on the geography, history, &c., of the States I have visited, that it may be taken into consideration, that Dr. Richardson has left me little to say respecting those of Labong and Zimmé; that the manners, customs, &c., of the inhabitants of Kiang Túng so strongly resemble those of the Burmans, that I have avoided noticing them more than is absolutely necessary. With reference to Kiang Húng, being the State which offered the greatest interest and novelty, both from its relation and position to China, I had many impediments to contend against in establishing friendly intercourse between the people and myself. It was the first time the authorities had held any communication with an European; I was, on my arrival, received with mistrust and suspicion; a strong Burmese party existed, which was anxious to prevent our obtaining a friendly footing in the place, and had, prior to my arrival, made considerable progress in exciting the alarm of the authorities by misrepresenting our character, so that, before I could fulfil my mission successfully, it was necessary, not only to remove the unfavourable impression and distrust which had been conveyed to their minds, but to gain their confidence. The unsettled state of affairs further causing party feeling, rendered the chiefs and people cautious and suspicious even of each other, thus increasing my difficulties.

I trust that I succeeded in impressing them, finally, with a friendly disposition towards us, a just estimate of our character, and raising an anxious desire that an intercourse should be established between our distant countries. The letters brought down by me from all the States sufficiently attest that in this last point I was most successful; I can only assure you, that I lost no opportunity, and spared myself no trouble, to fulfil in every respect the duty I was entrusted with.

Having received from all the States an assurance of goodwill and their wish to carry on a free communication and trade with us, it now remains with Government to decide what steps ought to be taken to establish a permanent intercourse with them. With this view I respectfully beg to offer such suggestions as have occurred to me.

Though the demand for British goods is at present limited, yet a desire to obtain them exists, which will undoubtedly greatly increase as the facility of procuring them becomes more certain; and we may in return obtain large supplies of tea, the produce of the Shan districts, besides China goods.

Some encouragement ought, in the first instance, to be held out to induce our traders to proceed towards China as far as Muang Lá or Kiang Húng at least. The trade, once commenced, may be given up by our merchants without any bad consequences, if they do not find it sufficiently profitable; but unless some officer is again sent up, and some further exertions are made by us, in spite of all the Chinese merchants said, I doubt whether the caravans will be drawn down to our provinces.

I would, therefore, suggest that an officer be again despatched, and advances be made to respectable traders to take investments up; the officer will take care that Government is not defrauded. Though these merchants will be somewhat in the way of the officer, yet their presence will aid much in allaying suspicion, and showing the chiefs that trade is really our object.

The authorities at Zimmé, not only from their own inclination but also under instructions from Bankok, having declined to permit our merchants to pass through that place to China *viâ* Kiang Túng, leaves us little hope of gaining a passage through that country; and knowing the implacable enmity which exists in the Siamese against all connected with Ava, it is not likely that our wishes will ever be acceded to. It, therefore, only remains for us to endeavour to obtain a free passage through the States of Muang Nan and Muang Luang Phaban, which, permitting the Chinese caravans to enter their territories direct from those of Kiang Húng, would not, it is to be presumed, object to granting our traders the same indulgence.

It is my opinion, that our traders will not take advantage of the permission so obtained for more than one or two trips, not in consequence of the road being worse than the other, which I am inclined to discredit, but because the mode of transporting their goods by elephants is attended with inconvenience and delay; this, however, might lead to the Chinese coming down, and thus render our traders proceeding up unnecessary.

A mission to the States of Muang Nan and Muang Luang Phaban would be attended with considerable advantage to us, without reference to the trade into China; no officer has yet visited those States, and it is well known that they are most anxious to open a communication with us, and have expressed their disappointment that no notice has yet been taken of them.

At present, we are wholly dependent for our supplies of cattle on Zimmé (for the stock at Labong is nearly exhausted), a State which has, from the commencement, shown a disinclination to permit their free export, whereas of the other States mentioned, one abounds in black cattle and the other in buffaloes.

A friendly communication being opened with them, will, no doubt, have the effect of making the Zimmé officers more anxious to oblige us, particularly when they find that we can do without them, for our trade, though trifling, is of considerable importance to them.

The officer sent on the mission ought to be directed, after visiting the States of Yahaing, Muang Phé, Muang Nan, and Muang Luang Phaban, to proceed along the eastern bank of the Mé Khong, and to find his way to Esmok, if not prevented by the authorities on the frontier; failing in this to pass on to Kiang Húng, and from thence to Muang Lém and the States more to westward, and thus open a friendly communication with all the States on the frontiers of China.

The last part of this route is reported to be closed up by the Ka Kués and Lawas, but too much dependence ought not to be placed in these reports; should they be found correct, however, the officer ought, from Kiang Túng, to go westward to the ferry across the Salween, and descend that river to Moulmein, when he would have an opportunity of surveying it. The advantages to be derived from the navigation of this stream I have already touched on in my journal.

* * * * *

A JOURNAL kept by Captain *W. C. McLeod*, Assistant to the Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces, during his Mission from Moulmein to the Frontiers of China.

In writing the names of rivers, towns, &c., in the accompanying journal, in some instances, the common and known mode of spelling them has been followed; in others, the names used by the inhabitants of the State to which they belong have been given, adopting the system of orthography, as far as possible, published in a plan of a vocabulary, printed at the suggestion of various friends to native education.

Of the Shan words commonly used—

Doé, signifies a hill.	Pang, a halting place.
Viang and Kiang, a fortified town.	Mé, a river, also used for a stream.
Muang, a city, the capital of a district.	Nam, a large stream.
Ban, a village.	Hué, a rivulet.

N.B.—The thermometer used throughout was only divided to 2°.

13th December 1836.—Quitted Moulmein at 6h. 5m. p.m., with the tide, and in two hours and a half reached the village of Tarana on the Gyne, where we put up for the night.

The country in the direction we are now proceeding, being for some distance well known, and in fact the whole journey to Zimmé having already been described by Dr. Richardson, I shall in the first part, merely mention the places we stopped at, and latterly confine myself to a brief description of each day's march.

14th December.—Started from Tarana at a quarter-past six, with the tide, and stopped at the village of Gyne, at a quarter-past 11, which place we quitted at half-past four, and brought to at a quarter-past nine, at the village of Aulan.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

15th December.—Left the above village at six, and stopped at Kazaing from a quarter to 11 to 2 o'clock, and put up for the night at the village of Athárue, at 8 p.m.

16th December.—Started at a quarter-past seven, and a quarter of a mile above the village, entered the Lhaing Bue river, which here joins the Dagyne, and to which the influence of the tide reaches. In ascending the former stream, it was found very shallow, and once we were obliged to get out of our boats and have them pulled over the sand banks. It took us five hours and 49 minutes to reach the village of Paik Tsoung.

Our elephants, &c., which had been sent by land, not having arrived, we remained here until the 21st December.

From Paik Tsoung to Ongau.—Direction, N. 5 W. Estimated Distance, 11 miles. Time, 3½ hours.

On quitting the village we passed through a forest of high trees, free from brushwood, and reached a small plain, which had been cultivated by the Karengs, and the remains of whose huts are still visible; a low range of hills was seen to the eastward running north-west and south-east, distant about 15 miles. From this spot to the halting place, we passed over some small plains, crossed many small streams, and went through a jungle consisting of high forest trees, sometimes of Saul and the Kanien or wood oil tree, and at others of a few teak (but of small size) and bamboo.

The road was throughout good. The ground on which we halted was very confined, inclosed by low hills, and hardly affording, even one small party, a sufficient space to encamp on.

22nd December.—From Ongau to The Biu Stream.—Direction, N. 10 E. Estimated Distance, 14 miles. Time, 4h. 39m.

Immediately after quitting our encamping ground the road ran over very low hills, covered generally with a bamboo jungle, but latterly with a few fine teak trees, which not being situated on the banks of any large streams, had escaped the axe of the wood-cutters. We then descended through the narrow and rocky bed of a watercourse between two hills, on reaching the bottom of which we crossed a stream of 20 feet wide
1.17. and half a foot deep, flowing to the eastward. There is a good spot for halting on the left bank of this stream, the ground being rather open.

Beyond this the road traversed a flat country, with an occasional plain, from which
2.36. hills were seen to the eastward, distant about three miles. We then crossed the Lhaing Bue, about 35 feet wide and half a foot deep, with high banks, and flowing over a stony bed to the southward. Near its banks are a few teak and some kanien or wood-oil trees of considerable size.

From this, the road which had been very good, after running over some high and open ground, became very bad, confined between low hills, from which many small springs flowed, rendering the path soft and muddy; and the jungle was so thick from creepers, &c. that the rays of the sun can never reach the ground.

After crossing the The Biu Khyoung, a stream of about 25 feet broad and one deep, flowing over a stony bed to the westward, we encamped on its right bank under some fine trees. This place is also called by some Mayan beng Tsakan; both names are taken from some trees on the banks of the stream.

We passed several droves of cattle to-day *en route* to Moulmein, chiefly belonging to people from Labong.

23rd December.—From The Biu Stream to the Wen Wi.—Direction, N. 10 W. Estimated Distance, 14 miles. Time, 4h. 30m.

A short march brought us to the Yembain River, a stream of about 50 feet broad and
39. 2½ deep, flowing from north 30 west and sweeping round to the southward. It takes its rise in the hills in a north-easterly direction from this, and discharges itself in the Salween (Thanluen) about 45 or 50 miles direct north of Moulmein. A short distance before reaching this river the Yembain and Dagyne roads join the one by which we are proceeding.

Thus far the road had been very good, passing over high ground and through a fine jungle perfectly free from underwood. It now ran over hills (the ascents of which, though not long, were steep) and occasionally followed the left bank of the Yembain River; but after crossing the Khyoung Kouk, or Crooked Nullah, about 17 times, and another large stream of 15 or 20 feet wide, five or six times, and the Yé Tagon, or Waterfall Stream,
2.29. repeatedly, we attained the summit of a steep hill, from whence the latter takes its rise.

We now gradually descended, frequently crossing a stream with abundance of water, which was very tortuous in its course, sometimes flowing to the northward and sometimes to the southward, and reached the right bank of the Wen Wi, where we halted.

This stream is about 25 feet broad and 2 deep, flowing to the southward over a stony bed, and discharging itself into the Thoung Yin River.

Almost all the bamboo we fell in with to-day was dead.

24th December.—

Captain Mc Leod's Journal.

24th December.—From the Wen Wi to the right bank of the Thoung Yin River. Direction, N. 40 E. Estimated Distance, 3½ miles. Time, 1h. 9m.

Crossed the Wen Wi close to the encamping ground flowing to the eastward, shortly after which we ascended a steep hill (covered with saul trees and bamboo), having parallel ranges on both sides running north and south, only separated from us by precipitous and narrow ravines of considerable depth, and all thickly wooded. The descent, which was at first very gradual and through a fine bamboo jungle, became steeper as we advanced; finally the road became very bad, running along the rocky and broken bed of a small stream, between the hills, to the Thoung Yin.

The hills, forming on both sides of this river, fall precipitously to the water and have a most rugged appearance, but are, with the exception of the tops which rise in broken peaks, covered with vegetation.

We crossed the river on rafts, but the elephants forded it a little above.

This river is the boundary between us and the Shan States tributary to Siam in this direction, and, it is said, formed the line of demarcation between the Burmans and Siamese. We preserve the Burmese name, but the Shan and Siamese call it the Mé Niun. It takes its rise in a range of mountains in about 16° 20′ north latitude, and 99° east longitude, and flowing in a north-westerly direction, discharges itself into the Salween, about 75 miles due north of Moulmein, after having received many tributary streams, and uniting its waters with those of the Maing-lón gyi River, called by the Shans Mé Nium, which comes from the northward. Its course here is to the northward, but a little higher up it flows from the eastward. It is at present about 289 feet wide, and during the rains 358 feet; its rise during that season is about 25 feet; its bed is rocky and varying in depth.

Its banks are said to abound in teak, thengan, and other durable woods; and the pine which grows on some of the hills a little distant from it might, no doubt, be floated down some of the mountain streams which feed it. The produce of this part of the country has been hitherto looked upon as unavailable, in consequence of the falls in the Salween below the junction of this river with it; but as timber has been lately taken down over the rapids, thus showing it to be feasible, advantage will no doubt be taken of its capabilities. There are a number of Kareng villages in its vicinity, the inhabitants of which ply up and down it with their goods; there would be no difficulty in securing the services of these people in cutting timber.

We here expected to procure a supply of rice from the Karengs on our side of the river. Some of those, however, who resided near this have removed to a greater distance, and others have gone over to the Shan side of the river, on the plea of more tax being demanded from them by us than was fixed on.

25th December.—From the Thoung Yin to the Tsheng Tswé Stream. Direction, N. 25 E. Estimated Distance, 13 miles. Time, 4h. 20m.

About half-an-hour after starting we reached the Mé tha wó, a stream of about 50 feet broad and 1½ deep, flowing to the westward, over a bed of large slippery stones. The road, which to this had run over a level country at the base of some hills to the eastward, now followed the course of the stream, which we frequently crossed.

We then reached the foot of some hills, which we ascended, and after passing over two or three of them (some very steep and high), attained the highest point of the range, from which we descended to this place, on the right bank of the Tsheng Tswé Khyoung, or Elephant Tusk Stream, flowing to the westward, and halted. 1.25. 2.10.

The path, after we commenced to ascend, was good, and continued so all the march, and was well shaded by jungle.

From the top of the hills we could see several ranges to the eastward and westward, some of them not far from us, running from north west to south east, but very irregular, and their sides steep and precipitous, and all covered with a thick jungle similar to what we had passed through.

We fell in with a party of Talain settlers from Zimmé and Labong with cattle for the Moulmein market. They told us that they were obliged to give security for their return before leaving Zimmé.

26th December.—From the Tsheng Tswé Stream to the Pooukben halting-place.—Direction, N. 80 E. Estimated Distance, 8 miles. Time, 2h. 38m.

The road to the Red Karengs country, *viâ* Maing-lón-gyi, separated from the direct road to Labong and Zimmé at the Tsheng Tswé Stream; Dr. Richardson, who had been my companion thus far, proceeded by the former this morning, in prosecution of his mission.

The road to-day ran over the highest mountain in this range, in ascending which the trees gradually became stunted, and at the summit none but small ones are seen, partially scattered about; there is also a good deal of table-land covered with grass. 50.

From the top we had a fine view of the surrounding country, which, with the exception of the flat alluvial plains round Moulmein, was one mass of hills in all directions, piled range upon range without regularity, but running from north-west to south-east.

This mountain is called by the Burmans Taikpyoung, in consequence of its barren and bleak appearance.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

The highest range seen, called by us the great Siamese range, forming our eastern boundary with Siam, bore south 10 east, and was called Salé by a Kareng with me. Those mountains Captain Grant made, I believe, 7,000 feet above the level of the sea.

I had no means of ascertaining the height of the range on which we were with any accuracy; the thermometer, however, in the shade stood at 74° Fahrenheit, and water boiled at 206°.

Having traversed the table-land at top of the hill, we commenced descending, sometimes
1.15. very greatly and at others hardly with any fall, and reached the shoulder of the hill, where
2.38. we halted. Here water boils at 209° Fahrenheit.

Having sent the interpreter on yesterday to look for the Kareng villages and procure some provisions, for since leaving Paik Tsoung we had not seen a single habitation, we here found the head Kareng of a district, awaiting our arrival with a plentiful supply of rice, fowls, &c. He complained of the kalas (strangers) from Moulmein taking rice, &c. without paying for the same, and otherwise ill-using them. I recommended him to resist these aggressions by force, that the kalas would soon desist when they found that the Karengs would not put up with them. He would not hear of my paying for the articles furnished by him; I, however, made up for his liberality by making him some presents.

27th December.—From Poukben to Súp Khóng. Direction, S. 80 E.
Estimated Distance, 11 miles. Time, 3h. 2m.

We commenced descending at once; at first down the side of a steep hill, and having reached the Mé Satang, a stream of about 10 feet wide, proceeded along its course, sometimes going along its bed for some distance, and after crossing it about 30 times, arrived at its junction with the Mé Gnau.

2.3. We were here obliged to form rafts with bamboos (which were abundant) to convey the baggage across; for, though the stream was not above four feet deep, yet such was its strength (rushing over a rocky bed), that the coolies could not force their way against it with their loads. This river is about 80 or 100 feet wide, and comes from no great distance from the eastward, and falls into the Maing-lón-gyi river or Mé Nium above the junction of that stream with the Thoung Yin.

The road from this was good, the rise not perceptible, and through a thick jungle, as before; having crossed the river four times more, always with difficulty, in consequence of the large, loose, slippery stones forming its bed and the force of the current, we halted on a convenient spot on its right bank.

Fish is abundant in this river, which in many places was inclosed by stakes.

Here we found the head Kareng from another division with a large party (his village not being distant) awaiting our arrival with a plentiful supply of rice, &c.; he made a similar complaint to the other respecting our traders travelling this road.

28th December,—From Súp Khóng to the Mé Khóng. Direction, N. 40 E.
Estimated Distance, 14 miles. Time, 4h. 30m.

22. Shortly after starting we came upon the Mé Khóng, a stream of about 70 feet wide with two feet of water in it, flowing from the northward and eastward, its velocity, bed, &c. resembling the Mé Gnau, into which it falls a little below the spot we stopped at yesterday.

We continued to march along the course of the stream, crossing it repeatedly, and occasionally passing over hills covered with jungle, but not of any considerable height.

2.54. We then left the bank of the river and ascended some high and steep hills, sometimes looking down from a great height upon the river below, confined by precipitous and rocky banks. The descents from the hills were sometimes very steep, but latterly more gradual, and on again reaching the right bank of the Mé Khóng, we halted in an old betel vine plantation.

This has been a very trying march for both the coolies and elephants, in consequence of the difficulties of crossing the stream and hills; the latter did not follow us over the last hills, but came along the bed of the stream.

Two roads separate close to the halting ground we quitted this morning; the more easterly running over some high hills is said to be somewhat longer and more difficult from this side than the westerly, which we took, principally because there are some Karengs located near it.

In the evening, with the assistance of some Karengs who accompanied us, we procured a supply of rice, &c. from the inhabitants of another division. As this is the last station we shall meet with until we reach the Shan frontier village, we are obliged to lay in a supply for six days.

These people have, throughout, shown me much attention, in return for which, and to secure their continued assistance to travellers, I gave each of the head men an old musket, than which I could not have presented them with anything more acceptable.

At this place we could only get the red rice, which alone is grown on the hills, and is more productive than the white. There is no difference between the two in taste, but the former is not so inviting in appearance, when boiled, as the latter.

The Karengs we have met with in the Shan Territories are superior in appearance to those seen in our provinces, both as regards their person and dress, being fairer and more cleanly. They appear to be well treated by the Shans, at least they did not complain in any

any way of having heavy contributions levied on them; and if what they told me be true, the tax taken from them is very light, consisting of a little wax or cloth. Captain McLeod's Journal.

They are by no means numerous on this road; and the three districts I have passed through contain altogether about 25 houses.

29th December.—From the bank of the Mé Khóng to the Mé Piláu. Direction N. 10 E. Estimated Distance, 3 miles. Time, 1h. 12m.

We had very heavy rain during the night, which not only rendered the road difficult, but increased the strength of the river, in the bed of which the masses of rocks were much larger than those met yesterday, and the stones equally slippery. We came along the side of the stream, crossing and recrossing it frequently, the jungle thick as usual, and halted at the junction of the Mé Pilâu with it; this is a stream of the same size here as the Mé Khóng and in other respects like it, but flowing from the northward.

Not having yesterday procured a sufficient quantity of rice to last us to Muang Haut, we are prevented going further. Most of our things being wet from the rain last evening, we are not sorry to have an opportunity of drying them.

The elephants were three hours on the road, in spite of the short distance.

30th December.—From the Mé Piláu to near the Mé Tian. Direction, N. 60 E. Estimated Distance, 11 miles. Time, 4h. 9m.

For about an hour's march the hills receded a little and formed a small valley, in the midst of which a single hill of limestone rises abrutly, it is perforated from above, has a cave in it, with water oozing from it in some places.

After following the course of the Mé Khóng and crossing it no less than 15 times, though not with the same difficulty as before, we passed over a succession of hills gradually rising to the sources of that stream, and close to which, almost as if issuing from the same rock, are some hot springs. A thermometer dipped in one rose to 94° Fahrenheit. There was no particular taste in the water, but on our approach a sulphuric smell pervaded the atmosphere.

From this spot we ascended a very high and steep hill, said to be higher than the one passed on the 26th. Coming on it unprepared, I had no means at hand of ascertaining the fact even roughly. It was unlike the other, being covered with fine large high trees and bamboos, and at the summit much long grass mixed with jungle, which appeared to afford shelter to tigers, the fresh mark of whose feet showed us that some had been prowling about not long before we ascended.

The descent from this high point is gradual, and we encamped on the first convenient spot we met, on the left bank of a stream of 10 feet wide, flowing to the northward and eastward.

The whole road lay through a thick jungle.

The Burmans call this Yhit Kabó tsakan, Bugwood halting-place, in consequence of there being some wild cinnamon trees near it, the bark of which, they say, smells like that insect. The Karengs make no use of this bark, though the flavour, when fresh, is very good, but it becomes bitter by being kept.

We met with many wild citron trees to-day, but the fruit is bitter and not eatable.

The elephants were nine hours on the road.

31st December.—From near the Mé Tian to the banks of the Mé Tian. Direction, N. 55 E. Estimated Distance, 14 miles. Time, 4h. 4m.

Shortly after starting we came upon the Mé Tian, a stream about 10 feet wide and one deep, flowing from the eastward, and along the course of which the road ran, frequently crossing it and other smaller streams, all of which fall into it.

The road at first was very bad, cut up by elephants, and the deep holes made by them filled with water and mud. We then ascended some inconsiderable hills covered with jungle, at the top of which we passed over a very deep, but small swamp, from which springs were issuing, evidently the source of some stream. After passing this the road improved; we ascended a little and proceeded along the sides of the hills, from which we looked down upon the deep valley of the Mé Tian on our left, and as we advanced had a view of the lower hills to the southward and eastward beyond which the Mé Ping runs, all, like these hills, covered with thick jungle.

The features of the country and jungle now changed, the trees which had been saul gave place to the pine, unmixed with any other trees, and perfectly free from underwood, and through a fine forest of which, over slightly undulating grassy hills, and a very good road, we gradually descended, and on again reaching the Mé Tian, encamped on a small open plain, the first we have met with for many days.

All the hills to the southward and eastward are covered to the summit with pine, which though small on our first falling in with them, became very large and tall as we descended; some, though not the largest, measured in girth nine feet, and must have been at least 50 feet to the first branches. The Shans burn the wood for lights, and the oil is also extracted for the same purpose.

Though I did not observe any stream near the road, for we did not fall in with a single one from the swamp to the encamping ground, there is no doubt that some must exist from

Captain McLeod's Journal.

the conformation of the hills, by which this valuable wood might be conveyed to a good market.

The road, which we left to the eastward on the 28th, joins the one we have come along, at the commencement of the pine forest. The cattle merchants invariably take it in returning to Moulmein in preference to the one we have travelled by, as they not only avoid the ascent of steep hills, but the frequent crossing of the different streams, and it is said to be a descent the whole way to the Mé Gnau.

This is a notorious place for tigers, and small parties of travellers consider it so dangerous to sleep on the ground, that they are obliged to erect small platforms between the branches of the trees, on which they pass the night.

1st January 1837.—From the banks of the Mé Tian to the Mé Hau. Direction, N. 25 E. Estimated Distance, 17 miles. Time, 5h. 14m.

The whole journey this day was over hills gradually descending, and through a pine forest.

We passed the Mé Lai, a stream of about 15 feet wide and one deep, flowing to the eastward, on the left bank of which there is a good spot for encamping; though before crossing it we met two or three streams, yet afterwards we did not fall in with a single
3.5. one until we reached the Mé Hau, a stream of about 10 feet wide, on the bank of which we halted.

This was a very long march for the elephants; they did not arrive until seven o'clock at night, and one, which was taken ill yesterday, could not come on beyond the Mé Lai. The coolies were even later.

Much delay occurs in our mode of travelling with elephants, they are all let loose immediately on reaching the halting ground (their hind legs being tied together) to roam through the jungle for forage, for they are not fed as in India, a little paddy even is not given them; and finding them the next day is a business of some difficulty, whereby we are frequently detained until past eight in the morning, and have to perform the journey during the hottest part of the day. The Shans travelling make very short marches, and load their elephants very lightly.

Some Talains from Labong with bullocks, and some buffaloes for Moulmein, passed us to-day, also four elephants belonging to the chief of Zimmé, carrying a small quantity of iron and salt, to exchange for cloth and cotton amongst the Karengs.

2nd January.—From the banks of the Mé Hau to Phayá tsakan, or Pagoda halting place. Direction, N. 30 E. Estimated Distance, 3½ miles. Time, 1h. 2m.

Having crossed the Mé Hau, we passed through a country similar to that of yesterday, though the pines were frequently smaller and intermixed with other forest trees.

24. Soon after starting we crossed the Mé Ton, a stream of about 15 feet wide, flowing over a sandy bed to the eastward and southward; here there is a good spot for encamping.

We made a very short march to-day, in consequence of being obliged to send back two elephants to assist the sick one.

At this halting place, we only procured a scanty supply of water from a small stream in the valley to the right. The Burmans call this Phayá tsakan, from there being an image placed in the crevice of a banian tree, and to which, judging from the numerous white muslin handkerchiefs, &c., made into flags, and fixed to the tree as offerings, travellers must all pay their devotion.

3rd January.—From Phayá tsakan, or Pagoda halting place, to the Mé Gnót. Direction, N. 60 E. Estimated Distance, 10 miles. Time, 2h. 48m.

After ascending a little at first, the whole way is a descent, along the sides of hills which are broken and stony, and in one place very steep, but the direction of road is selected with judgment. On our way, we entirely lost the pine, its place being taken by the pouk and saul, both stunted in their growth, and small bamboos.

1.43. We crossed many streams, all falling into the Mé Gnót, which having reached we proceeded along its bank and ultimately having crossed it, halted on its left bank.

This stream varies in breadth; in some places 60 and 70 feet, and others, and where we crossed, about 20 feet and 2 deep. Its bed is rocky, and at times it is seen dashing over huge masses of rocks and falls of considerable breadth.

We here met a party of Burmans formerly residents of Moulmein, but who, having taken wives at Zimmé, now reside there. They are proceeding to Moulmein with cattle.

4th January.—From the Mé Gnót to Muang Haut. Direction, N. 40 E. Estimated Distance, 9½ miles. Time, 2h. 45m.

After crossing the river twice, the road ran over low hills, at times rocky, covered with bamboos, and gradually sloping to the valley of the Mé Ping.

1.23. We reached the foot of the hills, crossed the Mé Pa Pi, a stream which during the rains must be about 70 feet wide, though now only 30.

Beyond it the road from Maing lón gyi joins from the westward and that from Maika from the eastward. The latter leads to Moulmein also.

After proceeding through rather an open country, and over the foot of many low hills,

we

Captain McLeod's Journal.

we reached the Mé Haut, a stream of about 20 feet wide and half a foot deep, flowing to the southward and eastward towards the Mé Ping.

We then passed over the fields belonging to the village, which appear to have been productive, and are well irrigated by small watercourses. The average produce is said to be from 60 to 100 per cent. The rice grown here is entirely of the glutinous sort, called by the Burmans "kouk nhien," which is the common food of the inhabitants of these districts. The common rice, which they call coarse rice, is only grown and used by the Talain and Burmese refugees (who chiefly reside near the large towns), and also for starch by the weavers.

Immediately beyond the fields is the village of Muang Haut, which though only containing about 25 houses, and having under it two or three small villages, is dignified with the appellation of a Muang or city, the capital of a district. It is situated on the western or right bank of the Mé Ping, and is the frontier village in this direction. A few cocoanut, palmera, plantain, and other fruit trees are seen about the place.

The inhabitants have taken advantage of the banks of the river, which have fallen in close to the water, and formed narrow ledges of about 4 and 6 feet wide, and planted them with radishes, onions, &c. The sandy islands, too, with which the river abounds, are laid out with cucumbers, pumpkins, &c., all under the charge of the women, who are seen at all hours at work.

The houses here are large, raised on high and strong posts, the sides of split bamboo, and the roof thatched with grass, but built in an extraordinary shape, the sides sloping inwards from the wall plates to the floor.

Silkworms are reared here, but not in any large numbers, the silk being merely for home consumption. I am told that some are to be found in all the villages. The mulberry here, on which they are fed, is a mere shrub.

There are two head men here, one appointed by the Zimmé authorities, to whom the village properly belongs, and the other by the Labong people, placed here during the late Chou Chi Wit's life, he then being the head of the family, and having jurisdiction and control over Zimmé and Lagong as well as Labong. They called on me with a present of fruit, apologised for not having a house ready for me, as they had not heard of my approach, and endeavoured to persuade me to remain a day or two to allow them time to forward intelligence of my arrival to the Tsóbua. They were very civil and attentive, and supplied me with four elephants to relieve my own.

We here met some Lawas, who had come down from their village to barter iron for fowls, with a supply of which they were returning. They are a short, ill-formed, and ugly race, with flat noses, low foreheads, and protuberant bellies. They have a peculiar language of their own, but no written character; they are said to be the aborigines of the country, but now reduced to the possession of two or three villages, containing 200 houses towards Maing lón gyi. The return of the iron ore smelted by them, I am told, is very uncertain. Dr. Richardson mentions them in his journal, having passed through their village on his mission to Labong in 1829-30.

The Mé Ping is here at present about 535 feet wide, and not fordable, but from bank to bank it is about 747 feet, and during the rains it frequently even overflows them. Its waters are clear, and pass down at the rate of about two miles an hour. It rises in some hills to the northward of Zimmé, and distant about 80 miles; its source, they say, is in a tank or lake on the top of a hill, and is called Nong Uk. It unites its waters with those of the Mé Quan, Mé Wang, Mé Niun, and Mé Nan, on which the cities of Labong, Lagong, Muang Phé, and Muang Nan, respectively stand, and flows by Bankok, under the name of the Mé Nam. It is navigable from Zimmé to Bankok, but during the dry weather large boats, though flat bottomed and drawing but little water, cannot come up beyond Yahaing. Some trade is carried on by it, between Zimmé and the lower provinces.

There is a quantity of teak collected here for transport to Bankok, belonging to the chiefs who have gone down. It is brought down from above Zimmé.

5th January.—From Muang Haut to Ban Pé. Direction, N. 20. E.
Estimated Distance, 15 miles. Time, 4h. 30m.

The road for a short distance is along the right bank of the river (which afterwards is seen once or twice during the march much narrower, free from sands, and the banks very steep), and has been very good, sometimes sandy and heavy, through a jungle of trees and bamboos, often free from brushwood, and at times across small grassy plains with stunted trees surrounding them, which bear the mark of the rise of the river during the monsoon.

The Karamet or bastard sandalwood tree abounds in the woods, but the Shans do not make any use of it.

On the march we crossed the Mé Tchin, a large river of about 350 feet wide when full, but now 200 feet and 3 deep, with high banks. It rises in the hills to the north westward, and discharges itself into the Mé Ping, about two miles below this. 2.21.

The road for some distance after crossing this river is very good, but latterly runs along the foot of low stony hills.

We halted at the village of Ban Pé, consisting of 10 houses, on the right bank of the Mé Ping. The direct road to Zimmé passes to the westward of this village, through a large one of the same name, and runs along the right bank of the river. We, however, took the nearest road to Labong.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

On the road to-day we saw large herds of fine cattle, and also buffaloes, most of the latter of a light brown colour.

6th January.—From Ban Pé to Nóng Lóng. Direction, N. 30 E.
Estimated Distance, 16 miles. Time, 5 hours.

We were delayed this morning for the want of a canoe to cross the Mé Ping, and after much difficulty procured one from a distance. This would not have occurred in a Burmese village. The contrast in this respect between the Burmans and Shans is great, the former selecting the banks of streams to reside on, and almost every house having a canoe attached to it, whereas the latter show no preference with respect to such sites, and perform their work entirely with the assistance of elephants.

The road throughout was good, chiefly running over a flat country (which must be under water in many parts during the rains), and over very low hills; the trees smaller than usual, and more apart, and the bamboo common.

We encamped at the village of Nóng Lóng, containing about 25 houses, on the right bank of the Mé Lí, a stream running from the southward and eastward to the northward and westward, now only 60 feet wide and 2 feet deep, but during the rains at least 150 feet.

It takes its name from an old town (now reduced to a village) to the southward and eastward of this, and rises in some hills beyond that place. It discharges itself in the Mé Ping, a short distance from this village.

7th January.—From Nóng Lóng to Ban Dôn. Direction, N. 50 E.
Estimated Distance, 16 miles. Time, 4h. 30m.

The road to-day has been throughout good, over high ground and occasionally over plains, the soil sandy, the jungle principally of saul, with a few teak trees here and there, and the whole free from underwood.

We stopped at the village of Ban Dón, situated on an extensive plain, which had been cultivated, having numerous villages scattered around it, and their sites marked by cocoanut, betel, and other trees growing around them.

We only crossed one or two dry nullahs on our march to-day, and found no water until we reached the fields belonging to the villages in this district. Much care and attention is given to the watercourses which intersect the fields in different directions for the purposes of irrigation, being cut from the Mé Tá, a stream to eastward, and distant about four miles. To raise the water from the river to the level of these watercourses, an embankment is merely thrown across it, and removed when not further required.

This village though small (containing 15 houses), is in good order and clean; it has a monastery; no village, however small, appears to be without one, and the number of idle priests surrounding my tent all day is almost incredible.

We here met the son of the late Muang Niong Tsóbua, who came to call on hearing of my arrival, and stopped and dined with me. He at once asked me whether I was going to China; that he and his countryman had always been praying for the road to be thrown open through his old country, and volunteered to give any information I required at some other time, as there were too many strangers present, though the villages I saw around were entirely peopled by families from his town. The head man of the surrounding villages also came to pay his respects, and brought me a present of rice, &c., and wished to erect a shed for me.

8th January.—Being particularly requested to halt here for a day, that information of my approach might be conveyed to Labong, I did so.

I paid the Muang Niong prince a visit: he is staying in a wretched small shed, and has come out to superintend the reaping of his grain. All the chiefs at this time of the year, from the Tsóbua downwards, remove with their followers and families to their fields, where they reside in temporary sheds, and not only superintend, but assist in collecting the harvest.

It was a novel sight to see the number of elephants grazing indiscriminately together in the fields with bullocks and buffaloes.

The trees surrounding these fields are called by the Burmans pouk, from which the stick lac, which forms one of the chief articles of export from these States to Siam and Moulmein is collected.

During my visit to the Muang Niong chief to-day, he appeared to think my mission had other objects than what I stated. He said, he hoped the British would interfere and have him and his countrymen released, either to return to their own country or to settle under us in the Tenasserim Provinces; that they, with the people of Kiang Túng and other places to the northward were sorely oppressed; that to the known benevolence and humanity of the English all their hearts were turned. I, however, gave him no hopes of our interfering as they were not our subjects, and had voluntarily placed themselves under the Siamese Shans.

He told me that he was certain that at Zimmé they would object to my proceeding towards China, on the grounds of the Chou Hona's absence; that they dared not, however, prevent my going, if I persisted; that some show of refusal was required to be made to save the authorities from blame at Bankok; that the chiefs of Zimmé are afraid, that by opening a free

free communication with the countries to the northward, all the inhabitants belonging to those parts would escape, for they were aware of the feeling existing amongst them, caused by oppression. He also gave me the particulars of a mission lately sent from Kiang Túng to the States of Zimmé, Labong, and Lagong; but as I shall collect further information hereafter, I shall not here repeat what he told me. Captain McLeod's Journal.

Some of the Court officers from Labong came to welcome me in the evening, stating that being in the neighbourhood and hearing of my arrival, they thought proper to come and pay their respects.

9th January.—From Ban Dón to Labong. Direction, N. 40 E.
Estimated Distance, 9 miles. Time, 2h. 55m.

An inferior officer came out this morning to escort me, and I was provided with six elephants from the village.

The road to Ban Pathan Ka noi (also called Súp Tá) lies entirely over fields; the village is situated on both banks of the Mé Tá, and contains about 30 houses; the village of Ban Pathan-luang, having a great number of houses, is lower down the stream. The Mé Tá is here about 100 feet wide and 2½ deep.

A further march over fields brought us to the village of Ban Pathan or Palmira village, 55.
which is a straggling place standing in topes of palmira trees. A great deal of palm sugar is made here.

Cultivation continues to a little distance beyond the village, where it makes way for pouk trees, and the mimosa catechu; this last has been very common since descending the hills.

We reached the left bank of the Mé Quan, and after going along it for some time, 1.17.
arrived at the village of Ban-Niu (consisting but of one street facing the river, and con- 1.37.
tinuing nearly the whole way to the town of Labong), with many gardens, in which tobacco and safflower were planted.

At the place where Dr. Richardson had formerly encamped, I was met by some petty officers and requested to fix my camp. They said that they had been sent by the Court officers to congratulate me on my arrival, and that sheds should be erected for my followers in two or three days, as the inhabitants were absent in their fields, for not hearing of my approach until yesterday, they had not had time to collect materials and people, many having accompanied the Chou Hona and Chou Raja But to Bankok.

These chiefs, as well as the Chou Hona and Chou Raja But of Lagong, had been ordered down by the King of Siam with a view of filling up certain Tsóbuaships, which had been long vacant by the death of the former chiefs. The Chou Hona of Zimmé had also gone down, I heard, but this was with reference to an advance made by the troops of that place towards the Burmese frontier.

I informed the officers that it was not my intention to lengthen my stay above two days unless necessary, as I was anxious to proceed to Zimmé, and would therefore dispense with the sheds.

I sent the interpreter with the officers to the Chou Raja Wun, to announce my arrival and to inform him that I had brought a letter and presents for the Tsóbua from the Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces; and that though I had heard that none had been appointed, and that the Chou Hona and Chou Raja But were absent, which I regretted, yet as the English and the chiefs of Labong had always been on the most friendly terms and Dr. Richardson had always experienced much kindness and attention from them, I had determined on delivering the letter, &c., to him, and making his acquaintance. He in reply, after some compliments, apologised for not having had sheds built, but invited me into the town, where my people would find shelter in the out-houses or sheds attached to the late Tsóbua Palace. The weather being threatening, I gladly availed myself of the invitation.

Having crossed the Mé Quan, I entered the town and found all the court officers waiting my arrival near the Court House. They welcomed me and whilst my tent was being pitched in the front of the Court, we sat down, I on a chair and they on mats, and had a conversation respecting the objects of my mission. I took the opportunity of expressing how glad we were at the continued supply of cattle we received, and that the cattle merchants I had met on the road were chiefly from this place. They spoke of the tranquillity and happiness they were enjoying, which they attributed entirely to us. There were many persons present, who had been brought away from Kiang Tsen, Muang Niong, and other places, who had experienced the calamities of war, and therefore could appreciate the blessings of peace, and were no doubt sincere in their expressions of gratitude towards us. They rejoiced to hear, that I had come up for the purpose of opening a communication with China, and with all their northern neighbours.

I requested that I might be admitted to a conference with the Chou Raja Wun with as little delay as possible, having a long journey before me. They required me to furnish a list of persons with me, &c., for the purpose of being communicated to the Tsóbua of Zimmé, who is now the controlling authority over the territories of Labong and Lagong.

It is prognosticated, that a great number of Chinese will come down this year, and earlier than usual, in consequence of the cold having set in sooner and being more severe than it is generally.

January 10th.—Many officers and others came to call on me, amongst them the Chou Hona's son-in-law (a brother of the Zimmé Chou Raja Wun), a person of agreeable

Captain McLeod's Journal.

manners, also the Chou Hona's second wife, the Chou Raja But's wife, and many others. They all brought presents of fruit, rice, vegetables, &c. However civilly intended and well-behaved, the gaping curiosity of the crowd is very disagreeable; my tent has been surrounded and full all day.

At about one o'clock, the Chou Raja Wun arrived at the Court House, carried in a chair (to which two bamboos had been fastened) by two coolies. I was shortly after requested to proceed to the Court, 20 yards from my tent. A carpet, similar to the one that the Chou Raja Wun was seated on, had been spread for me by his side, on the elevated platform at the end of the building, on which I took my seat. The Court and other officers were seated in a line on each side of the building, the highest in rank occupying the upper end near us. After mutual compliments, and my having thanked him, in the Commissioner's name, for the supplies of cattle we drew from his country, and the protection afforded our traders and subjects, which he assured me should not be discontinued, the letter from the Commissioner was opened, and read by my Burmese writer, there being no person present able to do so, and interpreted by my interpreter; the Chou Raja Wun making a reply to each paragraph as it was explained to him. He expressed himself sensible of the great advantages his country had derived by our possession of the provinces; that he was now old, and had the satisfaction of thinking that his sons would enjoy peace through us, and not as in former days, when none went to bed certain whether they would next day be free or in captivity.

He assured me of his anxious desire to facilitate by every means in his power, a continued intercourse between us, and further to strengthen the existing friendship. That he had much satisfaction in seeing me and hearing the purport of the Commissioner's letter. He distinctly said, that so far from there being any objection to my proceeding to China, he would be glad to forward our plans, if it laid in his power, but Zimmé was now the residence of the controlling chief, and that all depended on him; but I had his best wishes for my success. He asked me whether there was anything the English required, that the only reason an officer was not sent to Moulmein was, that they had nothing to communicate. In reply, I told him I was very thankful to him for the very kind and friendly reception I had met with, and for the strong friendship of which he had assured me, and of the sincerity of which we had had many proofs.

He applied to me for information regarding a report that had been current of our having sent ships and steamers to Bankok to demand the Talains, which had alarmed them greatly. On my contradicting it, he thanked God, and said he had heard various reasons given for Dr. Richardson's and my mission, partly coupled with the above report, which he was now satisfied were false, and circulated by some malicious persons.

All the officers joined him frequently during the interview in his assurances of good will and amity towards us.

They invited me to stay for some days, but I excused myself, and intimated my wish to start to Zimmé the day after to-morrow, on the plea of the long journey I had before me.

If one were to judge of the wealth of the place from the dress and appearance of the chiefs seen to-day, one would not give them credit for much. The Chou Raja Wun had on an old Chinese felt hat (no turban), with a narrow border of tinsel round it; this he did not take off during the conference; his vest was of coarse white cloth, and his lower garment of the usual silk of the country. Most of the officers were without jackets, and had a mean, dirty appearance.

The court house is entirely built of bamboos, and a more wretched, tumble-down place can hardly be imagined. It was unincumbered by any furniture, and the records appear to amount to a few rolls of leaves thrown carelessly over a beam. Close to the court is the jail, an open shed of about 12 feet square, at one end of which are the stocks. There are two men in for elephant stealing; they had double irons on their legs and chained together by their necks; their punishment for the theft, if proved, will be to pay treble the value of the animal and all expenses. No guard is kept, except over very desperate characters, for their relations and friends are held responsible that they do not escape. They are likewise fed by their relations.

The town of Labong, called by the Shans Lapûn, is situated on the right bank of the Mé Quan, here at present 100 feet wide and two feet deep, but from the bank to bank about 200 feet. It is surrounded by a brick wall, varying from 15 to 20 feet high, with loopholes for musketry in the parapet which is about 4½ feet high, and 2½ feet thick at the top. The wall in many places is falling down, and is not kept in the slightest order. I did not observe a single embrasure for a gun. The town is crowded with cocoa-nut and betel-nut trees, both inside and outside, and contains about 400 houses, almost all of bamboo, with the exception of some belonging to the chiefs, which are of wood. They are built without regularity, along streets rather wide, and each compound surrounded by a bamboo palisade, enclosing a garden. The gateways, of which there are four in the eastern face, one in the northern, two in the southern and western sides, are faced with stone. I was, however, unable to go round the fort. The northern, southern, and western faces are said to have ditches. Under the sheds occupied by my followers there were eight guns of sorts, the only ones, I believe, belonging to the place.

The river flows along the eastern face of it, and falls into the Mé Ping about three or four miles to the southward. It is only navigable at present for very small canoes. It rises in the hills to the northward and eastward, and its source is about 30 miles distant from this.

There

Captain McLeod's Journal.

There is no life in the place; it almost appears deserted; few people are seen moving about, and *there is no trade.* Our merchants cannot get prime cost even for their goods. There is not a single shop in the place; the wants of the people being few, they are supplied from the produce of the country and home manufactures.

Some old women, about 40, with a few pulses and herbs, a little betel, fish, &c., in small bags and baskets, assemble every day for about an hour, and this constitutes the bazar; no money is taken; they exchange one thing for another as they may require them.

I saw the Chinaman mentioned by Dr. Richardson as being father-in-law to the late Tsóbua; he informed me that the Chinese who visited Moulmein, in 1836, were well pleased with the market, but until the road is made they cannot travel by it. He, however, promises to endeavour to take 100 or 200 mules down this year or next. He doubts whether I shall be permitted to enter China, but promises to send a younger brother, who had been two years here, with me.

11th January.—I paid the Chou Raja Wun a visit in his house outside the fort, to the northward. It is a common bamboo building, not superior to those of his neighbours. I was civilly received by him, and we conversed without reserve for some time. I took the opportunity of impressing him with the advantages of commerce, to which I chiefly attributed the rise and prosperity of Moulmein. On taking leave, I said, I only hoped that I should be as well treated at Zimmé as I had been here; he told me that I should find things very different there; that the Zimmé people are a bad set, and did not look upon us in the same light as they did.

On my way out, I observed a ditch on this face of the fort. The trees here are so thick that I could hardly distinguish the wall.

Opposite the town, on the left bank of the river, is the village of the Muang Niong people. The present Prince's father, who was Tsóbua of that place, rebelled against the Burmans, and brought nearly the whole of his subjects under the Siamese Shans, they having promised that he should be permitted to fix on his own place of residence, be left independent, and enjoy every advantage he could desire. At his instigation, too, the Kiang Túng, Kiang Tsen, and many other Tsóbuas and chiefs followed his example, under similar engagements; however, when they were once in the power of the Siamese, no regard was paid to these, and an attempt was even made to remove them towards Bankok.

The only building to be noticed here (for the late Tsóbua's palace has been pulled down by the Chou Hona and the Chou Raja But, and the materials appropriated to their own use) is the pagoda, a very old building, held sacred by all Bhuddists, and one of those mentioned in their sacred books.

It is situated in the middle of the town, and its spire is seen some distance off. It is about 80 feet high, and is covered with square plates of copper, about 18 inches by 12 inches, gilt over, and is said to have been erected by seven successive kings. The first made it but seven cubits, and each other king succeeding to the throne added seven cubits, and a princess added a gold cup and the thi, or umbrella, crowning the spire. It is surrounded by a double paling formed of square copper rods, hollow inside, and having a stick running through each for support, and at every 10 feet is a pillar of the same metal, ornamented at the top with a ball.

There are several cast-iron lanterns and tables for offerings, all of which prove that, if made here, the place at one time possessed skilful workmen, but I could gain no satisfactory information on the subject.

I am told that copper was once found in this country at a place called Muang Kút, but the hill was struck by lightning and the mine filled up; it is, however, more likely that the copper plates, &c., were brought from China.

Our traders here speak in the highest terms of the conduct of the authorities towards them. That not the slightest restraint is put on the cattle trade; that frequently, when they have not sufficient money to pay for passes, the court officers will take goods to accommodate them, and no delay occurs in writing out the passes (which is not the case at Zimmé), and in fact, they are treated in every respect like the inhabitants of the place, if not better.

12th January.—From Labong to Zimmé.—Direction, N. 20 W.
Estimated Distance, 17 miles. Time, 5h. 30m.

I was delayed, much to the annoyance of the officers, until 10 o'clock, by the non-arrival of the elephants, which were to assist in carrying my baggage. Before I started, they called my interpreter, and begged he would ask me not to be angry if my reception at Zimmé should not be what I expected it; that the authorities there have not the same friendly feelings towards the English as they have, and to caution me to be on my guard.

We left the town by the northern gate. The high road to Zimmé being rather circuitous, and the country being now dry, we took a pathway across the fields, leaving the road to our right, and proceeded in a direct line towards a high hill, at the foot of which the town stands.

An hour's marching brought us to the village of Patapa (situated in a grove of mangoe trees), which is the boundary between Zimmé and Labong; there are three villages of this name close together, containing altogether about 40 houses. Near this is a tank fed by a branch of a broad watercourse of about 30 feet wide, with 2½ feet water in it, cut from

Captain McLeod's Journal.

the Mé Ping, and along whose banks we proceeded for 2h. 10m., the country low and sandy, having occasionally bamboos, but generally plains with long grass; the whole must be necessarily under water during the monsoon.

We then reached the fields belonging to Zimmé, the Mé Ping flowing a short distance to the westward, with the straggling village of Pâk Mung along its banks (where many of the Talain refugees reside), and continued to pass over fields separated occasionally by belts of jungle of pouk trees, until we reached the village Ta-wan-tan, on the left bank of the Mé Ping, where most of our traders live.

In the fields we passed the temporary sheds, which had been erected for the residence of some of the chiefs, to whom they belong, and who, with their followers, are occupying some of them, and are to be seen busy in thrashing the grain. It was an interesting and lively scene, particularly to see the number of elephants and bullocks waiting to convey away the grain. We also met many on the road going to and returning from town.

The river is here about 300 yards wide from bank to bank, and four feet deep, flowing in a south-westerly direction, having the ruins of a small pagoda in the middle of it, which stood formerly on an island, but which has been entirely carried away by the current.

From this to the town there is a raised road across fields, but etiquette not permitting me to enter the town, having crossed the river, I made for the place where I was to encamp (being at the north-east angle of the fort), direct across the fields, and reached it at about a quarter-past three.

The person who accompanied me from Labong, quitted me at the river, to proceed to the town to report my arrival; it was fortunate some of our merchants came out to meet me, as I should otherwise have had some difficulty in finding out where I was to stop, for no officer met me. After waiting for upwards of an hour, I sent my interpreter to remonstrate against this slight; he returned with a message requesting me not to enter the town, but to take possession of an old dilapidated zeat or resting house; that no neglect was intended, but they had not, before the Labong officer arrived that day, known of my approach, and that the person whose duty it was to receive me was unwell.

The zeat is the same as Dr. Richardson occupied, but now with scarcely any roof and no floor; I therefore had my tent pitched to live in. At night one of the court writers came with a message from the officers of government, and a supply of rice, making excuses for no officer meeting or visiting me, and wishing to know whether my journey was to be extended beyond Zimmé. I expressed my surprise that they should be ignorant of the object of my visit, as I had informed the officer at the frontier village, and the authorities at Labong had written some days before announcing my approach; that China was the place I wished to proceed to, and when an officer came to me (as he had informed me he was a petty writer only), I would explain everything they required. He asked me likewise the object of Dr. Richardson's mission to Moné, and that of another officer, but to what place he did not know.

At night some Chinese merchants, residents here, came to visit me, and had a long interview with my Chinese interpreter.

They are rejoiced at the idea of my going to China, and do not apprehend the slightest difficulty to my penetrating as far as Puer. The only objection they made to the Moulmein trade, which they say is profitable to them, is the road.

They strongly urged me to go by Kiang Túng; that the road travelled by the Chinese caravans is very bad, over exceeding high mountains, impassable for elephants, and having only a few scattered villages belonging to various hill tribes on it; whereas by the other, I should not only find a good road and few hills of consequence, but meet many towns where our traders would be enabled to dispose of their goods, besides seeing a great number of Chinese merchants. They begged that I would not mention to the authorities here that I had had any communication with them.

The Kiang Túng road is closed, even against the Chinese, from the excessive jealousy of the Siamese towards the Burmans.

13th January.—The person who came last night returned this morning, in company with one of the court puniahs; the same questions were repeated, adding that they heard I had determined on going to China *viâ* Muang Nan.

I undeceived them, if such indeed was their opinion, which I doubt, but I apprehend they are anxious I should proceed by that place, to relieve them from either the responsibility with their own Government for permitting me to proceed, or the risk of displeasing us by a refusal. I told them I had not made up my mind, and could not determine until I had seen the Tsóbua. They informed me, that the 16th had been fixed for my introduction, and on my requesting my reception by him might not be delayed longer than was absolutely necessary, as I had a long journey before me, and was anxious to have all matters connected therewith settled as soon as possible, they said that the Tsóbua was going to the pagoda to-morrow, and there was no use in being in a hurry, as it would be necessary to consult the chiefs of Labong and Lagong respecting my journey before a reply could be given me.

14th January—Puniah Sulim, a Talain refugee, a puniah, and the factotum of the Chou Raja Wun, came with a civil message and a present of betel, salt, tobacco, &c., from his master. Our traders derive much assistance from his master and him, when they have complaints to make. They all unite in speaking well of the Chou Raja Wun, judging

judging from which it is to be supposed he is well inclined towards us. Not so the Chou Hona, who is said to take every opportunity of showing his dislike to them. From this person I learnt that the Tsóbuaships of Muang Phé and Muang Nan were vacant, by the death of their former chiefs. The Chou Honas of those places have exercised the government over them, but during the lifetime of the late Chou Chi Wit he is said to have had a sort of controlling authority over the whole, but since his death the chief of Zimmé has not been vested with the same power. Before he left me I asked him to request his master to expedite my introduction; that even a day was of the utmost consequence to me.

The officers above mentioned, with many others, and the sons of the late rulers, have been ordered to Bankok, with a view of filling up the vacancies. The cause of the Chou Hona and other officers from this proceeding to the capital is said to be connected with an attempt made some time before to bring away the inhabitants of two Burmese towns, Mok Mai and Kanti, on the western bank of the Salween. An officer of the former place (falling into disgrace, though they will not admit this here) came and placed himself under the protection of the Chou Hona, and likewise told him that all the inhabitants were anxious to come over in like manner, if assured of protection. A force of 1,500 men was accordingly moved towards the frontier under Chou Raja Wun. They, however, met a Burmese force prepared for them, and the chief being asked the cause of his journey, with such a military display, replied he had come out on a hunting excursion. He was recommended, the next time he ventured so far, to come with a stronger party. He was obliged to return without performing anything.

The Red Karengs had joined the Siamese Shans, and were most anxious that the Chou Raja Wun should attack the Burmans; no doubt only to take advantage of the commotion and catch a few prisoners to sell. His orders, however, would not permit him, even if inclined, to indulge the allies.

One of their chiefs has accompanied the Chou Hona to Bankok, with presents for the king. The Labong chiefs and many here strenuously opposed the above expedition.

The cattle merchants here complain much of the vexatious system in practice of being obliged to give in the names of the venders at the court. A person rarely now takes a pass from this place, but smuggles the cattle into the Labong territories, where no difficulties exist. The stock at Labong is nearly exhausted, but cattle is still abundant in this province. The price the same at both places, viz., from 5 to 7 rupees for a cow, and from 7 to 11 for a bullock. At Muang Nan they are said to be plentiful, but less so at Muang Phé; at Muang Luang Phaban buffaloes are more numerous. The chiefs of those places will not permit their export, assigning as a reason, that no British officer has ever been deputed to their territories, though we have courted the friendship of the States in this direction. They are reported to be very well disposed towards us, and most anxious to establish a free intercourse with us.

Muang Nan is as large as this place; Muang Phé the size of Labong, and both on the western side of the Mé Khong; but Muang Luang Phaban is much larger than any of the other towns, and is situated immediately on the eastern bank of that river. The inhabitants are called Láu by the people here; only one or two of our merchants have yet found their way there.

The Muang Niong Chief from Labong paid me a short visit, and told me they had determined here not to let me proceed, at least to object to it, but if I persisted they would not prevent me, but would in no way assist me. He promised to return before he quitted this place, and again give me any intelligence he could collect. He, however, sent an excuse in the evening for not coming himself, and desired his brother-in law to tell me that they had decided on hearing first what I had to urge before coming to any decision.

In the evening, a court peon came to tell me the Tsóbua would receive me to-morrow instead of the day after, and to my inquiry, whether any persons would come to escort me, replied in the negative.

15th January.—Sent early in the morning to the Chou Raja Wun, to request some person in office might come to accompany me to the Tsóbua's. At 11 some of the court officers came with trays for the presents, and to escort me. I rode into the town and was requested to dismount at the gate of the Tsóbua's compound, and was received by him in the great hall, a brick building with small windows, papered throughout, and covered with rude daubs taken from the 550 zats or existences of Guadama, and figures of Europeans, &c. The roof is supported by two rows of pillars in the centre. The throne, which was placed at one end of the building, had over it a pyathat, or graduated circular spiral roof of white cloth, seven in number, each cut in the shape of an umbrella. At the foot and in front of the throne, a carpet was spread for the Tsóbua, with a cushion on it, and, opposite to him, a carpet was likewise placed for me; the Chou Raja Wun was on my left beyond the range of pillars, and the other officers on my right. All were better dressed than those at Labong, but without any ornaments; some with, and some without jackets.

In the outer court were musicians making a great noise, and at the doorway of the hall a few men ranged with muskets and swords. After waiting for about 10 minutes, the Tsóbua made his appearance; he was preceded by a few men shabbily dressed, armed with swords and spears, who ranged themselves on each side of the throne. He was dressed in a coarse white jacket, and the ordinary cloth of the country (which resembles the Burmese putcho, though not of such gay colours) round his body; he held a common dah without

Captain McLeod's Journal.

scabbard in his hand. This I was told was their custom, and borrowed from the Lawas. He is an old man, upwards of 83 years, but not so decrepid as might be expected. I thanked him in the Commissioner's name for the supplies of cattle we drew from his territories, and the encouragement and support afforded our merchants, and assured him of our sincere wish to continue on the terms we had always been with him. He expressed himself happy to see another British officer, and hoped to see many more; that they should always be welcome. He was happy to find we were so friendly inclined towards them, and hoped, that as the feelings was mutual, it would always continue.

On the Commissioner's letter being read, and the contents explained to him, he expressed his surprise at my intended journey to China, and intimated his wish that I should not go. I had prior to this informed several officers of Government of the object of my visit, and spoke of my journey to China as a matter of course.

I now brought forward every argument I could think of in favour of my proceeding. I pointed out the advantage his country had already derived, both in a commercial and political point, by their intercourse with us, and our position on the coast; that the English and Siamese nations had been friends from time immemorial; that the sole object was to open a trade with their northern neighbours, by which they would benefit, as well as ourselves, and to secure the same protection to our traders as they enjoyed here; that they had been sufficiently long acquainted with us to know that our views were pacific and just; that we little anticipated any objection on their parts to allow me to proceed, and to permit our traders to visit the country beyond them as far as China; that they had always expressed themselves anxious to extend their commercial connections; that from what they had said to Dr. Richardson, we had been led to conclude, that they would willingly second the object in view, and depending upon their liberality and friendship, numbers of merchants had accompanied me, with property to a considerable amount. I, therefore, hoped as a proof of their good will towards us, they would not throw any obstacles in my way, and prevent our establishing a regular trade with the Chinese; that if they refused to accede to our request, it would surprise everybody, and appear as if they were suspicious and would not trust us, or they did not wish to oblige us. He said it was only from his regard for me that he objected, as the roads were difficult, infested by bad people, and the distance too great, and asked a second time, whether I did not intend to visit Muang Nan, as there was a road from it to China. I told him my country is more than 200 times the distance that Zimmé is from China; that the English are a nation of travellers and merchants; that I had made up my mind to encounter many difficulties; and with reference to Muang Nan, I had not been deputed to that place, as we looked upon the Zimmeers as our staunch friends, who would always be ready to oblige us. Finding I would not give up the point, they said, the road had never been opened to any one, that the Chou Hona was absent, and it would be necessary to consult the authorities at Labong and Lagong, as was customary on all matters of importance, and that a reply should be given me in six days; but that even if it were not satisfactory to me, and I insisted on going, they would not prevent me. I told them I had come as a friend, and if they refused me permission, I should not certainly attempt to force my way, but return without delay to Moulmein. I only begged them not to detain me longer than was necessary, that my approach had been communicated to them as well as the object of my visit, that I had a long journey before me, and was anxious to return before the rains.

The Chou Raja Wun was the person who spoke throughout. The Tsóbua said but little; he, however, inquired the object of Dr. Richardson's mission, and whether another officer had not been sent on one into the territories of Ava, and whether we were not to meet at Kiang Túng.

I was requested to postpone any subject I might have to bring forward, until the above one was first settled. I was also requested, should I wish to go about the fort or elsewhere, to send a message to the court, when a person should attend me. Whether this was intended as a compliment or not, I cannot say. After some general conversation respecting England, &c., I took my leave.

At the gate there were four iron guns (12-pounders) of foreign casting, on rude carriages, each under a shed. Besides these there were, I suppose, about 40 of all sizes and sorts heaped together on one side. In front of the palace is an open space, on which stands the court-house, a good building for this place, and the jail, a small shed about eight feet square, with a strong palisade around it, with an entrance just large enough to admit of a person creeping in, and was more like a cage for wild beasts than for men.

On my return home I was visited by the chief priest, who is a connection of the Chou Hona. Curiosity brought him and a train of priests. He asked for everything he saw, my cot, tent, chair, sextant, &c., and was in no way abashed or prevented continuing to beg by frequent refusals.

The ex-Tsóbua of Kiang Túng, now residing here, is absent with the other chiefs at Bankok. The cause of his going down is the attempt made by his younger brother, the present Tsóbua of that place, to open a communication with the Shans, and through their territories with us. His son is not a very aristocratic looking personage.

There is great difficulty in distinguishing the chiefs from the other people from their dresses alone, for all are clad almost alike; the number of retainers following a person only sometimes gives a clue to his rank.

The Chinese merchants again came and entreated me to persist in going forward; they repeat

repeat that they do not think I shall have any difficulty in entering China, but they evidently speak at random, without having given the subject much thought.

I heard to-day of three Thugs having been here about two or three months ago. They came accompanied, according to some accounts, by a Chinaman, by others, by a faqueer well known at Moulmein, from having kept his hand erect above his head for years. They had assumed the disguise of faqueers, but clad themselves in the yellow garment worn by the Burmese and Siamese priesthood, which gave them additional sanctity in the opinion of the people here. They took up their abode in a zeat, and lived on charity. One of them dying led to their discovery. No sooner did they find out that their true character was known, than they quitted the place, it is supposed for Lagong. The police were immediately informed of their character by some of our traders, but they would not apprehend them, as no communication had been made from Moulmein, and they were afraid of fault being found with them for seizing and confining any of our subjects.

16th January.—Called on the Chou Raja Wun, a handsome man of 40 years of age, and of pleasing manners. He received me with proper Siamese indifference, but I was no sooner seated on the carpet spread for me, than he came and took his seat close to me, ordered chairs for us, and made himself pleasant. He is very open to flattery, and was much pleased with my having a good opinion of his power and influence; he said that it was absurd to send for the officers from the other states; that he was the person who would decide the question about my proceeding towards China, and I should attribute my success or failure to him. I did not fail to urge the advantages my mission would be to both countries. He is very inveterate against the Burmans, and expressed himself in the strongest language against them; that the two nations could never be on good terms; that it was only since our occupation of the coast that hostilities had nominally ceased. From his manner of questioning me, I think that he is suspicious of the motives of Dr. Richardson's and my mission. The Kiang Túng people having lately come here for the purpose of opening a communication with them and with us, appears to be the grounds for mistrust.

Before we parted he threw off all reserve, put on my cap, and introduced me to his wives and children, of both of whom he has a vast number.

Amongst the refreshments served up was some pickled tea leaf, differing somewhat from the Burmese article of the same sort. The tea is the produce of this province. I must not forget to mention some cocoa-nut water I was presented with; it was quite scented and sweet, and had not undergone any process, for the Chou sent two to my tent; they are scarce, there being but two trees in the place, but none of the fruit at present old enough to be taken for planting.

The Tsóbua is entirely given up to making presents to the priests and pagodas; he is said to be a mild and well-disposed man, and liked by his subjects. From his age and mode of passing his time, he cannot be supposed to trouble himself much with the affairs of the state, more than ordinary power, therefore, falls to the Chou Hona, the second officer in the province, and the general successor to the throne. He again is represented as having been once much addicted to opium smoking and the use of ardent spirits, and only kept within bounds from fear of again incurring the displeasure of the ministers at Bankok. He is said to be of a bad and severe disposition, and much feared by the people. Report says, that he is unfavourable to too much intercourse with us, and invariably shows a dislike to our traders.

The Chou Raja Wun is the third officer, and is a sort of commander in chief. He is the son of the former Tsóbua. He is not a man of any ability, but is supposed to be friendly inclined towards us.

Received a letter from Mr. Blundell, dated 20th December, with one for the Tsóbua of this place and Labong.

On my way to the Chou Raja Wun to-day, I observed a few fine Pernambuco cotton trees in some of the gardens, reared from seed given by Dr. Richardson; it is much prized. The trees though very fine, do not produce cotton in proportion; a great number of the plants died when young. I also saw some bamboo, the culms of which were of bright yellow colour, prettily striped with green; its size that of the common bamboo; I never saw it elsewhere.

17th January.—The Chou Raja Wun came to visit me to-day, and brought a Kareng cloth, valued at three rupees as a present, in return for a musket and fusil I gave him yesterday. A number of officers accompanied him. He paid me a very long visit, and I satisfied his curiosity by showing him everything I had. I again spoke about my journey, and of their permitting the Chinese to come down, but hesitating to let us go up. He begged of me to be patient, and he hoped all would be satisfactorily settled.

Whilst he was with me a man came in the name of the Tsóbua, and asked for a list of the presents I had for China, on the plea of its being customary; for if I was robbed on the road, they would be held responsible. I, however, declined satisfying their curiosity, for it was nothing else, until I was starting, when they should have a list of everything I had, if they wished it.

Chou Tsan, an elder brother of the Kiang Túng Tsóbua, sent to say he wished to call on me; he however came after dark, and evidently on the sly. He said that the people from his and the surrounding northern countries now in captivity, all rejoiced at my mission; they have longed prayed for the communication to be opened;

Captain McLeod's Journal.

that they looked upon the English as their intended benefactors, hoping we would extend the same protection to them as we had done to the Talains and other Burmese subjects now residing in our territories; for they all knew that we could do what we pleased, possessing the power and influence we did. He gave me a short sketch of the motives which led them to join the Siamese, as well as the particulars of the late mission from Kiang Túng to the chief of this place. He complained of the oppression of the authorities here; that their followers finding their chiefs could not protect them, and obtain justice for them, had left them, and enrolled themselves amongst those of some of the Siamese chiefs; that the Zimméers were all aware of the hatred their conduct towards them had inspired in them; they, therefore, did not wish us to have any communication with Kiang Túng or them. He told me that the authorities were much embarrassed how to act with respect to my journey; on the one hand, the fear of the court at Bankok and the Chou Hona operated, and on the other, that of displeasing us. That I had some supporters amongst the chiefs, some of whom were very liberal, and that there had been more than one consultation on the subject. Nothing could be kept secret, as their relations were, either by marriage or otherwise, connected with all the chiefs, and they always knew what was going on. He mentioned that numerous reports had been abroad, and that some of the chiefs suspected my journey had some other object in view than what I had stated. He was anxious to know whether I had been sent up in consequence of the late mission to this place from his brother. I told him it had no reference to it, though we were glad to find that the Kiang Túng Tsóbua was so friendly deposed towards us; that our object was to communicate and trade with all countries. I requested him in future not to come by stealth, as he had done on this occasion, as I had nothing to communicate to him privately. I could assure him, I had stated the object of my mission, and however glad I should be to see him, much injury would be done to the cause we were both concerned about, if the suspicions of the chiefs were raised, which would easily be done, after what he had told me; he must, therefore, excuse my caution.

18th January.—I had an interview with the Tsóbua to deliver Mr. Blundell's letter respecting the runaway Thugs, and explained to him the habits and customs of that sect, and the bad effects of harbouring them. He promised to issue orders to all the places under his jurisdiction for the apprehension of any who may be found, or arrive hereafter. I mentioned having heard of some having been here, but all the officers pleaded ignorance of the fact.

I took the opportunity of bringing forward the complaint of the cattle merchants, stating that we had been led to expect that the same system in force at Labong would have been adopted here, and the same duty only demanded. The regulation for registering the names of the vendors really amounted to a prohibition to the trade; for the people are obliged to attend at the court, leaving their villages, however distant, and subjecting themselves to loss of time, besides paying the large sum of one tical a head for cattle sold by them; under these circumstances, the people objected to deal with our traders. I urged them to do away with the registry regulation, and if they are determined not to give up the tical (for this is a perquisite of the court officers, who are a large and influential body) at least to reduce the sum, and demand it from the purchaser. They said, that the regulation had been made to prevent theft, but when I endeavoured to prove to them that such precautions were unnecessary, and asked them whether cattle was the only thing in danger of being stolen; they said they required two days to consult before they could give me any answer. They are always glad to offer any excuse for a delay. It is not so much the tical demanded that the owners of cattle object to (for this necessarily falls on the purchaser at present), as the inconvenience they are subjected to, and the reference too often made to the book to squeeze money from them. I am told, though I do not believe it, that they are taunted with selling cattle to the kalas (strangers), and told, that the order was only given to quiet us and not intended to be acted up to.

I may here state, that I asked one of the chiefs, in a conversation we had about his sending some cattle to Moulmein for sale, whether he took a pass, he said he merely paid a quarter of a tical at Muang Haut, and nothing else, so the hardship does not weigh equally on the rich and poor.

During this visit, I likewise brought forward the complaint of our Karengs, of tribute being levied from them by the Shan authorities on the right bank of the Thoung Yin. The chiefs assured me, that strict orders had been before issued on this subject, and fresh ones should be again sent; but they begged me not to give credence to it; that their own Karengs often accused our people of the same, but they well knew it was a subterfuge made use of to get off the payment of their tax, which was never remitted. I warned them that orders had been issued to our people to apprehend and send to Moulmein any person attempting to demand anything from them in future.

I again begged the Tsóbua to expedite my departure, telling him that as we only requested the same indulgence as they granted the Chinese, we should now be able to judge of the truth of their professions of good-will towards us.

The Chou Raja Wun was not present; the Chou Raja But, the Tsóbua's son, said but little, and Chou Na Noi Tsuriniah, one of the Tsóbua's nephews, was the principal spokesman. Before taking leave, the Tsóbua requested that I would send to him, or any of the officers, for anything I required; and added, that I was at perfect liberty to go about the place, and see everything I pleased. I had hitherto abstained from going about for fear of exciting their suspicions.

After

Captain MLeod's Journal.

After leaving the palace, I called on the Chou Raja Wun, and repeated to him all that had passed. He was very friendly, showed me all over his house, which is the largest in the place, entirely built of wood, and was his father's palace. The houses here are all much better than those at Labong; and those of the chiefs very good, entirely of wood, and covered with shingles, which answer well here (the rains though heavy are not continual), and last many years. He is as bitter as usual against the Burmans, and in reply to some remarks of mine on the advantage it would be to them to be on terms of friendship with all their neighbours, as we are, he said, he knew it is our custom to forget dissension and injuries after a peace is concluded, and to look upon and treat our former enemies like friends; but they never could forget the treatment they had experienced under the Burmans.

Chou Tsan, the Kiang Túng chief, with a number of his relations, came at night; they had been lurking about my tent for some time to see all other people away. As I had before particularly requested him not to come at such late hours, after addressing a few civil questions to him, I excused myself on the plea of wishing to write, much to his disappointment. I desired the interpreter to let him know the true reason for my not holding a longer conversation with him.

19th January.—Called on the Tsóbua's eldest son, the Chou Raja But; I have been prevented from doing so before, in consequence of his continual absence in his fields. He does not appear to be of an active disposition, and has but little influence in the government of the place, except with his father, whom he greatly resembles. He received me very civilly, and hoped everything would be soon settled as I desired. He showed me two or three guns made by his brother-in-law, the only good gunsmith in the place; they did him much credit.

Though I have been daily visited by the families of some of the chiefs, to-day the Chou Raja Wun's chief wife, and those of the other principal officers, came in a body, bringing small presents of betel, tobacco, &c., and, as usual, were not backward in asking for what they required, but most particularly requested I would give them some cosmetic to improve their beauty. The Chou Raja Wun sent his band, the only one in the place, at the same time. It consisted of four or five of the common and most noisy Burmese instruments; the performers were little boys, who played without regard to each other or time, nor was any particular air intended, I believed.

A shed was ordered to be erected in the morning near my tent for visitors to sit under, by the Chou Raja Wun; just at dusk a few bamboos were brought.

There is not the same parade and show here amongst the chiefs as in Burmah, neither in their dress, ornaments, numbers of followers, &c., nor in their houses.

Chou Kurn Kam and many other chiefs also called to-day. The Chou has been lately to Bankok, and boasts of his King being on terms of friendship now with the Americans too; he met some merchants of that nation there, and, by his accounts, they did not fail to boast of their prowess, the extent of their country, &c.

He is an intelligent man and one of the most liberal in the place; and says the King of Siam is most anxious to encourage foreign trade, and strangers settling at Bankok; he says that land has been granted to some Americans, to grow coffee on.

A despatch was sent off to the Chou Hona to-day respecting me, but what the contents are I could not ascertain, though told it was merely to announce my arrival, &c.

20th January.—I returned the visits of the chiefs who had called on me, and of the head priest, a person of great influence both from his connections and situation. He received me with much civility and freedom, walked with me, showed me about the various buildings attached to his monastery, and conversed on perfect equality with me, forming a striking contrast to some of the Burmese priests in this respect.

Their religion is the Buddhism of Ava. Almost all the pagodas, called zedi, both by the Burmans and Siamese (that is, the masses of brick of spiral form), in and out of the town, with few exceptions, are either in or fast going to ruins, and must all have been erected by the Burmans during the time they possessed the place.

The sacred buildings here are of brick, consisting of one hall, varying from 60 to 100 feet in length, and 35 to 50 feet in breadth, at the end of which a large image of Guadama stands on an elevated platform, surrounded by smaller ones. The floors are raised about three feet, and bricked, and generally smeared over with thittse; the sides of some are closed up, and of others the wall only run up half way. The roof over the centre of the building, being raised higher than those covering the sides, is supported by very fine lofty posts of teak, and the whole tiled and adorned with carved wooden ornaments, and a small pyathat over the centre.

The insides of the buildings are painted with subjects taken from their sacred writings, principally from the 550 zats, and by no means badly done; the pillars and roof are highly ornamented and gilt. The interiors of most of these buildings, which are numerous in the town, are rich and handsome, and kept remarkably clean and in good order. The priests reside in brick buildings of a similar size, but not ornamented, the interior being partitioned off into small rooms for their accommodation, rendering the building very dark. The numerous trees about these religious buildings render them cool and pleasant; and the grounds, which are surrounded by a low brick wall, are kept swept and remarkably neat and clean. The chief priest informed me there were 75 monasteries, or residences for priests, attached to the buildings I have above described, in the town alone, occupied by 344 priests, who, in the whole of his jurisdiction, amount

Captain McLeod's Journal.

to about 2,000, exclusive of probationers. However great this number may seem, I do not think it at all exaggerated, for they are to be seen at all hours, and in every direction, loitering about idle. They are by no means as strict as the Burmese priesthood in the observation of those duties and acts which are considered as essential to their profession. They are here seen mixing with the people, sitting in the bazar, conversing with women, entering private houses, riding elephants, eating after the sun has passed the meridian, and many indulging in spirits, cock-fighting (which is a favourite amusement of the young chiefs), few going with unshod feet; and that abstraction from worldly thoughts in their demeanour, which is strictly enjoined, is not observable, nor are they said to deny themselves indulgences totally inconsistent with their sacred calling. The yellow robe, in fact, appears to be the emblem of idleness, ease, and debauchery.

In the centre of the town are the ruins of a large pagoda much higher than any of the others here. It has a square basement of considerable size and height, and appears to have been arched; the whole of the wall and upper part has fallen down. It reminded me much of the ruins of some of the smaller pagodas at Pagham Myo, on the Irrawadi. It is said to have been built by the Burmans during the time they were masters of this place. In the same inclosure, near the eastern gate, is a small building of brick, said to be the abode of a guardian nat or deity of the place; it is kept locked and only opened once a year, when offerings and sacrifices are made and left within the building, on which the demi-god satisfies his hunger during the rest of the year. I am assured that human victims were immolated at his shrine formerly, but now pigs and bullocks are substituted. Every house in the province is obliged to contribute towards this festival.

I also called to-day on Chou Kurn Kam; he is very friendly and came to see me at night, and stayed late. He is a brother of Chou Maha Tep, a person Dr. Richardson found very friendly, but who is at present down at Bankok. He told me not to mind a little delay, that I should be permitted to proceed, for how could they refuse me after allowing the Chinese a free passage?

Our traders complain much of the vexatious delays they experience here, when they have complaints, either against each other or any of the inhabitants of the place, and the total absence of justice. The Puniahs, who are a numerous body, are many of them attachés of the Chou Hona; these officers have the decision of all suits and cases in court, and are an influential body. The presents they receive and the fines they levy being their only emoluments, it may be imagined that they are not over upright.

Every individual in the place is, from necessity, obliged to enrol himself as a follower of some chief to ensure himself protection; justice is often measured out according to the influence of the master of the litigants. The chiefs can themselves also settle all disputes in their houses. The plaintiff is obliged to bring the defendant to court; this person often refuses to attend until it is convenient for him to do so; but there is no remedy.

In cases of debt, the debtor is imprisoned; and if he is unable to satisfy his creditor he and his family are delivered over to him to be sold. All offences, save murder, are punished by fines; the principal part of which goes to the aggrieved party, the remainder to the chiefs and court officers. If a theft is proved, three times the value of the article stolen is decreed to the owner of the thing; and if not paid, the offender, after suffering imprisonment in irons, is made over, with his family, to be dealt with as in cases of debt. No inquiry is made, however, before the prosecutor lodges or gives security for the amount of the value of the property stolen, for if he fails in proving his charges he forfeits the amount, which is given over to the supposed culprit, otherwise no investigation takes place, however suspicious the circumstances may be against him. The fines for assaults and abuses, &c., vary according to the rank of the party complaining.

The litigants are obliged to provide the officer daily with refreshments and sometimes food, whilst the case is pending, besides making them small presents to insure their assistance. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising, that our traders do not obtain what they consider justice.

I questioned some of these officers regarding their laws, whether they had any written code to guide them. They said they had in Pali, they believed, but usually decided the cases according to their own judgment.

21st January.—The Muang Niong prince from Labong came to beg my assistance to recover two stolen elephants, said to have been taken to Moulmein, belonging to the chief puniah of that place; as well as to enable him to get some money due to him by some natives of India. I accordingly gave him notes to the authorities at Moulmein. He informed me that the officer from Labong is waiting for the one from Lagong, who will have to pass through the former place, and both will come here together to consult about the propriety of permitting me to proceed to China; but he strongly suspects that they will not attend, but allow the Zimmé chiefs to bear all the responsibility themselves, a bad feeling existing amongst them.

He told me that a mission was sent during Chou Chi Wit's time to China; it was well received, its object was to open the Golden Road; that one of the officers who formed the mission is still alive.* He brought a rough sketch of the country to the north of this, as he had before promised.

From

* All my subsequent inquiries on this subject were fruitless; all denied any knowledge of the mission.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

From the various stories I have heard respecting the late mission from Kiang Túng, the following appears to be the correct version;—The Tsóbua of that place, having obtained the King of Ava's permission to open a communication with this state, sent an officer with letters and presents to the Tsóbuas of Zimmé, Lagong, and Labong, hoping that they were willing to forget their former differences and animosities, to become friends and permit a free communication and trade between their subjects, and through their country with the English at Moulmein. From 40 to 50 merchants accompanied this officer, and brought a large sum of money to lay out in the Moulmein market. He was received with marked disrespect by the authorities, though many of the officers were inclined to accede to the Tsóbua's request, but the Chou Hona, and Chou Raja Wun, principally opposed the concession. The Chou Hona would not permit the officer even to return or the merchants to proceed to Moulmein, on the grounds of their motives being suspected. The matter was quietly referred to Bankok, and under instructions from the Court, a reply to the letter was sent, declining all intercourse with the Kiang Túng people, and stating that it was necessary that the King of Ava should address the King of Siam, whose subjects they were, if the amicable disposition set forth in the letter really existed.

This officer only quitted this about 20 days before I arrived here. The merchants were obliged to buy up such English goods as they could find in the place, and returned with the greater part of their money.

It may not be out of place, however, to mention, that the greater part of the inhabitants of this place are people from Kiang Túng, Muang Niong, Kiang Then, and many other places to the northward. They were originally subjects of Ava, but about 34 years ago, in consequence of the rapacious and oppressive acts of the Burmese commanders and troops stationed in the different provinces, over which they appeared to have exercised the rights of conquerors, the chiefs entered into a secret negotiation with those of this place and of the other States in this direction, subject to Siam, to throw off the yoke of Ava, and in a body to come and place themselves under their protection. To enable them to do so, they were to make a diversion in their favour by advancing towards and attacking the different towns, when the inhabitants would at once join them. They were promised liberty to settle where they pleased in the Siamese territories under their own chiefs, and also other important advantages, none of which, however, have been fulfilled; so far from it, they are distributed amongst the five towns of Zimmé, Labong, Lagong, Muang Phé, and Muang Nan. Some of those here were afterwards taken and brought away against their will; all are, however, now treated with mistrust and, they wish to make it out, with severity.

The revolted Kiang Túng Tsóbua (who is absent at Bankok), with four brothers and all their followers, voluntarily placed themselves under the Siamese. They had fixed on Kiang Then, or Kiang Tsen, on the Mé Khong, as the place for their abode, but, on reaching it, the bad faith of the Siamese became so apparent, that the present Tsóbua of Kiang Túng, the youngest but one of the brothers, after vainly endeavouring to persuade the others to return, fought his way back to his old town, with a few followers.

These territories, therefore, may be said to have risen to their present strength entirely from the mismanagement, avarice and cruelty of the Burmans; they were insignificant before in point of numbers, and never could have coped with their more numerous neighbours.

The real military strength of these provinces must be small, when it is considered that all the captive Burmese Tsóbuas are obliged to furnish their quota and accompany the troops, on all occasions of war; they, with the Talains, comprise more than two-thirds of the population of the country; they are disgusted with the treatment they receive, and are ripe for revolt. With respect to us, they would gladly join us on any occasion, and place themselves under our protection.

The Court at Bankok does not, it appears, place much faith in the attachment and fidelity of these distant provinces, for the oath of allegiance is administered to the chiefs, great and small, as often as they go to Bankok, which they are obliged to do periodically. It rather courts them as much as possible and, indeed, the tribute levied is very light.

I apprehend much difficulty will be found in persuading the authorities here to permit our merchants to pass through the territories, and trade with their implacable enemies the Burmans, having the fear of the unfortunate captives either rebelling or escaping, when in communication with their relations. In fact, it can hardly be expected, that the Zimmé people will run the risk of losing so large a proportion of their subjects to please us.

These fears have lately been increased by the deserters mentioned before from Mok Mai. The Chief (or Tsóbua, I believe he is called) of that place and Kanti being very young, the towns were placed under the superintendence of an officer by the Court of Ava; such, however, were the acts of cruelty and misrule of this person, that they reached the Court of Ava, and he was ordered to be removed a-là-Burmah; he, however, effected his escape to the Zimmé territory, and fabricated the story which caused the Chou Raja Wun to march with the force, as before stated; he likewise added, that the King of Ava had given out that it was his earnest desire to become possessed of Zimmé, and taunted the Shan Tsóbuas with not being able to gratify his wish. The Kiang Túng Tsóbua, he said, had undertaken to add Zimmé to the kingdom of his Majesty in three years, with the assistance of his relations here, and as a preparatory step was erecting a fort round his town. The mission arriving shortly after this, and it being true

Captain McLeod's Journal.

that they were erecting a wall round the town, some of the chiefs became fully convinced of the truth of the deserter's story.

I regret much to find, that some of the natives of India now residing here have turned their attention to the degrading speculation in slaves. They are, however, men of the lowest description, and some who will not, I am satisfied, even return to the British territories. I have warned them all of the heavy penalties attached to their importing any of these unfortunate creatures into our provinces. The Red Karengs seize these unfortunate people in the Burmese district, and keep them until some persons from this go and give bullocks in exchange for them, but they themselves never bring them across the Salween. The price varies from two to seven bullocks, according to the age and beauty of the women and strength of the men.

The Burmans are much more liberal to their slaves than the Shans; there is no redemption for any person once sold here. Should a slave marry, the children are the property of the master, who puts the same price on each that the parents cost.

A poor woman entreated me to obtain her release. She and her mother had been seized, but sold separately, each living in a different house; they were each exchanged for five bullocks. On my sending back privately to know her price, they demanded 400 ticals, equal to 180 rupees. The person asked the master to take 300 ticals; he agreed, provided he was allowed to keep a young child of two months old, born in his house. My inquiries have not led me to suppose that the trade has decreased at all of late.

22nd January.—Hearing no intelligence of the approach of the officers from Lagong and Labong, I called on the Chou Raja Wun, and complained of the unnecessary delay I had been subjected to; that it appeared to me, that the officers from the two towns were not inclined to attend to the invitation sent them, for a person on private affairs could go to Lagong and back in six days, and it was extraordinary that public business should not be more punctually attended to, and requested an audience of the Tsóbua, as I had determined on starting on the 24th, and it would rest with him whether towards China or Moulmein. He admitted that I had cause to complain, but begged I would defer my visit to the Tsóbua until the 24th, before which, he had no doubt, the officers would arrive. He informed me that my proposition about the duty on cattle had been complied with.

I suspect that they have sent to the Chou Hona for instructions, for they are endeavouring to amuse me as much as they can. The shed commenced some days ago is not yet a quarter finished, though in reality six men could have put it up in less than three hours, and they are talking about plays and dances being given under it when completed. I am told that he must be now at Bankok; that, with the greatest dispatch, it would take 15 days to reach that place; that a boat would take that time even, and to return by water it requires 45 days. A person can reach Yahaing in 11 days from Bankok, and this in seven more.

Some Labong people belonging to the Chou Raja Wun of that place came to see me, as their master had directed them to do so (in consequence of their coming here on business), to tell me that he was decidedly of opinion I ought to be allowed to proceed to China, and all the roads thrown open to our merchants. Such was the promise and intention of the late Tsóbua Chou Chi Wit, which ought to be strictly observed. As to the promise, this, I suspect, is the first we have heard of it, and I should say that his good intentions, too, are to be doubted in this case, though he was a liberal man in his views.

The jailor from that place also came; he told me, before one of Labong chiefs, that three parties of Thugs had been and are living at that place, making altogether 11 in number; that they are working merely for their rice, assisting the people in getting in their grain; that they wished to go to Muang Nan, but had been prevented by the authorities, as they had brought no passes. The whole story is so clear and plausible that I determined on sending to Labong. I, therefore, made him promise to call to-morrow morning and accompany the interpreter, and he is to receive, as a remuneration, three rupees for each man whom he points out.

Sent my interpreter with Busti (one of our traders) to the Court, with a request they would oblige me by ordering the settlement of his demands against Sumut Allee and Edu; that he was to accompany me, and could not do so before his claims were adjusted.

Chou Kurn Kam brought me a pony as a present, but requested, if questioned, I would say I had purchased it. He is a good social man, fond of port wine and cherry brandy, and a great beggar, like all the Shans, who have not the slightest delicacy in asking for everything they see. He had been sent for to-day by the Chou Raja Wun, and told, that I had determined to make a move, and was angry at the delay; that it was agreed I should be permitted to go onwards, but he endeavoured to persuade me to wait until the officers came; that as they had been sent for, they might take umbrage at my going without meeting them. I told him that I had overstayed the time fixed on for a reply, and nothing certain was known of their approach, and, I could no longer delay my departure.

23rd January.—No jailor making his appearance, sent the interpreter to the Chou Raja Wun of Labong, with Mr. Blundell's letter, and directed him to repeat what he had heard me say here regarding the Thugs; also to ask permission and assistance to apprehend those at the place, according to the information given me yesterday.

Some Burmese and Talain prisoners and refugees have long been in communication with my people, all most anxious to return to their own country, or to our provinces. Two or three of the head men visited me to-day; they have been long buoyed up by the hopes

Captain McLeod's Journal.

hopes of our interfering in their behalf. They have adopted the Shan dress, and have cut their hair after the fashion of the country; it was with difficulty I could recognise them as being of another nation. Necessity, they said, had obliged them to make these changes, in hopes of causing their masters to forget who and what they really are. They are not, I believe, badly treated, but are supposed to be discontented, and have, indeed, a strong longing to return to their own countries.

Some hills, forming the apex of a range, are due west of the town, and distant from it about three miles. On the top of one of the hills, not the highest, is a gilt pagoda of great sanctity, a place of favourite resort to the religious. I determined on visiting the spot, and, accordingly, this morning started for it. We passed through the ruins of a small square fort about half-a-mile distant from the western gate of the town; it is one built by the Burmans, who, when they last invested the place, had numerous works all round it.

From this we went over fields to a village at the foot of the hills, where the ascent begins, at first very gradual, but latterly very steep. We crossed one or two very fine springs flowing down, and by which the ditch round the fort is filled and the town supplied with water. A fine row of pines is planted on each side of a long flight of steps leading immediately to the pagoda.

The pagoda is covered with copper plates, which are gilt, and is surrounded by brass palings, like the one at Labong; it is, however, much smaller. The court is enclosed by sheds, and numerous zeats are erected outside.

From this high position we had a fine view of the country and town immediately below us, but it was too hazy to distinguish the hills forming the eastern boundary of the valley of the Mé Ping.

This river flows from a north-20-west direction, and below takes a south-20-west course, forming a segment of a circle round the town. Its banks are darkened by trees, concealing the houses of many small villages. We could see one or two large tanks to the northward, not far from the town. The country around is, in fact, one sheet of field, with numerous topes of trees, marking the position of so many villages. The valley is rich, and said to be about 35 or 40 miles long, and 15 wide in some places.

Of the town we could only see that the inner fort is a square, with a ditch all round it, and the outer fort, as it is called, is built on the eastern and southern side and is irregular in form.

We could not distinguish a single house for the number of cocoa nut and betel nut trees which fill the town, the old ruined pagoda, before mentioned, in the centre of it, Zedi Luang (or Great Zedi) alone was visible.

The town of Zimmé, or Kiang Maí, as it is called by the Shans, is in 18° 47″ north latitude, and about 99° 20″ east longitude. Water boils at 210½° Fahrenheit. It stands in a plain on the right bank of the Mé Ping. On its eastern side flows the river, having fields between it and the town, and likewise beyond it. To the northward and eastward is a large swamp or tank; to the northward and westward, broken ground and gardens; to the westward, the old Burmese fort and fields; and to the southward fields bounded by the river. The north-east angle of the outer fort approaches within 300 yards of the river, which continues its course from this point, increasing its distance gradually to about three-quarters of a mile, and then sweeps round, at the distance of a mile-and-a-half, parallel to the southern face of the town.

The river is now fordable in several places near the town, there not being above 3½ feet of water in it; but a good wooden bridge, of 200 yards long, is thrown across it near the north-east angle of the fort, over which bullocks and carts pass. During the rains this is the only way across, and is on the high road to Labong.

The inner town, where the Tsóbua and principal chiefs reside, is a square, each face being about 2,050 paces long, with gateways in the middle, except on the southern face, where there are two, at about 560 paces from the angles; the walls are about 22 feet high and 3½ feet broad at the top, having large bastions at the angles, and the gates covered by another in front of them, with a small bastion at their sides. These have embrasures for guns, some high up and some low down. There are also some embrasures here and there along the curtain. The whole is surrounded by a broad ditch of about 50 feet wide, filled by the springs from the hills, which enter it at the north-western angle; its depth varies—in some places it must be 15 feet, and at others, about nine feet. It is a formidable place to the undisciplined forces of their neighbours, but a few shots from British guns would soon bring the wall down, which, in fact, is of itself in many places giving way.

The wall of the outer fort commences within 200 paces to the southward of the north-east angle, along the east face of the inner fort, and runs in an irregular line, with bastions and one gate, in a south-50-easterly direction, and ends in an angle within 300 yards of the river; it then takes a southerly direction, having one gate about 100 yards from the bastion. Thus far it is of brick; it continues to some distance in the above line, then gradually runs in an easterly direction, and ends in a high bastion to the south-westward; the distance from this to the south-west bastion of the inner fort is about 450 paces, and to it it runs due north. From the gate near the north-east angle is a stockade of wood, having along its southern face three gates, with bricked bastions, the centre one being the principal entrance, from which a raised road runs to the village of Táwang tan, on the Mé Ping. The outer fort is likewise surrounded by a broad ditch; part of it to the southward and eastward is now dry, and, when full, must be about

Captain McLeod's Journal.

eight feet deep; along its north-eastern face it has a swamp and large tank, from which the ditch is fed.

One main street runs from the gate near the north-east bastion of the exterior fort to the gate in the eastern face of the main fort. From this gate again, a road runs to the opposite gate in the western face; about half way between these gates a road runs at right angles to the northward, to the White Elephant Gate in that face, and also one to the southward (inclining a little to the eastward), about half way between the cross roads and western gate; another road runs to the other gate in the southern face of the fort.

The outer fort is not in some parts inhabited, being swampy; it is the residence principally of the Kiang Túng, Kiang Then, and other Tsóbuas, with their followers.

The inner fort is abundantly watered by watercourses intersecting it in all directions, the water being brought from the hill, entering the ditch and fort at the north-west angle.

There is a tolerable bazar here in the outer fort, along the main street, kept by women; small sheds are erected along each side of the road, in which they display their goods.

The fresh meat sold here is pork, and occasionally beef, both slaughtered by Chinamen: dried fish and meat are brought from the northward from Kiang Then, and along the road to Kiang Túng, the country in that direction being intersected by numerous rivers and streams swarming with fish, and the woods abounding with deer, &c.

With reference to the trade here, there is but little demand for our goods, the shani, a red cotton stuff, is the only thing in request, and that even does not fetch its prime cost. Our traders exchange it for cattle, and make some profit by taking them to Moulmein. Though all our piece goods are admired, yet from the Tsóbua downwards they have no inclination to part with their money; and if anything foreign is seen in their possession, one may be pretty certain it has been given to them. In fact, if it were not for the cattle procured here none of our traders would visit the place.

The exports consist of grain, teak wood, stick lack, tobacco, palm sugar, and safflower, &c., to the Lower Provinces. From Bankok, they get in return a small quantity of salt, chintz, China crapes and China ware.

They carry out to the Kareng villages iron (procured from the Lawas), salt, and hatchets, &c., which they barter for cloths, onions, chillies, wax, and cotton. To the Red Kareng country they export cattle, and procure in return slaves, ponies, and stick lack. By the Chinese they are supplied with copper and iron pots, tinsel, lace, gold thread (of a very bad description, of which they use a great deal for the embroidery of pillows, dresses, &c.), silk, chiefly raw, and a little gold; and in return give cotton, ivory, rhinoceros and deer horns, dried shrimps, birds' feathers, all but the first obtained partly from our provinces. There are about 20 Chinese settled here, who act as agents for others. The caravans generally to this place and Labong consist of about 300 mules.

I must not fail to mention that quantities of betel nut, with which these territories abound, are smuggled for sale to Kiang Túng, where there is none, and the consumption great. It is a profitable trade, and the authorities must be aware of it.

Women are seen weaving in every house, either white cloth of a coarse texture, or silk putcho (men's cloths), and tamiens (women's petticoats) of cotton or silk, the former the produce of the country, and also some of the latter.

The dress of the men consists only of a cloth round their loins, and a sash of the red cotton stuff tied round their waist; sometimes a jacket is worn; they generally go bare-headed, with their hair cut after the Siamese fashion, kept well greased; but when they wear a turban it is of an uncommon size, and of the red cotton stuff. A bunch of flowers put through one of the holes of the ear, and occasionally an earring, is the only ornament worn by the lower classes. The jackets of the chiefs are either of white cloth or China silk; those of the common people sometimes of blue, with a border of tinsel.

They smoke tobacco generally in pipes, but both men and women chew betel to an excessive and disgusting extent; they are never to be seen with their mouths empty; their teeth are particularly black, which they consider a beauty; even young children are taught the dirty practice when they can just walk. A bag into which the betel apparatus, &c., are put, forms an essential part of a man's equipment; it is slung over his shoulder, and he is never to be seen without it.

The dress of the women consists of the petticoat made of coarse silk, with a worked border in silk and gold thread, or of common cotton of party colours, not open in the front like the Burmese ones; it is kept up merely by a twist below their breasts; a jacket of pink, or a very dark blue cloth, made and dyed by themselves (the deep colour of which particularly struck me) with a tinsel border or edging is carried, not to be worn, but thrown loosely over their shoulders, with which alone they sometimes partially conceal their breasts. Their hair, which is long, is tastefully tied in a knot on the crown of their heads, and the only ornaments used are a gold chain twisted round their hair, a gold pin stuck through it, and gold bracelets; few wore earrings.

The chiefs are, generally speaking, very fine looking men, and differ in appearance from the common people; they are tall, fair, have good noses, and light eyes. The other men generally are tall, stout, hardy, and active. The women are also tall, and remarkably well-proportioned, and very fair, and a handsome race, but their mouths are disfigured by the use of betel, and many are subject to goitre. The children are particularly fair, generally with light eyes and the hair having a slight tinge of red.

Every

Every man, as I have said before, is considered the follower of some chief; besides what he furnishes to his immediate superior, he pays to Government three baskets and five pi of paddy for each buffalo and plough as a tax; this is stored for public purposes.

A duty of one viss for each basket of seed sown is collected on cotton.

2 viss of tobacco for every - - - - -	1,000 plants.
2 viss of safflower - - - - -	1,000 ditto.

Betel, 144 strings, or 288 nuts (for here the nut is cut into 10 or 12 slices, and run on a string and left to dry) for a plantation, however small or large.

Chilly, one viss for a garden.

Salt, 20 viss for a boat-load from Bankok.

The above are divided, with the exception of the grain, in the following proportions: The person employed in collecting receives one-fourth, the Tsobua, the Chou Hona and the Chou Raja Wun, and the master of the village one fourth each; others again told me that the Tsóbua, Chou Hona, got one-third each (the Chou Raja Wun sometimes shares with the latter), and the remaining one-third is divided between the master of the village and petty officers. A division of the country with respect to this tax has lately been made, the villages on the left bank of the Mé Ping, above the village of Ta-wan tan, are to pay to the Chou Hona; those below that village to the Chou Raja Wun, and all on the right side of the Mé Ping to pay to the Tsóbua.

Every person catching an elephant, should he dispose of it, gives his immediate chief 30 per cent., the same on ivory; but should he be very successful and catch 10 or 20, the master, after taking care of himself, presents one to the Tsóbua, and one to the Chou Hona. These animals are caught to the southward of this, about the Thoung Yin, and in our territories; a few only are found to the northward.

The principal emoluments of the chiefs arise from their own fields, the little trade they carry on, and the presents they receive.

The people appear to me to be less oppressed by the Government than the Burmans, and not subject to the payments and heavy demands levied in that country.

The teak forests, which extend beyond this, as well as on the Thoung Yin, Mé Nium and Salween, are the property of the chiefs. They generally allow people to cut, by paying them 10 per cent. The forests on the Thoung Yin and Mé Nium belong to Chou Hona, who has given people permission to cut there, and some wood from them has already been taken to Moulmein. The Chou Raja Wun, to whom those on the Salween belong, refuses to permit any person making use of the wood until he goes to Bankok and obtains the king's sanction. The wood on all these rivers are perfectly useless to the Shans, there being no possible means of conveying it to any of their towns.

The boats made to navigate the river here are formed of one tree, opened out until nearly flat, and a broad plank is added to each side; not a nail is used in the whole of their construction; the bottom is generally of thengan, and the sides of teak. Their general length is about 60 feet, and only six broad; they carry 300 or 400 baskets, and sell for 120 Siamese ticals, and a duty of 10 per cent. on the price is collected on them.

The rupee is current here as well as the Siamese tical (the round coin), but the money most in circulation is coarse silver of about 80 per cent. alloy, I believe, melted into a circular form, in which a hollow is formed by blowing when hot; the bottom of this cup is so fine that it is apt to break; when this occurs, or when it is cut, the value is much deteriorated. It bears a small mark or stamp made by the court officers (by whom it is issued) on the edge. Of this description there are two sorts of equal alloy, but one twice the size of the other. One hundred ticals are given for 45 Madras rupees, but these are only equal to 75 Burmese ticals. They use the same weights and measures as the Burmans, but deteriorated one-fourth, or 25 per cent.

The owner of each house is supposed to have a musket, and certainly no Shan is met beyond the town travelling without one. Each chief may be called upon to supply, at the utmost, two-thirds of his followers during any war, these are obliged to supply themselves with provisions and carriage. Their own chiefs furnish at the rate of one elephant to five men; if the campaign is a distant one, Government occasionally gives an elephant. Two men can be exempted from going by supplying an elephant for the public service. Each man is furnished with one viss of powder and 50 balls from the stores, and should he not possess a musket one is lent him. Some are also armed with spears and swords. Elephants alone are used for the transport of an army, and of these there are a great number in all the Siamese Shan towns. One branch of the army consists of elephants trained to carry two jingals and four men each, but these are never fired over the animal's head; he is made to turn his tail to the enemy before they are discharged. From the materials with which their army is constructed, it can only be expected to be an undisciplined mob. The Shans are considered adepts at lying in ambuscades and for night attacks. They certainly are quick of sight and hearing, and creep through the forests in a surprising and quiet way; their constant life in the woods in search of game gives them this advantage. All their attacks on their neighbours' villages have been made at night. They never wait to make a regular attack or fight by day; if they fail in their attempt, they retreat and watch a more favourable opportunity. They are not, I should say, a brave race, but boast exceedingly of their victories over the Burmans, and consider one of themselves as equal to 10 Burmans. They

Captain McLeod's Journal.

are hardy and capable of undergoing fatigue. A little of the glutinous rice cooked at night, and tightly pressed into a small basket, which they carry tied round their waists, and out of which they eat at all times (using no plates or wooden dishes) with a little dried fish or meat, or a few herbs and salt, affords them an ample and hearty repast; but when at home they consume large quantities of spirits; but their food in other respect is not much better than what I have mentioned above.

Before daylight every day I am awakened by the noise of the bells attached to the bullocks. These animals are employed the whole day in bringing in the grain, following each other in a regular unbroken line, the leaders being decked out with peacocks' feathers, and various ornaments, as a sort of mark. Strings of elephants are also seen conveying the same article, as well as bringing in thatch, and pulling along bamboos, and timber, and performing all sorts of work. The number in this province is said to exceed 1,000. I am in a noisy neighbourhood, between the bridge and gate, where at least half a dozen spirit shops are erected; and the elephants bringing in the grain stop at each by instinct to enable his rider to take a glass, for which he throws down a little paddy. The scenes of drunkenness are excessive, and I really never saw it exceeded anywhere.

An elephant can be hired for from 10 to 15 ticals a month, whilst the wood-cutters in our provinces pay, I believe, 5 rupees a day for one. Carts are also used, but instead of yoking oxen to them, they are pulled and pushed along chiefly by the women. Their construction is good, and the whole very much resembling an English one.

The Siamese Shans are not a social race; they have no amusements amongst them; instead of seeing them like the Burmans, after the day work is over, playing at football, and jumping about, singing, &c., every person returns to his house, and everything is perfectly quiet early in the evening.

Their muskets are generally of all countries, English, French, &c.; very old and dangerous to fire. Muskets are now made here, chiefly by the Lawas, but they prefer an English one, however bad it may be. Lately great numbers have been imported from Bankok, apparently of Chinese manufacture, and sold there for eight or ten ticals each. They prize an English gun-lock greatly.

I was furnished by various individuals with accounts of the population and number of available men in the different provinces to carry arms; these did not vary much.

I give an average below; a census was attempted to be taken during the reign of Chou Tsati, the former Tsóbua of this place (the present Chou Raja Wun's father), but was not completed.

The number of men able to bear arms amounted in the southern districts to 5,000, under 300 Thuggis or heads of villages, but they are said to exceed that number in the eastern, and northern, and to be less in the western districts. The Kiang Túng, Muang Niong, and people from other States now residing in the territory are included in the statement.

NAMES OF PROVINCES.	Men Furnished for Constant Public Service to the King.	Men Furnished for the Attack on Wintchiang.	Houses in Town.	Population of Provinces.
Zimmé - - - - - - - -	20	5,000	704	50,000
Lagong - - - - - - -	20	5,000	400	30,000
Labong - - - - - - -	15	3,000	400	10,000
Muang Nan - - - - - -	20	5,000	700	30,000
Muang Luang Phaban or Lautchiang -	25	- -	700	50,000
Muang Phé - - - - - - -	15	1,000	150	5,000
Muang Tchiang or Win Tchiang, also called Chandapuri - - - - -	50	—	—	—

I should think that the number of houses in Zimmé far exceed that put down, but the person assured me he had, at my express request, extracted it from the public records; that the number of houses registered in the whole provinces is 7,000; this he took from the list made for levying the money for the celebration of the festival of the guardian Nat, or spirit of the place, and could be depended on. This would give the population mentioned, allowing a fraction more than seven to each house, which here contain more inhabitants than those in Ava. I should say that the number stated far exceeds the population in the province, but that the town contains more than is put down.

The tribute paid by these States to Bankok consists almost entirely of teak wood; the quantity I am told is not fixed, nor is the period of payment regular. Sometimes it is not sent for two years, at others annually. It consists generally of 250 trees of five fathoms in length and two feet in diameter.

The

Captain McLeod's Journal.

The other provinces pay in the same proportion with reference to their size. Sometimes, however, when elephants or wood are required by the king, a civil message is sent up intimating his wants, which are of course supplied.

Dr. Richardson has already given an historical sketch of the Tsóbua, or kings of Zimmé, &c.

The inhabitants do not apply the term Láu to themselves; they consider Laos or Láu, lying on the eastern bank of the Mé Khong or Cambodia River, and Muang Luang Phaban, or Lantchiang (called by the Burmese Maing Lón Kaban, or Lenzeng) the capital; some, however, include Chandapuri, Muang Tchiang, or Win Tchiang (Elephant City, from the number found there) within this kingdom; others make it a separate one, formerly ruled by a king of its own. Likewise Láu means a million Tchang elephants.

The Siamese, I am told, call the inhabitants of Zimmé, &c. Thai Noi, or the common people, Bau Thai, and the chiefs Puniah Kiang Mái. They also call them Láu Phúng Dam, or Black-bellied Láu, and the inhabitants of Muang Luang Phaban, and Win Tchiang, Láu Phúng Ham, or White-bellied Láu.

These appellations have been given in consequence of the former being in the habit of tattooing their limbs and continuing it in a particular form over one side of the belly, while the latter, like the Siamese themselves, do not in any manner disfigure themselves. This shows that the Siamese consider Zimmé as a part of Láu or Laos, by applying the term Láu to both the inhabitants of the eastern and western sides of the Mé Khong, or Cambodia River. This may, however, have originated from Zimmé having been once subdued by and tributary to Laos. They do not understand the term Yun, as applied to this part of the country by our geographers. They assert that that country is to the eastward. The Burmans, I believe, call Cochin China, Yun gyi; may not this have led to the appellation being given to the country immediately to the eastward of the Salween?

Accompanying is a list of names by which the inhabitants of the neighbouring States are known by the people here :—

The Burmans are called - - - - - - - -	Mán.
The Talains - - - - - - - - - - -	Meng.
The Siamese - - - - - - - - - -	Chou Tai.
The inhabitants of Win Tchiang and Muang Luang Phában -	Laú.
,, ,, Kiang Túng - - - - - - -	Khian.
,, ,, Kiang Húng - - - - - - -	Li.
,, ,, Muang Niong - - - - - - -	Li.
,, ,, Muang Lem - - - - - - -	Lem.
,, ,, China - - - - - - - -	Hau.
,, ,, Cochin China - - - - - - -	Min and Kío.
The Karengs - - - - - - - - - -	Niang.

Win Tchiang was taken about 10 years ago and destroyed; most of the inhabitants were removed to Bankok. It is situated on the western bank of the Mé Khong, below Muang Luang Phaban; Chandapúri is on the eastern bank opposite it, but they are considered as one city, and the names indiscriminately used for either or both.

The town on the eastern bank is described as being very strong, surrounded by a fort, with a large stream flowing on its northern, and another stream partly on its eastern side, with a swamp towards the eastern and southern sides, backed by high hills. It was at the time of its destruction tributary to Siam, but paid a triennial tribute to Cochin China. The Tsóbua of the place was inclined to throw off his dependence on both countries, having made proposition to the ruler of this place to join, and together to declare their independence, which led to its overthrow.

Muang Luang Phaban, though a Siamese province, pays triennial tribute to the Cochin Chinese, the enemy of their immediate masters, and between whom a war is raging at present. It likewise sends two elephants every eight years, as a mark of submission to China. The town is described as being on the eastern bank of the Mé Khong, surrounded by a fort with a fortified hill in its centre. On its eastern side are high and impassable mountains; on its northern side is a river, which also washes part of the eastern face. The Mé Khong flows to the westward, and it is only open to the southward. It was governed by a Tsóbúa, who lately died, and it is supposed his son will succeed him.

Zimmé and all the country in this direction formerly belonged to the Lawas, who are now but few in this district; some are found in about six villages to the northward, beside those near Muang Niong; the rest have fled to the mountains round Kiang Túng, which country, however, is said also formerly to have belonged to them. It was also subject to the Láu prior to its conquest by Ava. It carried on war with both Ava and Siam at the same time, and eventually was conquered by the former; rebelled against it, and placed itself under the protection of Siam.

The kingdom of Kiang Mái comprised 57 cities, mentioned in the Burmese books as 57 Kraings (corruption, I suppose, for Kiang, a fortified or walled city), many of which at present exist, or their ruins can be traced. Muang Nan and Muang Phé were included in the number, and the capital was both Kiang Mái and Kiang Hai, a place to the northward on the Mé Khók. It extended from the Mé Khong (Cambodia river) to the

Captain M'Leod's Journal.

Mé Khóng (the Salween) east and west. To the northward it was bounded by the territories of Kiang Tsen and Kiang Túng, which extended to the Mé Khók; to the southward by the territories of Muang Kam peng, belonging to Siam. Its boundary is at present undefined to the northward, but the Mé Tsai is sometimes mentioned as forming it. To the westward it extends to the Salween, to the eastward to the hills bounding the valley of the Mé Ping; to the southward, on the left or eastern bank of the Mé Ping, to the village of Patapa; and on the right, or western bank, to the Mé Gñáu, or by some accounts to the Mé Tian, to the southward of which the territories of Lahaing or Yahaing commence.

The Labong district extends north to the same distance as that of Zimmé; to the eastward it is bounded by the territory of Lagong, as by those of Zimmé and the Mé Ping to the westward. To the southward it extends to the Mé Phít; Lagong or Lacon has Muang Phé to the eastward; to the northward its jurisdiction runs up as far as those of Labong and Zimmé; that to the southward, I could not exactly ascertain, but not further than that of Labong. I am unable to obtain satisfactorily the boundaries of Muang Phé and Muang Nan to the southward; the former is but a small territory. The latter is as far as Kiang Khong only confined to the western bank of the Mé Khong, but beyond which it is said to have a strip of country on the eastern bank towards the Kiang Túng territories. Muang Luang Phaban extends to the southward to the province of Chandapuri or Win Tchiang, to the northward it is bounded by that of Kiang Húng.

The ignorance and indifference shown here almost by all respecting the territories, &c., &c., of the neighbouring States is incredible; few could tell me whether the Tsóbua of Muang Nan was dead or not. They do not even trouble themselves much to make themselves acquainted with what more immediately concerns themselves.

Zimmé, Labong, and Lagong form the patrimony of one family, all the chiefs being connected. The oldest chief, who generally resides at Zimmé, has a sort of controlling authority over the others; more in their external relations than internal government; much jealousy, however, exists amongst them.

Muang Phé and Muang Nan stand in the same relation to each other as the others.

24th January.—This being the day fixed for my visit to the Tsóbua I waited on him, and told him I much regretted that I could no longer delay my departure; that I wished to quit the place the next day, either for China or Moulmein. He said, that I had long patiently waited, and as the officers from Labong and Lagong had not arrived, he would take the responsibility on himself, and orders should be issued for my being accompanied by a Shan officer by the road the Chinese caravans come, which was also open to our merchants; but requested I would wait a day or two to have elephants prepared for my journey, as he was anxious that I should be escorted properly. Having now obtained permission to proceed, and that point being settled, I complied with his wishes. I thanked him for this proof of friendship towards us, and asked whether they had any objection to throw open, in like manner, the road to China, *viâ* Kiang Túng; this, they said, could not be done until the Chou Hona returned.

Before taking my leave, I inquired what orders had been issued about the tax levied on the cattle venders. To my surprise, after what the Chou Raja Wun had told me on the 22nd, they declined to make any alteration until the Chou Hona returned.

Tradition mentions that an army of Chinese once appeared before this town much too strong for the inhabitants to cope with; that they had recourse to a stratagem which, though not the first time called into play, proved successful and the means of saving the place. It was agreed that each party should erect a pagoda of a certain height, the Thi, or umbrella, at the top of which should be distinctly seen by the other, and whichever was first finished the party who erected it was to be considered as the conquerors, and thus bloodshed would be avoided. The time fixed on for this trial of numbers was short. The Siamese formed a high mound of earth, the trees in the town concealing it, and merely raised some brickwork at the top to support the Thi which was placed on it; whereas the Chinese, who were far more numerous, built a regular pagoda of brick, which they finished within the prescribed period, with the exception of putting up the Thi; but on seeing the one in the town towering above the trees, they were satisfied the Zimméers were too numerous, and at once retraced their steps. Whatever foundation there may be for the story, the pagoda is still called the Chinese Pagoda, and has a Chinese name, Utaú, given it after the commander of the expedition. It differs totally in form from any I have before seen, consisting of five round balls of masonry raised on a square pedestal, each diminishing in size towards the top and without any Thi on it. It is situated about 500 yards from the northern face of the inner fort opposite the White Elephant Gate.

25th January.—The party I sent to Labong was unsuccessful in discovering any Thugs, and all the chiefs there assured the interpreter, that from a part of the gaoler's story being false to their knowledge, they suspected the whole to be so; that they had never heard of any being in the place, and the informer was a man of bad character. They promptly rendered every assistance that was required, and assured the messenger that should any of the men enter the district they should be seized and sent to Moulmein. The interpreter returned to-day and met the gaolor on the road. The authorities

Captain McLeod's Journal.

rities there, however, threatened to punish him if he does not substantiate what he told me.

I called and took leave of the Chou Raja Wun, and obtained permission for a Chinaman, who is acquainted with the different roads, to accompany me.

26th January.—I have found the greatest possible difficulty in obtaining any satisfactory information respecting the road to China, though I have been here so long. Those who can supply it appear unwilling to do so from fear, and those again who speak on the subject, appear to be interested in the route they recommend, and others again have been evidently schooled to repeat what the officers of Goverement have told me. The Chinaman I yesterday hired, and those here, recommend the Kiang Túng road, and start very many objections to that travelled by the Chinese caravans. I shall endeavour to obtain permission to select my own road before I quit this, though I fear it will be a difficult matter. The merchants who have accompanied me are much in my way, for it is evident, that the road they wish me to go by is totally impracticable for them with their elephants, and therefore in a commercial point totally useless; and it would be unjust, after inducing them to accompany me for the purpose of establishing a trade with the Upper Provinces, to begin by ruining them, which would be the consequence of my going by the above route or leaving them. The goods brought up by them have been especially selected for the Kiang Túng and other markets in that direction, and are unsaleable here.

The Balli or Pali here is the same as known in Ava, only pronounced with a peculiar Shan accent. It is written in the common Shan character, which is totally different to the Siamese, and approaches the Burmese greatly in formation.

I went to see the chief priest to-day, and gave him what information I could regarding the site of the places mentioned in his religious books, for he was totally ignorant of them before; he was much pleased and questioned me especially about Ceylon (Lunka). He presented me with a small book at my request containing both Pali and Shan writing. Literature is unknown amongst them; almost the only books they possess are those on religion; all can read and many write, but here their education and studies end.

The only sacred relic known here is the impression of Guadama's foot near the village of Ban Nia Mun, two nights' journey to the northward of this, on the same range of hills as the pagoda to the westward. The impression is called Pabát Sip hoi, showing that the four Buddhs have each trod on the identical stone, the print of each succeeding one being smaller than the preceding one. There is a cave called Tam tap tau near Muang Tang where the last Buddh (Guadama) is said to have rested after a surfeit of pork, which caused his death.

27th January.—No elephants ready yet; to-day some of the court officers came to beg of me to stay a day longer, which I declined to do. It appears to me from the conversation I have had with the chiefs and others, and from their mode of expressing themselves, that they are merely passing me on into another Shan district, that the country on this side of the Mé Khong and Kiang Khong (the town at the ford) belongs to the Muang Nan district, and though they have told me here that they exercise government over it, and they anticipate I shall be either refused a passage or be obliged to obtain permission first from the authorities at Muang Nan, and thus remove the blame from themselves, or by delay gain time to receive a reply from the Chou Hona, should they have referred the matter to him.

Judging from the jealousy existing even between the authorities of Labong and this place, when they are connected both in relationship and government, it is to be concluded that that feeling would be stronger when the States are in every way distinct and unconnected, and that one would not allow the other to interfere in any way with its prerogative. There is no Tsóbua at Muang Nan, he has been dead some months, and the Chou Hona and the Chou Raja Wun are both absent at Bankok, and only a petty officer in charge, who it is not likely would take any responsibility on himself, so that I should run not only the risk of further delay, but of failing altogether.

I am told that I shall be 20 days without meeting any villages by either road; I have therefore purchased two elephants (having first obtained permission from the Tsóbua and Chou Raja Wun, without which nobody would dare sell me one) to be independent of the Shans. I have been compelled to do so, in consequence of two of mine being sickly, and must be very lightly laden, and in fact they must all be so for the journey is long, and the roads over mountains.

I had determined upon moving off to-day, but as three or four men of the Chinese caravan have arrived, I am anxious to obtain information from them, and have therefore postponed my departure.

28th January.—180 mules belonging to the Chinese arrived this morning. The men were as urgent as the others about the road by Kiang Túng, and affirm that there is no road along the eastern bank of the Mé Khong, as stated by the authorities here; that the towns put down (for they have given me a route) are all deserted; that if such a road existed they would come by it; they come by the road they now do, not from choice but necessity, there being no other. They likewise confirm my surmise about the difficulties of the other road. Takhong (or Dakhong, as it is more commonly pronounced), belongs to the Muang Nan jurisdiction, and the country to the eastward, until it joins the

Captain McLeod's Journal.

Kiang Kúng territories, is under that place and Muang Luang Phaban. A Chinaman stated that the territory of Lachua interposes between the Muang Luang Phaban and the Kiang Húng territories; that the city of that name, the capital of the province, is far to the eastward. He added there is no chokey on this side. I could not, however, gain any information about this place from any of the Shans.

They say that to ensure a regular trade with Moulmein, I must communicate with the chief merchants in China, who make the necessary advances to those who accompany the mules, and fix upon the place they are to visit. They rejoice at my going up, and promise to come next year expressly for Moulmein; that they will go this year, if they do not find a ready market here. They likewise say that they have heard that the road to Moulmein is very bad—much worse than any other they travel over. I shall leave a person to conduct them should they wish to go on, and, to stimulate him to exert himself in persuading them, have promised him a remuneration, if he succeeds.

This party is from Kien Toung of the Chinese, and Muang Ku of the Shans; they did not come through Esmok, the Shan Muang Lá, but left it to the eastward about half a day's journey. To Muang Lá from Muang Ku, they were one month, and from thence here 40 days. Judging from the pace they came along to-day—the mules at a trot and the men running—if this rate is kept up, the absolute distance must be much greater than we suppose.

They do not apprehend any difficulty to my entering China; I must, however, do so through Kiang Húng and Esmok, which are the frontier towns.

The country on the eastern bank of the Mé Khong is inhabited by mountain tribes called Kamu and Kamet. They are described as being very dark in colour, and not incumbered with much clothing. They are tributary to Muang Luang Phaban and Kiang Húng, though more in name than reality. They are harmless races, and given to agriculture. They reside on the hills in small villages—not on the road—chiefly along the Mé Tá, a stream which falls from the eastward into the Mé Khong, and it requires considerable knowledge of the country to be able to discover their abodes. With them the Chinese exchange their goods for the provisions they require.

I remonstrated with the Chou Raja Wun against their sending me by the road they propose, chiefly from what the Chinese told me—pointing out to him, that I could have gone myself at once to Muang Nan, and have avoided all the unnecessary delay to which I had been and am likely to be subjected, and mentioned the ruin that would be the lot of the traders, for they could not accompany me. It was ultimately agreed, that I should select my own road, that I should be guided by the information I collected on the march, and that I should not, in consequence of my travelling with my party over any particular one, consider it as opened permanently, but merely as a favour to me, being on a mission; that the Dakhong (Ta means a ford or ferry) road alone has been conceded to us.

I have avoided making any allusion to the Kiang Túng road in particular, though it is my intention to proceed by it, for fear of alarming them. I hope by this road being once travelled, it may render our eventually obtaining permission for our merchants to proceed by it, less difficult. I should myself prefer going by the road frequented by the Chinese, in spite of the difficulties, but the merchants with me are in my way, in the first place; and knowing that the Kiang Túng Tsóbua has made an attempt to communicate with us, and seeing the decided objection they have to my intercourse with that prince, I consider that I ought to communicate with him, if possible, that I may obtain his assistance in overcoming difficulties in advancing beyond that place, besides taking advantage of any inclination the authorities here have of obliging me during the Chou Hona's absence.

With respect to the other road, I do not apprehend any difficulty in obtaining, hereafter, the sanction of the authorities at Muang Luang Phaban and Muang Nan for our merchants to proceed by it, should we desire it, merely by sending an officer there; for their permitting the Chinese to visit them as they do, shows they have not the same fear and hatred of their northern neighbours as the authorities here have.

In the evening the Kiang Túng people came to ascertain, whether I am going to Kiang Túng, and would take charge of letters and a musical box; this I declined to do, telling them I had not determined by what route I shall go.

29th January.—The person who is to escort me not having been informed yesterday of the permission given me about the road, I sent for him early this morning, intending to go with him to the Chou Raja Wun; he, however, had been to the court officers after seeing me yesterday, and had been directed by them to attend to my wishes.

In spite of an order given by the Chou Raja Wun on my application some days ago respecting the settlement of the suits which some of the merchants about to accompany me had, nothing has yet been done. One Sannut Allee and one Edu are great rogues; both much involved at Moulmein, and have, at the expense of their creditors, gained the favour of the petty officers here, by making them presents. They have both adopted the Shan costume and crop; the former is a follower of the Chou Raja Wun, and the latter of the Chou Hona, though these officers do not countenance them in their roguery.

Before

Captain McLeod's Journal.

Before starting all the Chinese merchants waited on me, bringing me as a present some walnuts, nails, and horse shoes, the latter particularly valuable, as I have purchased three ponies here (no mules to be had) to be prepared, in a measure, for the Dakhong road. My Chinese interpreter, who has been a trader and travelled with the caravans from Talé to Ava for many years, is quite at home with the ponies. These men travel unarmed; they pay no tax here, but in a body make the chiefs a few trifling presents.

Some of the merchants, who have come up in consequence of my mission, remain here, and others intend visiting Muang Nan and other places to the eastward; those who accompany me have six elephants and one pony amongst them, and with their followers amount to 21 persons, and have with them property to the value of about 12,000 rupees.

From Zimmé to Kiang Túng.

29th January.—From Zimmé to Ban Niú. Direction, N. 45 E. Estimated Distanec, 6 miles. Time, 1h. 54m.

Got off at 8.46, being escorted by a Shan officer with 10 men and six elephants. After crossing the bridge over the Mé Ping, the whole march lay over fields (which were well watered by water-courses communicating with the Mé Ping), or flat, swampy and open ground, with only, occasionally, a little brushwood. The cultivation most extensive, and round the plains numerous villages. These are well inclosed with strong palisades to prevent the cattle and elephants (which are here numerous and always let loose) from entering the gardens. We crossed one small stream, the Mé Khán, and having reached the Mé Quan, the Labong river, which is here about 25 feet broad and two and a half feet deep, halted at the village of Niú, on its left bank. We have not come by the high road, but by a pathway which is considered shorter. I remonstrated with the Shan officer for stopping so near the town; as might be expected he had numerous excuses ready—no villages nor water are to be found for a great distance in advance, and we must likewise take provisions from this, &c. 41.

At this village some of the persons who escorted the Kiang Túng officer, when he returned with 100 men and 50 elephants, were very eloquent in recommending the Dakhong road, saying the other was twice as far, and impassable even for ponies; that the Kiang Túng people had cut down trees, after their return, to block it up. No sooner had I quitted the town to-day than the court officers had the owners of the elephants I purchased up before them, asked them how they had dared to sell them to me. One of the merchants accompanying me happened to be present and heard this. The owners of the elephants declared they had not sold them, but had merely hired them to me for the journey. So much for permission given by the authorities for the free sale of cattle, &c.

30th January.—From Ban Niú to the Mé Lai. Direction, N. 55 E. Estimated Distance, 16 miles. Time, 5h. 6m.

From the time of leaving our halting ground to the village of Muang Lón, a large place of 100 houses, the road or path is a continuation of the one we came along yesterday, and has been through a fertile and well-cultivated country, irrigated by canals, and having numerous villages scattered over it.

The only stream we crossed was the Lón Sák, of about 15 feet wide, with very deep sandy banks, close to the village of Tsánanta.

After quitting the village of Muang Lón, we got into the high road coming from our right, and shortly after the valley of the Mé Ping ended in this direction on our left. The road then ran along the foot of low and sloping hills, well wooded with teak and saul, free from underwood. We passed a great deal of wood ready cut and prepared for house building. Passed some very fine Kaneen, or wood-oil trees, on the banks of the Nam Dók Den, which we frequently crossed, and then ascended a steep and rocky hill covered with grass and jungle; after getting over this hill, we reached a small open spot with teak trees, on the Nam Dók Den, called Pang Mé Tsak, or teak-wood halting place. Here a road ran to our right over low hills to some village, in the direction of which the tea plant grows wild. We then passed over undulating hills (with pine trees, but none of any size), and halted on the right bank of the Mé Lai, a stream of about 20 feet wide, with two feet of water, flowing to the northward and falling into the Mé Quan. 2.9. 3.55. 5.6.

The road good all the way, and jungle high but not thick. The direction of the hills north-west and south-east. To the southward of this halting place is a village, from which we procured rice, &c., but the distance I do not know. A letter reached the Shan officer here from the court respecting the road: the interpreter overheard a part of it being read, directing him to frighten the Chinaman and prevent his showing me the Kiang Túng road, and by no means to take me by it. I was not a little surprised and annoyed at the double-faced behaviour of the authorities. I entered into conversation

Captain McLeod's Journal.

with the officer, who told me the purport of the letter privately. I was convinced they were determined clandestinely to use every means in their power to prevent my journey, but to appear outwardly to be assisting me, from fear of offending us. I at once informed the Shan officer that it was my determination to proceed by Kiang Túng, unless the information I obtained on the road differed much from what I had already collected, and he had better communicate with the chiefs, and obtain final and positive orders how to act, for after what had passed between Chou Raja Wun and myself I would not submit now to be dictated to by him, and that the least thing the Chou Raja Wun could have done, had he authorised such an extraordinary proceeding a few hours after my back was turned, was himself to have written to me; and that I, certainly, would not pay any attention to communications conveyed through the court officers and him.

31st January.—From the bank of the Mé Lai to Pang Mung on the Mé Quan. Direction, N. 25 E. Estimated, Distance 12 miles. Time, 4 h. 2 m.

12m. We went over some high open ground with large trees, and crossed the Mé Wong, a stream of about 20 feet wide by one deep, flowing here from east to west, and recrossed it near its junction with the Mé Lai, into which—here increased to about 40 feet—we
38. descended, and went along its bed for some distance; it then flowed off to our left, and
1.4. we passed on through a low rocky gorge, and crossed a good-sized stream flowing from
1.17. the south-east to the north-west, and falling into the Mé Quan, Having then passed over a small hill, we came upon the Mé Quan, at present 50 feet wide and the bed very
2.51. rocky, flowing to the southward; which having repeatedly crossed, we reached the village
3.14. of Indekali on its left bank, a little off the road. Having crossed the Mé Wan, which
3.26. comes in a parallel direction to the Mé Quan, and falls into it below the village, we came again upon the latter stream reduced to 15 feet wide, and proceeded along the valley formed by it (crossing it repeatedly) to the halting place, called Pang Mung, on its right bank.

The whole road to-day may be said to wind along the valleys of the streams mentioned, which we crossed altogether no less than 37 times, and occasionally going over a hill, though the whole way higher hills ranged themselves on both sides; these were covered with dense wood and long grass. We passed a few teak trees, also a few pine; but the saul was abundant.

We passed many places where we might have stopped until we arrived at the village of Indekali, but none afterwards. In the evening some Chinese, with 130 mules, passed us, going at a very quick pace; what with their screaming and calling out to their mules, and the bells on them, two of my ponies took fright and ran away towards town. The party encamped near us, it being late. The Chinaman I had hired at Zimmé was acquainted with them, and received a letter from his friends in China.

The Shan officer, as is customary, had a shed made and covered with the branches of trees, &c., and a raised place to sleep on put up, all of which his followers did most expeditiously. His howdah, which was placed close to him, contained everything he had and required.

1st February.—From Pang Mung to Ban Kai Nôn Noi.—Direction $\begin{cases}\text{N. 60 E.}\\ \text{N. 15 E.}\end{cases}$

Estimated Distance $\begin{cases}10\frac{1}{2}\\ 7\frac{1}{2}\end{cases}$ miles. Time $\begin{cases}3\text{h. }24\text{m.}\\ 2\text{h. }28\text{m.}\end{cases}$

The first part of this day's journey was over well-wooded hills, occasionally steep but not high; we crossed the Mé Quan often, as well as other streams, and reached the source of the former.

51m. After passing over some hills, we descended into the valley of the Mé Láu, a stream of about 10 feet wide, flowing to the northward and eastward, along which we proceeded, crossing it frequently, and occasionally over low hills, with higher ones on both sides, the whole well wooded.

3h. 24m. We now reached a small arid plain, which having crossed, the road ran on the left of the narrow valley of the Mé Láu, over low, undulating, and stony hills, free from underwood, with an open jungle. We then crossed to the right bank of the Mé Láu,
4.31. whence, about half a mile in the north-easterly direction, is the village of Ban Kai Nón; we, however, left it to our right, and proceeded between the hills, the stream flowing close to our left, which after again crossing, we halted for the night close to some field with three or four deserted houses.

This has been rather a long march; my elephants were not in before six. Some of those belonging to the merchants, and some of my coolies did not make their appearance at all, and were, during the night, kept on the alert by tigers. When we reached the valley of the Mé Láu (3 h. 24 m.), we saw a circular pool, in the centre of which the water was bubbling up and vapours issuing. The water at the edges was merely warm. I endeavoured to reach the centre of the spring, but the mud below was so soft and deep as

Captain McLeod's Journal.

as to render my attempts abortive; as I advanced, however, the heat increased, and latterly was hardly bearable.

Tea grows wild to the southward and westward of the hills passed to-day, before reaching the Mé Láu. These plantations are the property of certain chiefs, who collect the produce and give 100 viss for two plantations, which is divided by the Tsóbua, Chou Hona and Chou Raja Wun. The principal use made of the leaf is as a pickle, used at all times by the people. A small quantity is also dried and used, made into a decoction. It is gathered four times during the year, and best crop after the rains; all the care bestowed on the plant is to prune it occasionally, and the process of drying the leaves is short and simple, merely being once stirred about in a vessel over a fire, and then exposed to the sun. The tea appears to me of a coarse description, but whether naturally so, or from the little attention paid to its cultivation, I cannot say.

2nd February.—From Ban Kai Nón Noi to Muang Fue Hái.—Direction, N. 15 W. Estimated Distance, 7 miles. Time, 2h. 34m.

The journey to-day was entirely along the plateau, at first with long grass, and then with stunted pouk trees at a distance from each other. The eastern hills not observable for the fog; but those to the westward are about one and a half miles distant, and running from north-west to south-east, and of no height.

We passed the village of Banchi di San Niot, containing about six houses. We likewise crossed one or two streams, the principal one near the village of Fue Hái, and called after it, Nam Fue Hái; however, before reaching it we passed a few houses belonging to this place, and afterwards arrived where most of the houses are, and halted.

This village, though it is dignified with the title of a Muang, or capital of a district, is divided into three divisions, and contains altogether 50 houses. It is situated on an extensive plain (which in season is covered with grain), and on the left bank of the Mé Láu, which is here about 30 feet broad.

The valley here runs to north (10) west, few low hills only bounding it on each side, and is about two miles in breadth. The chief or person to whom this village was assigned, and who was a relation of the Tsóbua, has been dead three days; his relations and followers, however, did not appear to be very melancholy on the occasion.

The houses are good, with small gardens round them planted with radishes, tobacco, safflower, and sugar-cane, but only a few trees are to be seen.

3rd February.—From Muang Fue Hái to the banks of the Takau Stream. Direction, N. 15 W. Estimated Distance, 14 miles. Time, 4h. 27m.

After leaving the village we crossed to the right bank of the Mé Láu; the road then ran over open, low grassy plains (in many places swampy and cut up by elephants' tracks, and the whole of which must be under water during the rains), and through a bamboo jungle, occasionally mixed with a few trees, but mostly stunted.

On our way we passed the ruins of an old fort called Kiang Po Pau Viang Hau, or Chinese town, in a thick jungle, but on rising ground; and afterwards arrived at the village of Tanko, containing about 20 houses, situated on the right bank of the Mé Láu, in a small, fertile valley, having near it three Lawa villages. 1.10. 2.1.

After quitting this we proceeded over high ground with a thick jungle, and amongst it some very large Thengan trees, some of which had been cut down, and canoes were being made on the spot; and after passing over two low hills, by a good and shady road, we reached the village of Takau, on the right bank of the Mé Láu, containing about 70 houses, inhabited by Lawas chiefly. There are two smaller villages of the same name near this. The bareness of the place surpassed everything I had before seen; the houses were good and built close together, but not a single tree or shrub about them. 4.4.

After leaving the villages the road lay through open ground and fields, until we reached a stream, Nam Takau (which flows into the Mé Láu close by), on the left bank of which we halted. 4.27.

The Lawas are said to be the aborigines of the country, but are now so reduced in circumstances and numbers as to be considered by the Shans as an uncivilised tribe, little better than the brutes of the field. They inhabit villages amongst the hills in this direction, but are not numerous; they are an agricultural race, but also employ themselves in extracting iron from the hills, making muskets, dahs, &c. There are altogether 10 or 12 villages belonging to them, and their number is estimated at about 4,000. Most of the cotton taken away by the Chinese is the produce of the Lawa villages; they also cultivate indigo and sugar cane, which, however, are to be found in most gardens.

Each house pays annually to Government a tax of 10 viss of cotton, 10 viss of chillies, 10 viss of tobacco, and five viss of safflower. They have no written character, and their language, which is totally different from the Shans, is not uniform, but differs in almost every

Captain McLeod's Journal.

village. Their worship, until of late, was entirely confined to Nats, but they are becoming converts to Buddhism, having in many of their villages priests and monasteries. They do not permit polygamy (unless the wife is barren), but are much addicted to spirits. The women are, without exception, the ugliest race I have seen; remarkably short and stout, their faces large, their foreheads low, mouths particularly long, with thick lips, and eyes small and wide apart. Their dress consists of a petticoat of white and red cotton stuff; they also wear a jacket, and conceal their breasts.

They do not remove their villages, but parties go to a distance and prepare the hills for cultivation by clearing away the jungle. They bury all deceased persons belonging to one family in the same grave, and only open a new one when it is full.

The Chinese with me say, that a large force from China penetrated as far as the ruined fort seen this morning, many years ago, but was much harassed by the hill tribes, and being cut off entirely from its supplies, the horses belonging to it were killed for food, and it was obliged finally to retreat; few of the men composing it reached their country, famine indeed proving their chief enemy.

4th February.—From the NamTakau to Ban Mé Phit. Direction, N.
Estimated Distance, 14 miles. Time, 4h. 22m.

The route to-day may be said to have been along the valley of the Mé Láu, but the ground being too low and swampy to be traversed at present, we kept along the bases of some low hills to the eastward, though occasionally obliged to cross the low muddy plains. The road, however, was generally good, and shaded by fine trees, teak and saul.

1h. 30m. We passed through the large village of Teng Dam, containing about 70 houses entirely inhabited by Lawas, and in every respect like the village mentioned yesterday; around it there are fields, and numbers of heads of cattle were grazing. We continued to pass

2.46. through a country similar to the first part of the march, and arrived at the village Nónquan, a scattered place, and said to contain about 50 houses, situated on a large plain, with the ruins of an old fort near it.

The valley here increases in breadth to about eight miles, with high hills surrounding it. A pass is seen through them in the direction we take.

4.20. To the village of Móng Món, containing about 15 houses, we passed over an extensive plain, so much cut up by elephants and cattle that our progress over it was necessarily slow; and to the village of Mé Phit, which contains about 25 houses, we passed entirely over fields skirted by the Mé Láu to the westward. For the convenience of water, we left the high road, passed through the village, and crossed over to the left bank of the Mé Láu, where we halted.

Near the village of Teng Dam quantities of the plant called by the Burmese Bom ma thaing, or wild sage, from which they obtain camphor, was growing in the old clearings, but I cannot ascertain whether the Lawas make any use of it.

Here arose some difficulty about elephants and provisions. They wished me to halt a day; we had come slowly enough, and I would not agree to it.

This village, as well as Nónquan, is inhabited by people belonging to Zimmé, Labong, and Lagong, all eager to be in advance to participate in the profits arising from hunting elephants, the sale of the flesh of wild animals (with which the woods abound), and the clandestine trade with Kiang Túng, with which place there is constant communication.

5th February.—From Ban Mé Phit to Pang Ma foi. Direction, N. 45 E.
Estimated Distance, 9 miles. Time, 2h. 55m.

21m. We passed the small village of Pa Bóng (5 houses) soon after starting, where we were

57. greeted by an unfortunate old Burmese woman who had been caught and sold by the Red Karengs. We did not get into the regular road until we reached the village of Ban Tue, containing 10 houses, and situated on a good stream of water. The road then ran over rather hilly and high ground, well wooded and shady (latterly with teak), crossing a swamp occasionally, but good throughout.

We halted on the left bank of the Mé Láu, which we had crossed no less than 11 times during the day.

The hills to the northward and westward approach to within one mile and a half of us. There is a small village or two at the foot of them inhabited by Karengs. Hot springs are said to exist in the range.

There is a road branching off here towards Kiang Túng which shortens the distance by half a day's march, and is the one which most of the persons, proceeding to that place clandestinely, take, to avoid passing the frontier village of Pák Bóng, where a puniah is stationed; who, however, must shut his eyes to the irregularities for his own advantage.

We made a short march, in consequence of the distance to Pák Bóng being said to be too great for the elephants to travel in one day; though I doubt this, yet I am obliged to be guided by the officer with me with reference to the halting places; he has stopped behind

Captain McLeod's Journal.

behind to procure elephants and provisions for his party. Though my elephants had abundant rest at Zimmé, yet they suffered so much from the march over the hills, that they are incapable of any hard work.

The Shans have been trying to frighten the Chinaman hired by me at Zimmé, by telling hsm he will be punished when he returns, and before which his family will be disgraced, tbat the road has been blocked up by the Kiang Túng people, &c. He consoles himself by saying that there are plenty of wives to be had, and he will go and settle at Moulmein.

6th February 1837.—From Pang Ma foi to Pák Bóng. Direction, N. 80 E. Estimated Distance, 8 miles. Time, 2h. 30m.

2.6.

The road this day lay entirely along the river (which we crossed 11 times), and sometimes went along its bed; frequently, however, the ground was high; though generally well wooded, it was occasionally open. A range of hills became visible towards the end of the march, to the north-west, running north-west and south-east, distant 10 miles.

We reached the village of Pák Bóng, on the left bank of the Mé Láu, and halted. 2.30.

This river is here about 50 feet wide and two deep, but during the rains about 150 feet. Its bed throughout is sandy. All the streams we have crossed since the 1st instant fall into it. It passes this in an easterly direction, and after flowing to a short distance, takes a north-easterly course, towards the old town of Kiang Tsen or Then, and discharges itself into the Mé Khók. It is crossed on the route from this to Kiang Khong, situated at the ford of the Mé Khong.

Fish is abundant in it. The stream is, in some places, partially staked across, and at others small sheds are erected from side to side in a line, over the water, with stakes of bamboos reaching the ground. Lights are kept in these sheds at night, or suspended from them, close to the water; the fish, being attracted by them, are easily caught or killed.

This village contains about 25 houses. No fruit trees are to be seen, except a few young jacks or plantains. The fields belonging to it are extensive. A chokey is established here to prevent communication with Kiang Túng. Though the Puniah is from Zimmé, yet some of the inhabitants are followers of the chiefs of Labong and Lagong.

The direct road to Kiang Tsen, and the road by which the Chinese caravans travel from the Mé Khong unite here. Between this place and Kiang Khong there are no inhabitants; the distance is five or six marches. There is a road likewise from that place to Kiang Tsen. As far as I understand, these are not the only roads; there are numerous paths in every direction, leading towards Kiang Túng, Muang Niong, &c., which are well known to the hunters and others. The head man of this place accompanied the Kiang Túng officer on his return, and though merely ordered to go as far as their boundary, has gone to the capital, and is amusing himself there.

The officer accompanying me only left Mé Phit this morning early, and rejoined me, at about 3 p.m. No elephants to be had here without a delay of four days at least; nor is rice to be procured, but for one day. I, however, surprised him by showing him that I had a supply for 20 days with me, and that I had no intention of delaying here for elephants, but that, agreeably to the permission given me, I should proceed by the Kiang Túng road. He said he thought, that as there had been sufficient time for a communication to reach us, and from the way his letter of instruction is worded, that if they really objected to my going they would have written to him, so he volunteered to escort me two marches beyond this. There was some demur about the merchants accompanying me; however, as they had always been considered as belonging to my party, and to follow me wherever I went, I told him, that if he prevented them doing so, he must be prepared to take the consequences; he on this waived the question, though, Shan like, he tried privately to make a bargain with them, as he said, not for himself; but to soften the Chou Raja Wun, and others, should fault be found.

7th February 1837.—From the Village of Pák Bóng to the right bank of the Mé Tsakón. Direction, N. 10 W. Estimated Distance, 10 miles. Time, 3h. 23m.

After crossing the fields belonging to the village, we proceeded over low, hilly ground, through a jungle of saul, and then crossed the Hué Tsai, eight feet broad, a little beyond which we passed a road leading to Nónquan, and gradually descended into a low, swampy belt of thick jungle, with some teak and thengan trees; beyond this we crossed the Hué Pa Wai, 10 feet broad, with plenty of water, and after passing over some low hills, reached a swampy and open plain, covered with long grass and weeds, which detained us a little. 52. 1h. 11m. 1h. 42m.

The range of hills to the westward are seen here, the highest part bearing N. 70 W. and distant about nine miles.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

We continued to skirt swampy plains for some distance, but towards the end of the march the country became higher and well wooded.

2h. 13m. 2.24. 2.34. We passed the ruins of another Chinese fort (Viang Hau), and having crossed a good stream of 15 feet wide, with abundance of water, reached a large plain, where the road from Pang Ma foi (the place we halted at on the 5th) joins this one.

We halted on a clear spot of ground on the right bank of the Mé Tsakón, a stream of about 15 feet wide and two deep, which, as well as all those passed to-day, flows to the northward and eastward, and falls into the Mé Láu.

The highest hills to the westward are not visible from this, but some of the lower ones of the same ranges are about two miles distant from us. None to be seen to the eastward.

A story, similar to what I have related before, is told of the old fort passed to-day. The Chinese with me fix upon two periods for the invasion of this country by their countrymen; one 490 years ago, and the other 90, by a chief named Menguonye, at the same time as Fuguonye attacked Ava, where he died. The Shans with me, however, know nothing of the period. By the history of Ava, I believe, Menguonye led an army from China, and invaded that country about 70 years ago.

8th February 1837.—From the right bank of the Mé Tsakón to the left of the Mé Khók. Direction, N. 55. Estimated Distance, 12 miles. Time, 4h. 7m.

1.26. We followed the course of the Mé Tsakón, through an open forest, with an occasional plain on our right, and then crossed it.

We ought yesterday to have come to this. We shortly after passed over a deep swamp and reached the Hué Pák Bóng. From this the country varied much, sometimes low, undulating hills, with fine forest trees on them, mixed with teak and saul; occasionally swampy, and latterly flat, with stunted trees scattered over extensive plains, about five miles broad, bounded by low broken hills to the westward (running north-west and south-east), and a few very low detached ones to the eastward. It continued so till we reached the ruins of an old brick fort, on the right hand bank of the Mé Khók, called Kiang Hái. Having passed through it we arrived at the ford of the Mé Khók, which we crossed, and halted on its left bank, on an extensive plain of reeds and long grass.

Kiang Hái was formerly a place of considerable importance and extent.

The palace and part of the town stood on some low hills, overhanging the river. There is nothing, however, left to mark its former greatness, but its brick walls, ruins of numerous pagodas, and some arched gateways leading to them: the town is entirely overgrown by jungle; like most old towns, it has a tradition attached to it. Its original name was Tsan Katsa Lacón, when founded is not known. It was once the capital of a kingdom. The king who altered its name was, from his birth, destined to become a mighty monarch; this was predicted from his strength, for he broke every cradle they put him into, until at last they were obliged to make one of iron, which is said still to remain suspended in its old place amongst the ruins, but the jungle around is too thick to permit of its being seen.

Zimmé, or Kiang Mái, took its name from his son, for whose maintenance it was assigned; prior to which it was called Muang Lamien; in like manner his wife received the town of Kiang Túng, then called Kematunka, which was also annexed to its territories.

This river is the largest we have met since crossing the Mé Ping. Three islands form above the ford, where it is about 627 feet wide; above, however, it is much narrower. It flows past in the north-east direction, coming from north 70 west; its course from the westward is marked by broken hills. The water, even at this season, nearly reached from bank to bank; at the deepest part it had 4½ feet of water. Its source is not very far to the north-west, and an old town, Muang Khók, stands near it. After receiving almost all the streams between the Mé Láu and the Hué Lük, it discharges itself into the Mé Khong, near and below Kiang Then.

The officer from Zimmé, who was to have returned from this, felt so much inclined to go on, and urged so many plausible reasons for so doing, that I assisted him in his embarrassment, by saying it would be too bad to leave me in the jungle, particularly as from the directions he had given me about the road, it was evident there was every chance of my losing the way. Though the Chinaman I hired at Zimmé had travelled it with the Kiang Túng people when they came a few months ago, I do not place much confidence in him. I am also anxious that the officer should witness what passes at Kiang Túng, to satisfy the authorities at Zimmé that my mission is purely of an amicable and commercial nature.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

9th February 1837.—From the right bank of the Mé Khók to Hué Lük. Direction, N. 10 E. Estimated Distance, 18 miles. Time, 5h. 56 m.

The road to-day lay chiefly over plains, with long grass and reeds, with a more than usual number of swamps, not improved by some rain we had. These plains having been crossed by the Kiang Túng people returning, when much more wet than they are now, their elephants sank deep in the mud, most of the holes made by them are dry, and others covered by water, in consequence of which, marching over them is rendered very troublesome and fatiguing.

We occasionally passed over rising ground, and low hills, with a thick jungle of bamboos in some places. The plains, however, generally had but a few stunted trees scattered over them.

After crossing the plain on which we halted yesterday, we came to a swamp, beyond which was a jheel of four and a half feet deep, and muddy. We were detained some time, and had much trouble in crossing it; beyond this, we had to pass over two very long swamps. 1.2.

We passed close to the site of an old village Ban Myan Lé, many years deserted, but the fields belonging to it can still be traced, and some Palmira trees mark its position. 3.17.

The country about it consists of fine large plains, with low hills bounding them to the westward, and increasing in height as they advance northward, with a remarkable peak visible, bearing north 15 west, called Doé Tón; those to the eastward again are low, and distant about two or three miles.

We reached the right bank of the Mé Katón, 10 feet broad, and one and a half deep, and proceeded along it for about 40 minutes; after having crossed it, and some other small streams, and traversing plains as in the first part of the day, we reached and halted on the right bank of the Hué Lük, a small stream, with very high and steep banks, close to the foot of the western range of hills. 3h. 34m.

Here we found a small stockade had been erected by the hunters, who are obliged to use this precaution at every place where they halt any time. We passed several during the latter part of the journey along the Mé Katón, where we might have stopped. Where there is no stockade, passengers are obliged to erect stages on trees to sleep on; these are necessary for their protection against the tigers. The fresh marks of these animals to-day exceed anything I could have supposed, and that they had been successful in seizing their prey was evident from the marks of blood on the road.

Deer and all descriptions of game are abundant in this direction, and the streams swarm with fish.

We passed a few tea shrubs to day on the high ground; these were from 10 to 15 feet high, growing wild.

The country is intersected throughout by pathways made by the hunters, several parties of whom, as also people from Kiang Túng, we met. The high road is only at present better marked than the different pathways, from many people having lately passed over it; a person not well acquainted with the roads would certainly lose his way.

10th February 1837.—From Hué Lük to Hué Kai. Direction, N. 10 W. Estimated Distance, 18 miles. Time, 5h. 53m.

The first part of the journey was over low hills (with narrow plains to the eastward), beyond which again the ground was high, thickly wooded with large forest and Kanien (wood-oil) trees, and some fine banians; between the hills, however, we had to cross over small swamps.

We then traversed a plain with stunted trees on it, and reached the Mé Khám Noi, a stream of 15 feet wide and one and a half deep, flowing over a sandy bed to the northward and eastward; on its left bank is a good place for halting. 2.7.

A road to Kiang Then branches off about half way between this and our last halting place.

After crossing three or four small streams we reached the Mé Khám Luang, and having proceeded along its low and sandy banks (planted with radishes) crossed it. 3.52.

It was about 45 feet broad and two deep, and flowing to the eastward. We then proceeded through a flat country, but the jungle thicker and sometimes of teak. We approached to within a quarter of a mile of some low, steep, rocky hills, with the peak a little to the northward. 4.8. 4.56.

We reached the Nam Phie, a stream of 10 feet wide, with high sandy banks covered with grass, but which during the rains must be under water. It discharges itself into the Mé Khám Luang. Before crossing this stream a road branches off to the northward and eastward, and leads to the old town of U-pón, now deserted. 5.14.

From the stream we proceeded over high ground, somewhat hilly, with open jungle, and reached the Hué Kái, a small stream, and halted on a low, confined spot.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

The road has been good throughout to-day.

We met on the road a party of Chinese with 150 mules and ponies, proceeding to Zimmé under the guidance of some Shans from Kiang Túng; they have very few articles for sale, but have some gold to dispose of for betel nut, which is in great demand at that place. In the meantime their partners at Kiang Túng are purchasing and packing the cotton for their return trip to China.

They come from Kien Taung or Muang Ku, and were delighted to see me and hear the object of my mission; they stopped and conversed with me some time, and said they had been induced to make the present attempt in hopes of being hereafter permitted to travel by this road.

11th February 1837.—From Hué Kái to the left bank of Mé Tsái. Direction, N. 5. E. Estimated Distance, 15 miles. Time, 4h. 33m.

After quitting the halting place we proceeded over a little hilly ground with thick jungle, and then plains of long grass and stunted trees, occasionally, however, with higher and thicker jungle.

1.22. 3.10. Having reached some hot springs, we crossed the Mé Lai, about 10 feet wide, with the Doé Tón to the westward. A low range of hills is now seen to the eastward, distant about seven or eight miles, and beyond them is another range, distant about 20 miles, in the direction of Kiang Then.

2.27. Having crossed the Nam Tsón Nák, and in 11 minutes after the Nam Phu, or Mé Má, a stream of 20 feet wide flowing to the eastward, we approached a broken and high peak to within a quarter of a mile, with low hills between it and us; but the principal range, which is high, diminishes gradually to the northward, running from north to south.

3.31. 3.56. We came to a tank of about 40 feet square, and said to be unfathomable; the water, however, is very good, and it contains quantities of fish. A little further on we passed through the ruins of an old town, Muang Kó; there is another old fort, in a north-easterly direction, distant two days' journey, called U-pón. On the road to it some extensive and deep hot springs are found.

4.26. The road continued the same, and we reached the Mé Tsái, which we crossed, and halted on its left bank. This is a stream of about 40 feet wide and two deep, flowing to the eastward. It unites its waters with those of some large streams from the northward, and flows into the Mé Khong. The deepest of the hot springs seen to-day was about four inches, issuing from under a rock; the soil soft and muddy, the surface of the water covered with green weeds. The thermometer, when immersed in water, rose to 97° Fahr. Beyond this spring there are two tepid streams of six feet wide, with about six inches of water in each, flowing fast to the eastward, showing that there must be some considerable springs amongst the hills to the westward.

12th February 1837.—From the left bank of the Mé Tsái to the left bank of the Mé Hem. Direction, N. 25 W. Distance, 18 miles. Time, 6h. 7m.

35. 1.58. 2.28. The first part of this day's journey was over a flat country, occasionally wooded and occasionally open, and then along the Mé Khám, which we frequently crossed and re-crossed, and met many good halting places. We gradually got amongst the hills following the course of the above stream; the road then became bad, over the slippery and steep side of a hill, not improved by late rains, and across which trees have fallen.

2.53. We then came to a small open space, beyond which we descended a steepish hill and arrived at a narrow gorge, through which the road led, with steep and rocky hills and masses of rock closing it on both sides. If the summits of these hills are attainable, they would form a barrier which no force could pass from Kiang Túng.

3.2. We then crossed a good sized stream, the Mé Tún, flowing to the southward and eastward, which joins the Mé Khám, and beyond which is an open plain and a good place for halting on.

4.44. We continued rather to descend, but now and then also to ascend, and having crossed the Mé Tún and other streams, several times, reached and crossed the Mé Tá Phung. We then passed over steep hills, the path much blocked up by fallen trees, and reached the Mé Hem, a stream of about 40 feet wide with three feet of water, which having crossed, halted on a confined spot on its left bank.

This river rises in some hills to the northward and westward, called Doé Pa Hem, flows to the southward and eastward and joins the Mé Tsái.

The road during the latter part of this day's march has been, without exception, the worst we have yet met with from Zimmé, and from the fallen trees one might almost have believed that an attempt had been made to render it impassable; but these had evidently been blown down, their roots having no hold in the soft soil.

13th February.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

13th February.—From the left bank of the Mé Hem to the Village of Hái Tái. Direction, N. 10 W. Distance, 12 miles. Time, 4h. 4m.

We passed over a low hill well wooded, and reached a plain on the right bank of the Mé Oú. This stream, where we crossed it, is about 35 feet wide, an island forming below the crossing, but its ordinary breadth above is about 20 feet and one and a half deep, flowing fast over a bed of round stones to the southward and eastward. From this the road occasionally ran along the sides of the hills, but chiefly along the foot of two low ranges, from whence numerous small muddy streams flow, forming small and deep swamps, along which bamboos and ratans grow in luxuriance. 49. 1.47.

It, however, improved towards the end of the march, the hills receding, the country became more open, we came to the village of Hái Tái, where we halted. 3.42. 4.4.

The valley here is about two miles in length, the highest hills are to the westward, running from north-west to south-east, and gradually declining to the northward, leaving, as it were, a pass through a little to the westward of north, but beyond again high hills are seen. The peak of Doé Tón is just visible, bearing south 10 east, and appears from this to form a distinct range from the other to the westward of it.

The Mé Oú is the only stream of any size crossed to-day; the others, three or four in number, too small to mention. The road, with the exception of the swampy places, was tolerably good.

This village is the first one in this direction belonging to Kiáng Túng; it has only lately been established, and consists of 10 houses. Beyond the Mé Móe, which flows by here, once stood the town of Muang Hái, a place of consequence, but now only the ruins of the fort are left.

The ground between this and the Mé Khók, as far as I can understand, is considered as neutral, and may be occupied by either the Siamese or Burmese Shans, for no boundary has been marked out.

The head man here mentioned, that the Tsóbua has lately peopled many of the old towns in the direction of Kiang Tsen, but they feared much that when the Siamese find them comfortable and settled, and fancy they are lulled into security, they will some night, like thieves, come and carry them off. He confirms all that I was told respecting the mission from this; and that the officer who was deputed, has been sent to Ava with all the presents he brought back. He says the Tsóbua will be delighted to hear of my arrival; he has long wished to meet a British officer, having heard of our visiting Zimmé.

We were informed that Maha Wang, the Tsóbua of Kiang Húng, has been dead some months, and his territory said to be in great confusion.

The head man of the village proposing to precede me to report my approach, I gave him a letter to the Tsóbua, informing him of my arrival within his territories, and of my being the bearer of a letter from the Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces to him.

14th February.—From the Village of Hái Tái to Súp Nium. Direction { N. 5 E. / N. 50 W. } Estimated Distance { 12 / 6 } Miles. Time { 4h. 28m. / 1h. 44m. }

Having crossed the Mé Móe, and close to it the Mé Húak, a large stream of 35 feet broad, and two feet deep, flowing to the eastward, and joining the Mé Hem, the road ran over a level valley, occasionally with jungle, but more generally open, with long grass, and some swamps, but not bad, with the Mé Húak winding its way on our left.

We reached the village of Hái Nüa, situated in an extensive plain, and on the right bank of the Mé Oú, a stream which we crossed before entering the village. We did not here see any inhabitants, but quantities of grass cut and tied ready for transportation, which showed that they could not be far off. 2.1.

On quitting the plain, we crossed the Mé Húak, about 20 feet wide and one deep; and having passed over a low hill, covered with thick jungle, recrossed the same stream, and ascended a high and steep hill, with khoung mu and other trees on it. The bamboo, though not thick along the road, is so down the sides of the hills. From the summit we had no view, being surrounded by hills and jungle. 2.47. 3.20

The descent for a short time was very steep, and the rain we had during the night made the road particularly difficult. It improved on our reaching the bed of a small stream, through which we proceeded for some distance. We then arrived at the foot of the hills where the Mé Pán, a large stream, of 60 feet broad, flows past to the eastward, and joins the Mé Tsái. Having crossed this river, we shortly afterwards came on the Mé Nium (which here unites with the former river), and followed its course between hills and through

Captain McLeod's Journal.

through small plains, crossing it several times. Where we first crossed it, it was 20 feet wide and one deep, but of course decreased in size as we advanced.

The road to Muang Paniak, a place lately established by the Kiang Túng Tsóbua, branches off at the junction of the two streams, and continues along the valley of Mé Pán

We halted on a plain at the junction of a small stream with the Mé Nium.

15th February.—From Súp Nium to Patchiang on the Hills. Direction, N. 25 W. Estimated Distance, 13 miles. Time, 4h. 33m.

After crossing the Mé Nium, close to the encamping ground and another stream five or six times, we ascended a high and rather steep hill and after passing over it, reached
1.34. the Mé Het and crossed it. This is a stream of 20 feet broad and two deep, flowing rapidly over a stony bed from the westward to the eastward. There is no space for encamping on near this on the high road, but by crossing the stream, a little higher up, there is an open plain of some size.

From this river we commenced to ascend a very high and steep range of mountains covered with jungle; the ascent was at times exceedingly steep, and on the way up we
2.48. had a fine view of the surrounding country, which was one mass of mountains. I counted eight or nine distinct ranges to the southward and westward, extending as far as the eye could reach; these appeared to run north-west and south-east, and gradually to diminish
3.38. in height, the most distant ones being the lowest. There were three ranges of high mountains also to the eastward, the highest about 10 miles distant, bearing south 70 east, and which, no doubt, concealed others from our view. We could see the Doé Tón, bearing nearly south, and the range to which it belongs was the highest observed to-day. We continued to ascend for some time, and arrived at an open space between the shoulders of two mountains, at the bottom of a short descent. This was to have been the halting ground, but there was no water, the spring being dry; we proceeded onwards, still rising higher and higher, with mountains as high as this range even, if not higher, to the southward and westward, and only separated from this by a deep valley.

We passed a few pines, the only ones met to-day, and descended slightly to our halting place, which is at the junction of two hills, with barely sufficient room for my small tent.

At the Mé Het we met some Shans proceeding to the villages in the jungle, who told us that formerly there was a road along the valley, formed by that river, to Kiang Túng, by which these mountains were avoided; but, as it would require some labour to clear it now, after so many years' disuse, the people availed themselves of the road we came by, which led to some Kúi villages.

The elephants were 11 hours on the road to-day, in consequence of the steepness of the hills, and only obtained a very scanty supply of water from a small stream to the right, on their arrival; one of them did not come in at all to day. Water boiled on the highest part passed to-day at 204½° Fahrenheit.

16th February.—From Patchiang to the Second Stockade on the Hills. Direction, N. 45 W. Distance, 6 miles. Time, 1h. 55m.

Immediately on starting we commenced ascending, and passed through an old deserted stockade on the shoulder of a hill, the sides of which fall down precipitously to the right and left, rendering the stockade only assailable in front. From this a road branched off to our right, leading to a Ka Kúi village; and from this point also the ascent became very steep, and continued so to the summit, which is said to be the highest part of the range.

38. From this high spot at first the descent was very gradual, but, after passing a forest of
1.2. pines, became very steep; at the foot of it we crossed a good sized stream, the Mé Nan,
1.28. flowing to the northward and eastward, and ascended again until we reached an old
1.55. stockade, like the one passed before, where we halted.

There is but little forage or water at this place, but the elephants are so fatigued by yesterday's march that we are obliged to stop here. The Shan likewise states there is no other spot for a great distance in advance where we should find water.

I was disappointed in having no view from the high hill passed to-day. On it there is an open space with short grass, which in days of peace and quiet was the spot where the inhabitants of Kiang Túng and of Muang Hái held their buffalo fights. Water boiled there at 204° Fahrenheit.

There is said to be a lake on the top of a hill in the range next to the one we are on, from which the Mé Khók, Mé Tsáe, and Mé Húak take their rise. The range bears south 45 west, and runs from north-west to south-east, at a distance of about eight or ten miles from us.

Two other ranges are seen in the same direction; the further, which is the higher, and distant 20 miles, is in the Muang Tsat district, and the old town of that name is situated beyond it. The range again in which the Mé Ping takes its rise is still more to the westward,

westward, and all the way to the Salween (Thanlwen or Mé Khóng of the Shans) are ranges of hills; and in the valleys between the ranges formerly there were towns and villages, which are now entirely deserted.

Some Chinese passed *en route* to town from the Ka Kúí villages, where they had been to purchase cotton. The Ka Kúí Puniah or chief passed also; he told us he had two districts under him in this direction, containing together about 800 houses. He could hardly make himself understood, speaking bad Shan. These mountains are said to be inhabited by about 5,000 or 6,000 of these people, and to them is the defence of this entrance into Kiang Túng entrusted.

17th February.—From the Second Stockade on the Hills to Muang Pák. Direction, N. 10 W. Estimated Distance, 9½ miles. Time, 2h. 52m.

After ascending a little we commenced to descend the hills, sometimes very steep, and at the foot of them came to a nice plain, with two streams of water flowing through it, and to which, undoubtedly, we ought to have come yesterday. From this spot the road ran over low undulating hillocks, covered with long grass (but no jungle), and valleys formed between them all well watered by streams and reached the regular Chowkey village of Muang Pák, on the bank of the Nam Pák, where, finding they had erected some sheds for us, we halted. 52. 2.52.

Near the village are some fields, and the surrounding hills have a most bare appearance, from their having been cleared for cultivation.

This place only contains six houses, but there are three or four other villages at short distances from it, which are comprised in this district. Tobacco and indigo were sown in the gardens belonging to the place at a short distance from it, but there was not a single tree near the village.

The houses here are like those I saw at Tummo, in the Kubbó Valley, totally unlike those at Zimmé, and said to be the pattern of those constructed by the Myé lat Shans. The ends are semicircular, and the roofs descending down to the floors.

Here we met a number of families moving to Muang Paniak and Muang Lem, two places lately repeopled. It was a most interesting sight; everything appeared so well and neatly packed and had the appearance of cleanliness and comfort. The people came from Kiang Túng itself.

The man who left Haí Tái with the letter respecting my arrival only passed this yesterday. I was informed it was necessary that I should remain here until they received orders from town, that they had sent a man forward with the intelligence of my arrival, and produced an order, written on a green bamboo, not to admit any person from the Zimmé territories without first reporting. However much disinclined to halt, I agreed to do so for a day.

18th February.—Halted. A great deal of tea grows in this neighbourhood. I did not, however, see any of the plantations.

The cold has been gradually increasing, and marching during the hottest part of the day is by no means unpleasant. The thermometer this morning outside my tent was 33° Fahrenheit.

19th February.—From Muang Pák to Muang Khien. Direction, N. 15 W. Estimated Distance, 16½ miles. Time, 5h. 19m.

Information having been received last evening that some officers from Kiang Túng had arrived at the village in advance, I was requested to wait until they came this morning. One was a Puniah and the other was an Awe youk, who, on making their appearance had, of course, a vast number of questions to ask respecting the number of people with me, where I had come from, &c., &c., some of which, however, I declined answering until I saw the Tsóbua; but at the same time informed them my visit was for the purpose of opening a friendly intercourse between the two countries. They informed me, that the Tsóbua and all his subjects were rejoiced at my arrival, and hoped it would be the means of establishing permanent peace and quiet through all the Burmese and Siamese Shan countries.

The Puniah, who spoke Burmese, was at Ava when I accompanied the Burmese Commissioners, in 1833, to the Manipur frontier; he had seen me then, and recognised me. I think the knowledge of my having been so employed added much to my importance in their opinion, and relieved me from some trouble and delay, being aware that I was well acquainted with their customs. We commenced our march rather late in the day, attended by the Kiang Túng officers. To Ban Tón Luang, a village with 15 houses, the road wound along the foot of some low hills, similar to those passed yesterday; from the village we ascended a high range, and reached a zeat on the summit, near which there is a spring of water. Though this is not quite the highest spot, it is nearly so, and we ascended but very little after this. 33. 2.49.

The descent is short, but very steep. We reached the Mé Khien, at the foot of the hills, 3.49.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

5.19.

hills, and proceeded over low hills, valleys, and plains of grass gradually falling to the northward; repeatedly crossing the Mé Khien and several other small streams. Towards the latter part of the journey, when it became more level, we marched over fields and old cotton plantations, and reached the village of Muang Khien, where we halted. In the valleys and on the sides of the hills in coming along, we saw several small villages and clearings inhabited by Lawas.

Here, likewise, we found sheds erected, and the head man of the village, a most respectable looking personage, waited on me, and in the evening returned with an abundant supply of provisions.

The village contains about 100 houses, tolerably good as to materials, but built without regularity; there is not a tree of any sort about them, nor are they separated from each other by any fence.

There were several Chinamen here pressing cotton and packing it; this is done in a well, into which the cloth to hold the cotton is introduced, and the cotton trodden into it, after which it is bound tightly round with strips of bamboo.

The packages are regularly weighed, great care being required that the two placed on one mule should weigh exactly alike, and be balanced; each mule carries from 50 to 80 viss of cotton; the cotton is valued at about 40 ticals for 100 Shan viss. The merchants generally give their goods in exchange for it.

It is grown in a great abundance in the valleys and on the sides of the hills chiefly by the Lawas and Kakúis. The trees are small and the plant is an annual, as at Zimmé; the seed is sown broadcast. The only preparation the ground undergoes is to have the old plants dug out and burnt for manure.

Their mode of separating the cotton from the seed is most expeditious, and performed by one person. An upright wooden frame consisting of two posts fastened in the ground, supporting in their centre a horizontal circular and smooth iron rod of an inch in circumference, which, passing through the former on one side, is formed into a knee, and is fixed to a heavy wooden lever of about 5 feet in length, within 6 inches of the middle, causing one arm to be longer than the other, to give it an impetus when in motion. A wooden cylinder of about 3 inches in circumference is placed parallel to, and in contact with the iron rod, and supported in the same manner, to this a handle is attached on the opposite side of the frame on the outside, and is turned by the hand. To the iron knee a string is fastened, which is conducted over a beam and brought down to a pedal, by which it is put into motion. The cotton is placed along the line of contact of the cylinders, which, revolving to each other, draw the cotton through, leaving the seed behind.

20th February.—From Muang Khien to Kiang Túng. Direction, N. 35 W. Estimated Distance, 7½ miles. Time, 2h. 14m.

The road ran entirely through an open country amongst low undulating hills still falling to the northward. We passed some small villages and crossed three or four inconsiderable streams, and reached a large banian tree on the southern face of the fort, which we had seen before from a distance, and to which the road led. We stopped here a few minutes, the officers with me wishing to await the arrival of some others; I, however, proposed going on and meeting them. From this we were taken by a circuitous road round the south-east side of the town.

About half a mile from it a deputation consisting of four or five officers and a large train of followers met me. They received the report made by the officers who accompanied me from the village of Muang Pák, and after congratulating me on my safe arrival, proceeded with me to the town.

On my entrance within the gates of the fort an extensive swamp with a few huts alone met my view. I was conducted to a very fine large, new enclosed zeat (built expressly, as I was told, for officers coming on missions from other States), near one of the gates of the town. Crowds of people had collected to witness my entry; none of the chiefs even ever having before seen an European.

The officers remained with me some time, and only left at my request, stationing some men to prevent the people from disturbing me too much, in endeavouring to satisfy their curiosity.

As I was anxious to be introduced to the Tsóbua with as little delay as possible, I requested that some officer might be sent to settle this point. In the evening the Minister, Puniah (or Paya as it was pronounced) Wang, called on me, attended by a train of officers and other followers, and brought several trays of fruit, &c., as presents. He is the factotum here. His wife was a sister of the Tsóbua's late wife, and his daughter is married to the Tsóbua's eldest son; so he may be supposed to have considerable influence. He tried to impress on me the honour done me by his visit; that he had come at the Tsóbua's express order, who had long been most anxious to establish a friendly connection with the English, and had endeavoured to open a communication with them; that he had never before called on any other officer, however high his rank. He was very angry and sore about the reply from Zimmé to their propositions about the road, which was not even couched in civil terms, as well as the detention of the officer there. This person had been sent on to Ava with the presents (four elephants), all given by the Tsóbua's own relations at that place, none by the Government.

The

Captain McLeod's Journal.

The Tsóbua's eldest son, Chou Maha Phóm, has been appointed from Ava Aing She Meng (Lord of the Eastern House) or Crown Prince, a title or appointment which confers on him certain privileges and power only little short of those enjoyed by the Tsóbua himself.

The Tsóbua has three sons, the eldest about 25 years of age, the second, Chow Patta Wun, about 18 years of age, and a younger one, at present in a monastery, of 12. He has two or three daughters, one of whom is married to his nephew, and one engaged to the late Kiang Húng Tsóbua's son. Unlike most chiefs the Tsóbua is content with one wife; all his children are by this one.

The Minister gave me some account of the disturbances in Kiang Húng, caused on the death of the late Tsóbua, Maha Wang (Maha Weng of the Burmans), but as I shall have hereafter to speak on this subject, I do not now mention what he told me.

With reference to my introduction, he said it was necessary that either I or some of my people should come to the court next day to meet the officers there; that they would then go to the Tsóbua and have the matter settled. He staid some time with me and conversed freely in Burmese.

Though our acquaintance had been so short, he did not fail to show that the Shans had no great attachment for their rulers, the Burmans. I was myself most guarded when he spoke on this subject. All the officers are Shans.

21st February.—Everybody agrees in stating that the Tsóbua is much rejoiced at the arrival of my mission. That he would be so appears to have been expected, for one of the officers about him, who was a favourite, but had fallen into disgrace, thought of regaining his former place by delivering the letter I sent from Hái Tái, and being the first to convey to him the intelligence of the arrival of a British officer.

The Tsóbua, who had not spoken or noticed him for many days, directed him to meet me outside the town, and the person was one of those who received me and returned with the report to the Tsóbua. He is now, in consequence, considered to be in a fair way to re-establish himself in the favour of his master.

Some officers again came about the list of people with me, which I had before supplied, and about the Commissioner's letter; they wished to know from whom it really was, where our King resided, &c. I gave them every information. They likewise wanted to see everything brought by the merchants, and to take a list of them. As this would have caused the merchants much inconvenience and perhaps loss, unnecessarily to unpack their goods, I easily persuaded the officers to be content with a general list of what they had brought, to be furnished by the men themselves, without opening their packages. We had some conversation about the duties; they spoke of levying 10 per cent.; however, I soon saw that they had no power to discuss and settle such matters, and therefore told them I should defer the discussion until I saw the Tsóbua.

I sent my writer and interpreter to the court with the merchants, there to ascertain what is wished respecting them, and also when I could be introduced to the Tsóbua. They there met Paya Wang, who informed them that the Tsóbua had given orders, that no duty should be levied on them, but added, that it was customary for merchants to make some trifling presents to the Tsóbua, his eldest son, and the court officers. Though the traders had gone prepared for this, I regret to say that they had a shameful and noisy dispute amongst themselves in the court, which ended in their only presenting articles to the value of about 30 rupees to be divided between all mentioned above.

The writer reported to me that the officers were remarkably civil, though evidently disgusted with the behaviour of the traders. I considered it proper to send afterwards and make an apology for their misconduct, and that I would arrange about the presents.

22nd February.—Agreeably to the arrangement made yesterday, I was introduced to Tsóbua to-day. At about 12 o'clock some officers came to escort me. On arriving at the gate of the palace inclosure, the officer with me asked me whether I would dismount, as no person ever entered it on horseback; knowing their customs, I immediately complied with his request.

On entering the gate I could not help observing the total absence of care and neatness in the compound. It was overgrown with grass, and the out-houses in a dilapidated state, and the whole surrounded by a brick and mud wall of 8 feet high. The Palace itself, a shabby-looking pile of wood, raised about 15 feet from the ground, on high pillars. After ascending the steps, and on reaching the door of the hall, the Tsóbua's two sons came forward and led me to a seat in front of the Tsóbua, where carpets had been spread for me and my followers. The interior of the building was very richly gilt, forming a strong contrast with its exterior. The throne stood at one end within a railing, very elegantly carved and gilt, with two white umbrellas on each side of it, and folding-doors leading to it from the back, as in the palace at Ava.

The Tsóbua, however, was seated on a handsome low gilt couch in front of the throne, surrounded by a number of men holding swords in gold scabbards at a respectful distance. His two eldest sons and nephew were seated on the ground on his right, and the officers ranged in lines on each side in front.

I was much struck with the grandeur of everything compared with what I had seen at Zimmé. Though many Tsóbuas are permitted to have thrones, white umbrellas, and other emblems of royalty, yet they cannot make use of them personally. The Tsóbua when he goes out has eight gold chuttas carried round him (the number allowed to the Tsekia Meng King's eldest son at Ava), but he dare not use a white one. The hall was

Captain McLeod's Journal.

crowded, the officers well dressed after the Burmese fashion, but the rest of the people with Shan jackets and blue trousers.

The Tsóbua is a remarkably fine tall man of about 55, but blind, which I did not know till afterwards, for when speaking to me he looked directly at me. He evidently thinks and acts for himself. He spoke in Shan, but understands Burmese perfectly. He addressed me immediately I was seated, saying that he was truly glad to find the English were willing to establish a friendly intercourse with him; that he had long wished it, and had been disappointed that no officer had ever before visited him, as we had been in the habit of going to Zimmé for a long time; that he had attempted to communicate with us, as I might have heard, but the jealousy of the Zimmé people would not permit it; that they did not wish us at all to have any communication with them; that fear alone had induced them to permit me to pass through their country at present. He asked about the Dakhong road, as he had understood it was intended that I should travel by it. The officer from Zimmé who was with me, related the whole affair perfectly correctly. The Tsóbua said that he had sent to Ava, and with the King's permission intended to make another effort to have the road thrown open; that matters of commerce and of war were distinct, the merchants passing through could do no harm. I made an excuse for the conduct of the Zimmé people, and told him I hoped the Chou Hona, on his return from Bankok, would comply with our wishes and permit all merchants a free passage.

The Commissioner's letter was then read by a Burman writer, and the Tsóbua listened attentively to its contents. He said his wishes were precisely the same as those conveyed in the letter; he was an advocate for a free communication with all the surrounding countries, and would joyfully render every assistance in his power to bring about so desirable an object.

He prayed for a continuation of that peace he had so long enjoyed with the Siamese through our means, though he now regretted to see symptoms of a breach on their part. That he had repeopled many of the deserted towns, and would continue to do so, but he feared the Siamese would not long remain quiet, except we interfered. With respect to my journey to China, he said that he was certain it was useless my attempting it, that the whole of the Kiang Húng district was in a state of anarchy and confusion; the Tsóbua had been dead some months, and his young son had fled to China, and that nothing appeared certain as to who would fill the vacant throne. Maha Noi was a claimant, though nobody knew where he was; and, though Chou Nó Kham had been driven from Kiang Húng, and numbers of his relations and followers put to death, there was no saying who would be the chief, and I ran personal risk, to no purpose, by proceeding there. The Chinese he said never interfered with their traders, for whom, in fact, they had a contempt, and would never believe, that an officer had come up solely for the purpose of obtaining permission for a commercial intercourse between merchants. That he could easily ensure a number of the Chinese, with his own traders visiting us, if they were at liberty only to pass through the territories of Zimmé. Finding I would not give up the point, he said, "Well, you must stay a few days with me, and we will talk about this by-and-bye; now tell me something about your country, &c." This was a signal for general conversation, and the topics discussed were as various and numerous as one could suppose; amongst others, the cause of the Burmese war was brought forward; they were well acquainted with the result, and from some expressions made use of by them, I am confirmed in my opinion that they have no esteem or regard for the Burmans, and it would not be a difficult matter to persuade them to throw off their allegiance to that nation. The Tsóbua's eldest son, a fine young man, occasionally whispered something to his father; he has an impediment in his speech; the second son is an intelligent lad. After paying a very long visit, I took my leave, attended to the door by the two sons, well pleased with my reception. They were much pleased with the presents sent by the Commissioner, especially with the fusils.

As my people were coming out, Paya Wang gave a hint that a present would be acceptable to recall me to his remembrance when absent. In the evening I sent him a fusil, and proposed to call upon him the next day, and also requested he would tell me what other officers I was expected to call upon. His reply was, that he could and would settle everything I required, so what was the necessity for my visiting any others; however, he would not say anything, as he might be considered envious..

23rd February.—The Tsóbua sent me a present of some delicious oranges, which came from a village three days' journey to the northward. I have had many applications today from people wishing to inspect my goods and to know their prices; they fancy that I am the head merchant of the party. They have no idea of my not having some goods for sale myself, as all their chiefs trade, from the Tsóbua downward. Some of the Chinese merchants even reside within the palace inclosure.

The whole of my day is taken up by visitors. The Tsóbua's connections brought me trays of various cooked dishes, fruit, rice, &c., &c., in the morning, as presents, and many other persons took advantage of their coming to satisfy their curiosity. On these occasions the women, whatever their rank may be, carry the trays.

Many Chinese merchants have been with me, hearing of the object of my mission, making inquiries about the Moulmein trade, and taking notes of the prices of different articles. The road *viâ* Zimmé not being open, is the only bar to numbers coming down. They all appear so eager that I feel obliged to recommend that some should first visit the place to satisfy themselves of the advantage of trading with us before they bring down their hundreds of mules of which they speak.

In

Captain McLeod's Journal.

In the evening I paid Paya Wang a visit; he resides immediately at the back of the Tsóbua's palace in a good large wooden house, built like those of the chiefs of Zimmé, but not kept particularly clean. He said it was necessary, that I should attend their consultation about my proceeding to China, or if I would visit the Tsóbua the next day, he had no doubt the point would be then decided. He informed me, that the Burmese Tseitké, who has been withdrawn lately, is at Moné, or Monáe, as the Shans call it; that the Meng myat bó, or Bó wun meng thá, as he is also called, a half brother of the King of Ava, who has the government of all the Shan States tributary to Ava, has his Yúm dau or royal court at that place, where a Burmese Tseitké is stationed; that all the Shan States are obliged to report to and receive orders from him, and that intelligence of my arrival and the object of my mission has already been sent to him.

I here met a respectable Chinese merchant named La Wang, who resides in the house; he has 150 mules, but has sent them with loads of cotton to Kien Toung or Muang Ku, and has remained behind to prepare a second load for them. We had a great deal of conversation about the Moulmein market, and the information given him by me appeared very satisfactory. The trade of this place is chiefly in the hands of the Chinese. He does not hold out much hopes of my being admitted into China. He thinks that if I had gone up as a merchant I might, perhaps, have succeeded.

24th February.—Waited on the Tsóbua, and was received as before; there was less formality observed than on that occasion; he again strongly advised me not to go to Kiang Húng. I proposed to endeavour to penetrate into China *viâ* Muang Lém, a province distant eight or ten days' journey in a north-westerly direction from this, and if I failed, to go to Ava *viâ* Thaini. He assured me that greater difficulties and dangers are to be met with on this road; that the Chinese even dared not travel by it; that the country between this and Muang Lém is inhabited by wild, independent tribes of Ka Kúis, who, like the Lawas (gaung piat Lawas, head-cutting-off Lawas) to the eastward of it and on the road to Thainí effectually prevent all communication; that the officers from Ava even dare not now go from Thainí to Muang Lém on business, however urgent. However, after some desultory conversation, and my telling him I was sure he had it in his power to ensure my reception at Kiang Húng, and civil treatment there even in its present disturbed state, he said, that as I was evidently bent on proceeding, he would not offer any further objections, but do all he can to ensure me a proper welcome there.

My visit was prolonged for nearly four hours. The position in which I was seated not being the most comfortable, which his son observing, whispered to his father; when pillows were ordered to be brought in for me. None of the officers are permitted to use these in the Tsòbua's presence. Refreshments were brought in for myself and party in much better style than at Zimmé, on silver trays, with a gold drinking cup for myself.

Though Paya Wang had given our merchants permission to sell, yet no person would purchase from them, requiring an official order before they ventured to do so. It is also necessary to have a Pue tsa or appraiser to value the uncoined silver current here, which being the same as in Ava, our unpractised traders are at the mercy of every rogue. As the presents made by the traders were not sufficient, I had before directed them to take suitable ones to the Tsóbua and Paya Wang, which they have done. To-day, on my application, an order was issued for the merchants of the place to consider the British merchants as their own countrymen at all times, and to trade with them. This is a great bazar day, one is held every five days, though there is a small bazar every day; on the present occasion the people from the neighbouring villages assemble in town to dispose of their goods.

The building I am residing in is close to the place where the bazar is held. The crowd was very great the whole day, Chinese, Shans, Burmans, Lawas, Ka Kúis, and Ka Kúas, all mixed together. They erect temporary stalls, with a cloth covering to protect them from the sun. Everything is procurable that the place affords. Rice, curries, meats, &c., are cooked and sold, and of which everybody appears to partake.

The Ka Kúis are found on the hills to the southward and eastward of this, and also to the northward towards Muang Lém; they reside in villages, but migrate from one place to another every three or four years. They cultivate grain, tobacco, chillies, &c., and cotton, which the Chinese obtain chiefly from them. They are said to pay no tax, but make such presents of mats, cloths, &c., to the chiefs, and also supply them with rice when they travel, as well as carry their baggage.

They are a short, ugly, and dirty race, much given to ardent spirits, like all the hill tribes. Their dress is much like that of the Shans, the head-dress of the women being ornamented with beads and strips of bamboo, of which the ornaments worn by them round their necks and in their ears are also made.

They have no written language, and have no idea of a Supreme Being or a future state, but worship (nats) spirits. They bury their dead, and all belonging to one family are placed in the same grave. An aperture is left near the head, into which food is daily placed for the use of the corpse.

The defence of the passes in the mountains is entrusted to them; their arms being the crossbow, poisoned arrows, spears, and matchlocks. They are said to number between 40,000 and 50,000. They commit frequent depredations, carrying off cattle and plundering caravans; the late Tsóbua of Kiang Húng found it necessary to send a force to chastise them, since which they have kept within bounds.

Captain M°Leod's Journal.

The Ka Kúas resemble the Ka Kúis generally in their habits and dress, but are considered more civilised. They wear their hair like the Chinese, with a tail. The married women only wear a head-dress, which is only made when they are entitled to adopt it; they will not part with this on any consideration, and it is buried with them at their death. This race is much afflicted with gôitre.

They are found chiefly in the mountains on both banks of the Mé Khong, and on those near the Nam Lém and Nam Té. They reside in villages, consisting of 10 or 15 houses, and cultivate the hills like the Ka Kúis, whose ideas of religion they likewise adopt. Their language resembles the Chinese in sound, but whether derived from it or not I cannot ascertain, but they consider themselves to be a colony from China. They have no written characters; I have not been able to obtain an estimate of their numbers.

The Lawas, who are here considered the aborigines of the country, are located to the eastward and round Muang Niong. The wild and independent tribes of this race are found in the high mountainous country to the northward and westward of Muang Lém; they hold little communication with their neighbours, and never willingly permit a stranger to penetrate into their mountains, and rob the caravans whenever they can. They are said to be 80,000 in number, and their villages large, consisting of 400 or 500 houses, and ruled by independent chiefs, who are frequently at war with each other. The heads of the conquered are much prized, and serve to decorate the warriors' houses. At this season, especially, heads are in requisition for the purpose of propitiating the nats (genii) of the woods and hills, and insuring good crops, and these they obtain by inveigling unsuspicious travellers into an ambuscade, and when secured, the heads are passed from house to house with much ceremony and rejoicing.

Some of this tribe, however, who live on the immediate borders of China near Muang Má, a large town belonging to Muang Lém, are said to give gold, which is found in the hills, in exchange for cattle, betel nut, salt, and silver.

The Mútsa is another tribe, not so large as the others; they are found both to the eastward and westward of this, and are chiefly under this place, Kiang Húng Muang Lém and Kiang Khieng. They dress, as far as I can understand, like the Ka Kúas. They are much addicted to spirits, bury their dead, have no written character, worship nats, and polygamy is only permitted, if the wife is barren. I did not see any of this race. Their language is described as a mixture of Burmese and Chinese, most of the former. Some can, however, write Chinese.

The Red Karengs, on the western bank of the Salween (called Niangs here), and by the Chinese Yang tsa, are said to be a part of a Chinese force who overslept themselves, and were left behind by the main army, when obliged to retreat (where from, nobody can tell me), for want of supplies. This took place in the time of the renowned Maha thata, a wise monarch, who reigned in Pinsaharit (some part of China), and was, in fact, Gaudama, the present Buddh, in one of his numerous but principal transmigrations.

They are said still to have the Chinese seal amongst them. Their forces are estimated here at only 300 musketeers, but they have numbers armed with bows, spears, &c.

25th February.—The Tsóbua sent a party of Burmese actors and musicians to amuse me, with a message that his two sons would call. They accordingly came in state, the elder with four gold chattas, and the younger with two. During the time the players were acting before us, I endeavoured to amuse them by showing them what curiosities I had, which did not amount to many, but everything in my possession was novel to them. The elder prince said he was anxious to learn English, and got a few words by heart. He regrets that their customs are such as to render his visiting Moulmein and Calcutta out of the question. I could only assure him of a welcome at both places, should he ever venture so far. His younger brother is even more intelligent than he is. They remained with me from ten to three.

They informed me that intelligence had been received that morning of the arrival, at Kiang Húng, of a force of 2,000 Chinese. That some of the troops from Kiang Túng had also been sent there.

Paya Wang accompanied the princes, and staid after they went away; he asked me, on his arrival, to send for Puniah Pap, the officer from Zimmé, who accompanied the officer belonging to this place back, and who is the head of the frontier village. I declined doing so in my own name, but told him he was at liberty to do so, if he pleased. This person resides in a small zeat close to me, but has not come near me, though the officer who escorted me from Zimmé lives in the same house as I do. He was sent for by the minister, just before the princes went away. He appears very apprehensive of being punished on his return to Zimmé for having come to this place.

Paya Wang informed me that it is the Tsóbua's wish to have me escorted properly to Kiang Húng, but he is doubtful whether it would be wise. He must pretend, to prevent mischief at Ava, that I had insisted upon going on, and he had unwillingly permitted me to do so. He represents the Burmans as being very jealous, and having, by their conduct, driven the last Tsóbua from his country; that they are very avaricious and greedy at Ava.

In the evening I walked through the town, and round part of the fort. The houses are chiefly like those of Zimmé, though some like those of Kubbó are also to be seen; they are raised on high posts, the sides and floor of split bamboos, and the roof covered with grass; they are separated from each other generally by a bamboo fence, and the enclosures of some are laid out in gardens, but even these are partially overgrown with jungle. The houses themselves are old, and appear as if they had been deserted for a long

Captain McLeod's Journal.

long time, and then reoccupied. There are not above six or seven wooden ones in the place, and those belong to the Tsóbua's family.

I should think that the town contains about 600 houses. The palace stands in the centre of the town; to the southward and westward of it are low hills and swamps; this portion is totally uninhabited. The roads to the north are narrow, and the houses, which are very poor, are widely separated from each other. In some places near the fort walls and some new monasteries, as if the road were not narrow enough, people were digging pits in it, and with the mud making bricks. It is a miserable place, and I could never have fancied an inhabited place, the residence of a Tsóbua, in such a wretched state. The pomegranate and the custard apple are the only fruit trees in the place. Peas, beans, &c., grow here in abundance.

There are some good kyoungs or monasteries, and places of worship, decorated with gilt ornaments, and the walls painted; they are in every way superior to similar buildings at Zimmé. This is partly accounted for by the work having been done by Chinamen. The priests, too, are stricter in the discharge of their religious duties, and do not parade the streets for amusement; the only point in which they are said to be rather lax is eating after mid-day.

The fort stands on high ground at the foot of the range of hills passed by us on the march, and which run to the north and north-east. On the north-western side are fields extending from three to eight miles, bounded by high mountains; on the other sides are swamps and low hills. The wall on the southern face has been lately extended, in consequence of an order from Ava, directing that all Tsóbuas shall surround their capitals with walls 6,000 cubits in circumference. The wall, which is about 15 feet high including the parapet, consists of a double wall of brick and mud of about two feet thick, with the space between them filled up with earth. In many places the weight of the earth during the rains has brought down portions of the wall, and parties of Chinamen are at work repairing these breaches, the inhabitants paying them for their labour. This industrious race furnishes the only artisans in the place. Many of them come in search of work, be it what it may, during the dry season, and after collecting a little money together they return to their homes. But to return to the fort; it has 12 gates, four or five of which are on the eastern face, but it has no bastions or embrasures for cannon. The wall, following the conformation of the ground, presents a most irregular fortification. I did not see a single piece of ordnance in the place. Swamps supply the place of a ditch, and where these do not exist, a cutting has been made in some places to the depth of 30 feet from the foot of the wall through the hilly ground to a level with the swamps, but no water enters it. Finally, its position is not strong, having the hills to the southward equally high, if not higher.

The extent of the Kiang Túng territory is at present considerable, reaching from the Salween to the Combodia river, and embracing many states formerly governed by different Tsóbuas, many of whom with their followers are now at Zimmé and other Siamese places. Of these, the principal are the Tsóbuas of Muang Niong, Kiang Then or Tsen, Muang Lem, Muang Lap, &c. To the eastward it is bounded by the Mé Khong and the territory of the Kiang Khieng Tsóbua; to the north-east, by the Kiang Húng territories; to the northward, by Muang Lem; to the westward, by the Salween; to the south-west, by some towns belonging to Moné; and to the southward, by Zimmé, &c. The town stands in 21° 17′ 48″ north latitude, and about 99° 40′ east longitude. Water boiled here at 208½ Fahrenheit.

The average range of the thermometer during my stay here, was at—

	In the House.	In the Sun.
6 A.M.	42°	—
9 „	64°	80°
12 „	74°	98°
3 P.M.	82°	110°
6 „	76°	—

I always find a fire at night necessary.

Kiang Túng is a great thoroughfare for the Chinese, who pass through it and spread themselves over its territories, or proceed to Moné and other Shan states on the western bank of the Salween.

They import the same articles as they do to Zimmé, with the addition of woollen cloths, carpets, thick cotton cloth, warm and fur jackets, and salt. For this last article, the inhabitants are entirely dependent on them.

Their exports consist chiefly of cotton and some tea from this and other districts to the north. Many of the traders who do not proceed further than this, are well known here, and have agents to prepare cotton for them before they arrive; this is sent off, the head merchant remaining behind to make his arrangements for a second supply, and his mules return from China bringing nothing but salt. Even some of those who go to Moné make two trips in the season. Those, however, who only come from the towns on the border of China, make three or four trips.

The merchants, during the first or second journey, frequently sell their cotton on the road, but never during the last trip; some must be taken home to be worked up during the monsoon, when all communication with these states is cut off. They likewise export to

Captain McLeod's Journal.

the frontier towns of China coarse cloth, which they purchase from the Ka Kúis and other hill tribes; this is entirely carried by coolies.

The men I have met here, come chiefly from Kien Toung, Shué Yunan, Mitú, Yunan, Puer, Esmok, and a few from Talé. La Wang gave me the accompanying list, as the prices of the articles in China, and what they are sold for here, though, in fact, they exchange their goods for cotton, &c.

IMPORTS.	Purchase Price in China.	Vending Price here.
	Ticals.	
Silk, 5 sorts, from 32 to 40 cubits, each piece	25 to 50	25 to 50
„ Raw, each bundle, weighing 2 viss	25	27
Iron Pots, weighing 1 viss each	¾	1½
Ditto - - ditto 2 ditto	1½	3
Quicksilver - ditto, 1 viss	5	5
Red Lead, 1 parcel of 90 Burmese tical	2	3 to 4
Carpets or Rugs, large, each	2½	4½
Ditto - - - small, ditto	1½	2¾
Salt, 100 viss	5	100
Flowered tinsel cloth, per yard	2½	4½
	Annas.	*Annas.*
Walnuts, per 100	6	8
	Ticals.	
Honey, 36 viss	10	1¾ per viss
Straw hats, each	2½ to 4	4 to 6
Fur jackets	12 to 150	16 to 200

EXPORTS.	Quantity.	Price.
Tea - - - - - - - - purchased at	1 viss	1¼
Ivory - - - - - - - - „ -	1 „	2½
Rhinoceros horns - - - - - - „ -	1 „	10 to 15
Gold thread, best sort - - - - - - -	2 to 4	—
Birds' wings and feathers - - - - - -	per 100	35
Cotton - - - - - - - - - - -	„ viss	40 to 60

The viss quoted is the Shan viss, except when stated to the contrary. It is 20 or 25 per cent. less than the Burmese viss. The silver current here is the same as at Ava, and also the Chinese silver which is better, some being nearly pure.

The fur of the fue-chu is of a grey colour, and is considered the best; a jacket of this costs from 150 to 200 ticals. The animal from which the fur is obtained is a little larger than a rat, and lives on fruit. They are very scarce.

The next in estimation is that of the huli, both brown and white; the animal is the size of a large dog. It requires three skins to make a jacket, its price about 50 or 80 ticals; and the last sort is of sheepskin, with or without silk, from 12 to 16 ticals.

The Chinese maintain that the Ka Kúas and Ka Kúis came originally from China, from the Yuingian hills, called by the Shans Wingian, in the direction of Talé, and the Mútsa from Wi-nien-fú.

It is stated here that the last war between China and Ava originated in a quarrel amongst some boys, which ended in an affray, in which a Chinaman lost his life; the Chinese would have life for life, the Burmans or Shans declined to satisfy them in that manner, but offered the price of blood, which was refused by the Chinese, and an army was in consequence sent towards Ava by them. The peace was brought about by the intrigues of the commanders on both sides, by which the kings of each nation considered either that he had conquered the other, or that the other acknowledged his superiority, and in submission sent tributary offerings.

The duty collected on the traders from China to Moné, including presents, &c., is 2½ ticals on each mule, and back to China, about two more.

Paya-Wang brought me a message from the Tsóbua, requesting me to return here from Kiang Húng, as he was certain I should not be able to get any further. I told him that my

Captain McLeod's Journal.

my object was to open a communication with as many of the surrounding States as I could, and if I failed to penetrate into China or to Ava, I wished to return by the road on the eastern bank of the Mé Khóng, either that travelled by the Chinese usually, or the other one (which he assured me did not exist), as I must myself see the practicability of our merchants frequenting it, when I should be better able to discuss the matter with the Chou Hona at Zimmé. He told me they wished me to remain until they hear from Moné, but as I am in such a hurry, the Tsóbua has ordered only a petty officer to accompany me, and hopes I will not be offended.

It is fixed that I shall take leave of the Tsóbua to-morrow, and start in the evening.

The men here are not tall, generally rather dark, with broad faces, and small noses, though not flat; the chiefs, however, are fine tall men, fair and appear a distinct race altogether, one might almost say Chinese. They dress in the glazed dark blue Shan jackets, and wide blue trowsers; the Chinese jacket, both of cloth and fur, is common amongst them. They preserve their hair long, and wear a turban like the Burmans, and in the day-time when going about, a Chinese hat. The only ornament worn by the chiefs is a gold bangle. The betel utensils are here of gold or silver, according to the person's rank, carried in a Shan box as in Burmah. They do not chew the betel leaf and areca nut to the same excess as the Siamese, perhaps because it is not a produce of the country; they have, nevertheless, succeeded pretty well in getting black teeth. There is not an areca nut tree in the whole territory, and they are entirely dependent upon the Zimmé and Labong people for it. The price is here four ticals for a bundle of nuts, which contains 288 nuts cut up, and strung on strips of the bark of a certain jungle tree. A cocoa-nut sells for half a tical; it is also brought from the lower provinces.

The women are looked upon here in an inferior light to what they are in Burmah. Many of those who brought trays on their heads to me were the daughters of the first officers of the place, and were hardly noticed by the men. They are rather a short race, not fair, and broad featured; they wear a petticoat like the Siamese Shans, both in texture and make; a jacket is a part of their dress, and on their heads the young women carry a loosely-folded cotton handkerchief, having the appearance of a turban; and the elder women, when moving about in the sun, a small neat hat, made of bamboos delicately cut, which they place on the knot of hair at the back of their head. Amongst those who travel leggings are common.

There are a good many Burmans here; those belonging to the Ava Government at present consist but of six men. The others are traders from Moné and Ava, whence they bring English piece-goods, which are in demand here.

Our traders having found a good market, and hearing that the road to Kiang Húng runs over high mountains which afford no forage for their elephants, and of the disturbed state of the province, have determined on remaining.

The following list will show how profitable they find the trade here:—

	Price at Moulmein.	Vending Price here.
	Rs.	*Tical.*
White Book Muslin, a piece	3	9
Cotton Handkerchief, per 100, from	22 to 40	30 to 50
Red Cotton Stuff, per piece	15	35
Long Cloth, 80 cubits	13	35
Muslin, 25 cubits	7½	15
Silk Handkerchiefs, a piece of 7	9	15
Pulicat Handkerchief, 1 piece	3	3
Coarse Woollen Cloth for covering, 5 yards	5	9
Common Lappet	4	6
Carpets	4	10

The prices given are the Moulmein retail prices, and in rupees, and the Kiang Túng wholesale price, and in Yuet ní silver.

Several of the merchants of the place have at various times visited Moulmein, but *viâ* Rangoon. I made inquiries about the road through the Red Kareng country, and along the western bank of the Salween, which would be a much shorter way to bring up goods than the other. By that road there would be no necessity to pass through Moné, but through Mok Maí, Kaing Kham, and Kaing-toung; and from the Salween to this place is about six men's stages. The Burmans object to this road, from fear of the Red Karengs seizing and selling them, but no doubt Dr. Richardson's mission will remedy this evil.

The Salween is called by the Shans, both tributary to Ava and Siam, Mé Khóng, and by the Chinese Li Kiang, or Lun Kiang and Kin Lun Kiang. I could not gain any information regarding its source; some say it issues from the Talé lake, others from a tank on the top of a hill, one day's journey north-east of Talé; others again that its source is further to the northward, while some assert that it is a branch of the Mê Khong or Combodia River, called by the Chinese Ku Lun Kiang. This last notion must arise

Captain McLeod's Journal.

from the similarity of the two names; of the conflicting statements I incline to that which places it far beyond Talé.

This river, though its bed is rocky throughout, is reported to be navigable to the falls near Moulmein. A survey of it, as far as it is practicable to ascend it, is a desideratum. From its course it is of the utmost importance to us; it flows through a great portion of the country, partially or wholly subject to China, to Ava, to Siam, as well as the territories of the Red Karengs, to our possessions on the coast, and, if navigable, at once lays open the trade of those countries to us by a more direct and easy route. But we are unfortunately ignorant of its capabilities, no person having, I believe, ascended it further than 70 or 80 miles from the coast.

The Shans not navigating it is no proof of its being unavailable for this purpose; it passes no town of theirs, and unlike the Burmans, they appear to place no value on water-communication.

Should it be found navigable, even to the ferry on the road between Moné and Kiang Túng, a mart might be formed there for the sale and exchange of British piece goods and Chinese produce. Judging from the present demand for articles of British manufacture, and the high prices realised, a flourishing trade might be expected to spring up, especially when the facilities and cheapness of water-carriage are brought to bear on it.

We might expect to derive some advantage from the tea found in the neighbouring districts should it prove good. The plant, I conclude, is the same as that of China, as the leaf resembles the description of that given in the "Asiatic Journal," and the fact of the Chinese themselves taking away considerable quantities of it. The process of preparing the leaf for use by the Shans is rude and simple; it consists of merely subjecting the leaf to a little artificial heat, and then to exposure in the sun. This does not produce a fair specimen of tea for English tea drinkers to pass an opinion on. However, if desirable, I dare say that no great objection would exist to forming depôts for its proper preparation.

The Shans here call the inhabitants of the different States around them as follows:—They call themselves, Khén; the inhabitants of China, Hau; those of Ava, Mán; those of Kiang Húng, Lu; those of Muang Lém, Lém; those of Zimmé, Tai Nium; those of Siam, Chou Tai, also Tai Láo, and Tai Na; those of Cochin China, Kió; the Northern Shans they call Phóng and Tai Niu; the Mioné Shans, Khum.

Kiang Húng is also called Sip Song Pana (the same name is made use o by the inhabitants of that place), or 12 panas or cities.

Kiang Túng is said originally to have comprised 32 towns, Sam Sip Song Muang; thence Gongthounze Nhit Myo, 32 cities of the Gong, the name given to the inhabitants by the Burmans, and the place itself Kaing Toung. The Burmans invariably change the word Muang, or city, to Maing, and Kiang to Kaing. The Pale name for this province is Khémarata.

27th February.—I was to have seen the Tsóbua to day, and then to have started, but he sent me a message, begging I would put off my visit until to-morrow, as he is unwell.

Some Burmans arrived to-day from Muang Lém (called by them Maing lengyi), where they have been from Ava to demand the tribute due, which the authorities have of late been remiss in forwarding, and are supposed to be somewhat discontented, and disposed to discontinue offering presents of submission. That state is tributary both to China and to Ava; it pays, annually, tribute to the former, and triennially to the latter. Kiang Má is a state to the north-west, similarly subjected.

Though the authorities here assure me to the contrary, I hear that there is a road from Muang Lém into China, by which its communication with the province of Yunan is kept up; that some Chinese do go there and carry away both cotton and tea. The states in that direction report to Shun lin fú or Shun li fú. It is said to be nine days' journey to the Mé Khong River from Muang Lém, and four more to Muang Lá. There is a direct road from this into China due north, through the Kiang Húng territory, though not the city itself, but within two marches of it; 10 days to the Ka Kúi Hills on the borders, and near the Mé Khong, where the Kiang Húng territories end, and those of the Chinese Shans commence, and five days more to Muang Lá. It is necessary, travelling by this road, to hire a strong guard to escort one from Muang Wong; the Ka Kús, who inhabit the hills, never failing to rob travellers if not properly guarded.

The tribute paid to Ava by Kiang Túng is annual, consisting of the usual gold and silver flowers, cups, ponies, saddle, &c.

The revenue of the Tsóbua is derived from his own fields and trade, and the presents made by the Myotsas once a year and by the people generally; nothing in the place is taxed. Twenty per cent. is levied on all suits decided respecting money, which goes to the officers, and the fines in criminal cases partly to the Tsóbua. He is expected to furnish 5,000 troops to Ava, if called upon, during war. None from this were employed against us during the Burmese War; they were exempted on the plea of watching the Siamese. The whole force of the territory, including the hill tribes, some of whom are armed with matchlocks, are said to amount to 30,000. The matchlocks are made by the Lawas; the iron is procured amongst the hills, but their chief supply is from China.

The same system is in force here as in Ava, for recruiting and keeping up troops.

The Tsóbua is said to be a bold, intrepid man, and but for his blindness, the people of Zimmé would find him a troublesome neighbour. He is much beloved by his subjects. Having lost his wife some months ago, he has lately married the daughter of the Kiang Khúng Tsóbua, a lady who has arrived at the years of discretion.

The

Captain McLeod's Journal.

The same system of oppression is not pursued here as in Ava; I observed the officers of Government speak kindly and frequently to the people about them and in the streets; and the same obsequiousness is not met with. All the chiefs and officers are Shans of this province.

The Burmese code of law is in force here; justice is equitably administered, and though a few abuses exist, yet on the whole, the people have good grounds to rejoice at the mild and paternal Government exercised over them.

28th February.—At about 12 to-day I was invited to the palace. The Tsóbua is still ailing. He again spoke of the useless journey I was about to undertake, as I could not settle anything, there being no chief or head at Kiang Húng; he had, however, given orders for me to be escorted, so as at the same time not to give offence at Ava. He assured me of the great respect and esteem he had for the British character, and of his sincere desire to be on the most friendly terms with us. He urged me to use my best endeavours to have the road through Zimmé thrown open, and, failing there, to send to Bankok, for the king would not refuse us anything. I assured him that he could not possibly be more anxious than we were on this point, and that, of course, we should lose no proper opportunity of bringing it about. He complained of the reception his officer had met with at Zimmé, and the tone of the letter written to him, all of which he attributed to the Chou-Hona. He said that he was aware the Zimmé officer was present, but he did not wish to conceal his sentiments; that they had refused to hold any communication with him for fear of his relations escaping or intriguing with him; that such was not his aim; he did not wish to cause a war, but he was strong, and, had he a desire to make the attempt to release his relatives he would be backed by troops from Ava; he, however, preferred peace and quietness, and to improve his country by trade. We pressed the Siamese officer to repeat all he has heard, and to satisfy his chiefs that we are both only desirous to trade with them and through their country. The Tsóbua requested I would return by this road as he did not wish to encumber me with the presents he intended making, and that he wishes to send an officer and some merchants back with me. I repeated what I had before said to Paya Wang, but promised to send my writer back for the letters, &c., from Kiang Húng; whether I went forward or returned, as I should leave my elephants here, and that person would return with them to Moulmein. That with respect to the merchants, I thought, as nothing had been finally settled about the road with the authorities at Zimmé, they might take umbrage at any of them accompanying me. I knew that they would not dare to send an officer without obtaining permission from Ava, so I said nothing about him.

He promised to give our traders every encouragement and facility for trading; that they might go where they pleased, and if they wanted cattle or anything, and did not wish to go out to the villages, he would order the owners to bring them in.

That no duty, either export or import, should be levied on our merchants, and that the only things he objected to be made a traffic of and taken out of the country were men and women. I explained to him our abhorrence of this trade. He expressed a hope that I would repeat my visit, and that any officer visiting him should be at liberty to go where he pleased through his territories.

As he had asked me frequently if there was anything that I wished for, for nothing should be refused me, I begged of him to-day to procure for me a history of the province, which I am anxious to possess. He assured me that there is only one copy in the place, which he could not, therefore, part with; but he would have extracts made from it and deliver them to the person I sent back from Kiang Húng.

He was much pleased with a present I made him of a handsome large musical box. I was induced to give this in return for the great attention and kindness I have received. The Tsóbua felt everything about the box, and had the works explained to him, as well as they could be to a blind man, and it is surprising how quickly he appeared to comprehend its mechanism. He deplored his inability to see any of the handsome presents I had made them, but he was thankful that he was not deprived of the blessing of hearing, and could enjoy music, of which he was very fond.

He regretted that the deprivation of sight prevented his looking at an English officer. He told me that his blindness first commenced in the beginning of 1824, at Ava. He had been under the treatment of many Chinese doctors; one had couched one eye, and he saw distinctly with it for 20 days, when he consented to have the other eye operated upon; but, instead of finding the same relief as on the former occasion, he was seized with a violent pain in his head, became sick, and totally blind. He entreated me to inquire if he could be cured, and, if so, to ask the Commissioner to send a doctor up, whom he would reward handsomely.

I stayed at the palace until it was too late to start. When about to take my leave, the Tsóbua, after many professions of regard and esteem, requested I would not consider the Kiang Túng people like those of Zimmé; that they are sincere in their professions, whereas he has heard that the others are so outwardly, but not in their hearts.

In the evening a number of Chinese came to wish me a pleasant journey.

I gave the Zimmé officer, who returns from this, a note to the authorities at that place, taking the blame of his visiting Kiang Túng on myself, and requesting that he might be held blameless. I also made him a liberal present.

I have said little about the customs, manners, &c., of the people, for they resemble those of the Burmans in all respects. The language is the same as that spoken and written at Zimmé, with some slight difference in the pronunciation.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

From Kiang Túng to Kiang Húng.

1st March.—From Kiang Túng to Ban Pa Khan. Direction, N. 10 E. Estimated Distance, 6 miles. Time, 1 h. 49 m.

A Shan officer and 10 men came to escort me; I left my elephants at Kiang Túng as, in the first place, they were totally unfit for the journey; and, in the next, I hoped to dispose of them; my baggage is carried by ponies, which I had purchased at different times.

The first part of the journey to-day was over fields, and then, with the exception of in the immediate neighbourhood of two villages, we passed over grassy plains with clumps of small bamboos, and a few fine banian trees here and there.

On the way we crossed the Mé Lap, at the village of Ban Phung, over a good bridge. This stream is about 20 feet broad and two deep, flowing from the hills to the south-east and going to the northward through the plains, watering several villages which are seen around.

1.49. We halted at Ban Pa Khan, though anxious to have gone on further, but the officer with me assured me there was no water to be found for miles after commencing the ascent of the hills, to which we are now close. The village contains about 50 houses, with some fields in its vicinity; but is, like all those in this neighbourhood, and the town itself, destitute of trees, a few small custard apple and pomegranate being the only ones seen about the place; the produce of their gardens are peas, radishes, tobacco, &c.

The plains traversed to-day afford pasture to numerous herds of fine black cattle; we saw likewise some ponies grazing; those bred in this part of the country are not fine ones, and are chiefly used for carrying loads; their price varies from 35 to 50 ticals.

We met a party of Chinese, who had come from their country for the sole purpose of being employed as coolies for the season; they were making bricks, for which they receive 3½ ticals per 1,000, the villagers assisting to make the kilns, and supplying the wood to burn them.

2nd March.—From Ban Pa Khan to Ban Tapin. Direction, N. 35 E. Estimated Distance, 18 miles. Time, 6 h. 2 m.

We started at six, and had a most laborious day's march over high hills, but the road very good and shady; the hills are covered with forest trees and with little or no brush-wood. Some of the coolies were not in till six in the evening.

0.35m. On starting we proceeded along the valley to the foot of the range, and commenced the
1.38. ascent, which was very steep, and reached a zeat, considered as one bullock's stage. We continued to ascend, and having passed over the highest point of this portion of the hills,
3.16. reached a second zeat, in very good order, situated on the sloping shoulder of two hills, near some fine banian trees. From the first zeat to this is estimated another bullock's march.

We ascended again from the second zeat, and passed the only pine forest seen to-day on the top of the highest hill in the second range; the trees remarkably fine and large.

4.50. After this we descended considerably, but once more ascended to the top of a high hill, where we found another zeat.

From this third zeat the regular descent commenced; it was very steep in some places, and continued so to the Nam Lué, which we crossed in the ferry-boat, and halted at the village of Tipan, consisting of three Lawa houses. In the neighbourhood there are three or four small Lawa villages, the inhabitants of which, having heard of my intended arrival, had assembled to have a look at me.

During the journey, we easily obtained water at the two first zeats, from springs close at hand; at the last one, however, there was some difficulty, the spring being a considerable way down the side of the hill.

We met with many pathways between the first and second zeats, leading to villages and to cultivated spots on the side of the hills. From some parts of the road distant ranges of hills were visible I counted five, each higher than the other; all appeared to be thickly wooded. There are many Lawa villages to be found on them. We met many of the tribe carrying cloth from the town to dye of a red colour, an art in which they are said to excel. Some we found employed felling trees in the pine forest, and sawing them into planks, while others were carrying away the chips to sell in the bazars. The duty of keeping in order the zeats which we passed falls to them.

The Nam Lué is about 150 feet broad and four feet deep, with a rocky bed; it flows rapidly past in a north-easterly direction, and joins the Mé Lém.

A person is stationed here to collect at the rate of about 2 annas on every mule crossing the ferry; in lieu of money, trifling articles are given, chiefly salt, which is in great demand. This man stated that only 2,000 mules had passed this year.

3rd March.—From Ban Tapin to Muang Ma or Ban Kap.—Direction, N. 45 E. Estimated Distance, 16 miles. Time, 5 h. 7 m.

15m. Began our march by passing over a low hill, and then crossing Mé Lá Kung, a stream of about 10 feet wide, and after going along its bank for a short distance, we commenced
50. to ascend the range of mountains at the foot of which the Nam Lué flows. Having
1.45. attained the summit, we proceeded along the ridge for some distance, and then commenced

Captain McLeod's Journal.

menced to descend, and reached a plain (a good spot for encamping on), with a small stream, the Mé Foi, flowing through it.

From this the road follows the course of the stream at the foot of the hills, and occasionally over low hills which had been partially cleared for cultivation. We then reached another but larger plain (bounded on two sides by low hills) with some fields and gardens, and a few deserted houses, which I conclude had been occupied temporarily during the harvest season. In the gardens there was some fine tobacco and indigo growing, and in the fields a number of cattle were grazing. 3.41.

At the further extremity of the plain we came upon the Mé Má, a stream of 50 feet wide, flowing from the westward. It here receives the waters of the Mé Foi, and takes a turn to the northward. The hills now receded, diminishing in height to the northward, and the road runs through an open country. Having passed within sight of five or six villages, we crossed the Mé Má, halted at the village of Ban-Kap, consisting of about 40 houses. 5.7.

On our march along the top of the hills, we came upon some pathways leading to the Lawa villages to the westward, and after being an hour and a half on the journey, we reached the road branching off to Kiang Khieng and Muang Niong. So far the road had been considerably widened lately for the convenience of the Tsóbua's bride, nevertheless it continued tolerably wide and good throughout.

This place is the residence of the Muang Má Myotsa, a chief for whose maintenance it is assigned. The villages situated in the valley are included in the Muang Mâ district and belong to the same person; they are about 20, I am told, and that the number of houses in each varies from 15 to 30. The valley itself is rich, being watered by the Mé Má, and is nearly all under cultivation. The rice grown here is particularly white. The stream derives its name from a legend which asserts that it issues from the mouth of a horse.

The chief, a fine-looking old man, clad half in the Shan and half in the Chinese costume, which give him a strong resemblance to a Chinaman, came and called on me, bringing with him a plentiful supply of rice, &c., for myself and party; he, like the other subjects of the Tsóbua, was glad to see me.

There is a road from this to Muang Móng, running over hills which are not high; by it the Zimmé Shans formerly advanced to this place, and the chief was amongst those taken; he made his escape from Zimmé, leaving many of his family behind.

The houses here are far superior to those in Kiang Tûng; of better materials, larger, cleaner, and with verandahs; they are surrounded by nice gardens, in which an abundance of tobacco, radishes, peas, indigo, and safflower grow. The place possesses a small gilt pagoda, and a good monastery.

There are a good many artificial tanks supplied with water by the mountain streams on their passage to the Mé Má; these are used as preserves for fish, which swarm in them.

4th March.—From Ban Kap or Muang Má to Talau. Direction, N. 50 E. Estimated Distance, 14 miles. Time, 4 h. 36 m.

We continued to proceed along the valley of the Mê Má and passed several villages all watered by small streams from the hills; we then passed over a range of very low hills which close the valley to the northward, and crossed the Nam Mé, which is the boundary between the Muang Má and Muang La districts, in a few minutes after. 1.32.

From this the road passed over low hills and through narrow valleys (the former gradually diminishing in height), and finally we reached the valley and town of Muang La. The valley is about six miles in length and two in breadth, and the town contains about 35 houses, and stands on the banks of the Me Má. There are not so many villages in this valley as in the one we halted in yesterday. The banian tree is frequently seen and of some size, but their roots not deep, consequently many had been blown down. 3.40.

The coolies we brought from town were changed at Muang Má, and those again from that place were relieved here, which detained us a little.

We continued our march along the valley and crossed the Mé Má at a narrow gorge, which encloses the valley of Muang La, and beyond which is that in which Talau stands, and reached the town itself and put up in a large zeat.

Close to the place where we crossed the Mé Má, a pagoda is erected in a conspicuous spot on the side of a hill, to mark the boundary between the Kiang Túng and Kiang Húng territories.

This place and the villages around it, of which there are a good many, are similarly situated to those before passed; the town stands on the right bank of the Mé Lam, a large stream of from 150 to 320 feet, flowing into the Mé Khong. The Mé Má likewise waters the fields to the eastward of the town, and there joins the Mé Lam a few miles below the place. The town contains about 200 houses, and is the seat of one of the petty Tsóbuas, one of the Sip tson panas (12 panas or cities) under Kiang Húng.

The houses are well-built, chiefly of bamboos, and raised on good posts; they stand close together, some few with a slight bamboo paling round them, but without any garden or out-houses.

The road near the palace is clean and good; the Tsóbua's residence is built of wood and thatched like the other houses; it is surrounded by a brick-and-mud wall. The pitch of the roof of all the houses here is extraordinarily high.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

There is here a monastery and brick temple. This last is very handsomely gilt, and ornamented in the Chinese style. The roof is tiled, but the tiles are so much vitrified that, at a distance, the roof appears to be gilt.

The chief of this town is the Prime Minister at Kiang Húng, where he now is. His son called on me and said he was certain that his father would be glad to see me. Some of his near relations, too, have been carried to Zimmé, where they now are. My visitor was very fair, and followed the former fashion of the country, in having merely one ear bored; few, however, adhere to the custom now.

The dress of the people here is a mixture of Chinese, Shan, and Burmese costumes; their jackets made after the fashion of the former, the trowsers of the second, and turbans of the last. The women dress precisely the same as those of Kiang Túng.

On our way to-day, at no distance from the village of Ban-Kap, we found a young Chinaman under a tree, suffering from fever; he had been left there by his companions six days before, with a small fire and a little rice. He was suffering much pain internally, and was so weak, that though his head was below the level of his body, yet he could not move to put himself in a more easy posture. The cold alone was likely to have caused death to a sick person, the thermometer generally in the morning being about 40 Fahr.; he had been passed by hundreds of his countrymen, and seen by the villagers, yet none assisted him. On inquiry, I found that it is their custom thus to leave behind those who are sick or unable to travel, sometimes erecting a shed over them. I suspect, however, this barbarous act is generally had recourse to by those who are in no way connected with the sufferers, to get possession of their property. There was no excuse for leaving the person we saw as they had done; he said that he and his party (two others) belonged to Esmok or Muang Lá, and there was no urgent necessity for their hurrying on, as the rains were not near. Being within a few hundred yards of the village, and ascertaining that a doctor resided in it, I sent for him; and though he objected at first to undertake even to visit the sick man, he agreed to erect a shed just outside the village, to remove the person there, to feed and attend him, for a trifling consideration. They have some superstition against admitting men so left into their villages. All that the villagers or passengers do is to bury the corpse, if too near the place, or to set fire to the shed under which it may be.

Both yesterday and to-day we passed a great number of Chinese, proceeding to and returning from Kiang Túng. The plains near the villages are seen dotted over with white patches (all their cotton being packed in coarse white cloth), marking their encamping ground, and their mules grazing in all directions. The men also wander about, leaving their goods under the guardianship of fierce Tartar dogs, who well perform the duty entrusted to them.

They do not commence their march until about seven in the morning, and travel till about 11, when they halt until three in the evening, and proceed again till five, or near dark. The mules are let loose on all these occasions, and never wander to any distance from the ground on which their loads are deposited. The voices of their masters are so well known to them, that they are seen running towards them, from any distance, when called. They occasionally get a little paddy, beyond what they pick up themselves; on the march, they regularly follow each other in strings, all muzzled, to prevent their feeding on the road. Some of these animals are very fine, and valued at 200 ticals, and some again as low as 30 ticals. One active man has the charge of five mules, and none but a Chinaman, who has been brought up to it from his youth, can manage these animals. The saddles used are made of light wood, with a thick padding under them, and fitted to the shape of the mule's sides, but not touching the back; in front and at the back is a piece of wood to prevent the loads slipping. The saddle is not bound to the animal by girths, but has only a breast-band to prevent its falling back in ascending the hills, and a breeching behind to hinder it running forward. The loads are tightly bound to a narrow wooden horse with four legs, made to fit between the pieces of wood in front and at the back of the saddle, and from which they are never removed during the whole journey. One man takes hold of the legs on each side, and thus either loads or unloads the animals most expeditiously.

The men I have met with are a fine, stout, and rather tall race, well limbed, with the Tartar countenance, and fair. They always meet me with civility, and an almost invariable question is, whether I am a Mussulman, which most of them are.

Between Muang La and Talau, we saw many water wheels along the banks of the Mé Má, for the purpose of throwing up water for the irrigation of the fields. They are on the principle of the Persian wheel, large hollow bamboos being substituted for buckets or chatties.

In the Muang Má chief's house yesterday, and in some of the villages to-day, I met with a proof of these people having some knowledge of hydraulics, for the water was brought up to the verandah of the houses from the ground below through upright bamboos, serving as pipes.

5th March.—From Talau to Muang Phang. Direction, N. 60 E. Estimated Distance, 14 miles. Time, 4 hrs. 15 min.

Passed through the skirts of the town, where a bazar was held, and crossed the Mé Lam by the ferry. It is here about 12 feet deep, but fordable at a little distance above, where the Chinese cross. Two annas are taken here also for every mule passing through the district.

We

Captain McLeod's Journal.

We passed through an old double-walled mud fort, nearly opposite the town, on the bank of the river; and went over plains with some villages, and entered a thin jungle, and here the Talau district ends. Having passed through the district and town of Muang Lai, and leaving it to our right, with the fields and villages belonging to it, we proceeded through a thin jungle with high trees, and over low hilly ground, and reached some old fields and a good deal of open ground on the bank of the Nam Tsan, a stream of about 10 feet wide flowing to the southward and eastward. From this the road ran over low undulating hilly ground, thickly wooded; we next reached another plain, in which the village of Na Ngoi is situated, and is the boundary, on this side, of the Muang Lai district. From this, having passed over high and open ground with plains to the north-west and the village of Ban Khun, a good-sized place, reached the Nam Phang and halted at Muang Phang, situated, like the other principal places, in a valley with some villages round it. The hills surrounding it are higher than those lately seen. The road, both yesterday and to-day, has been very good.

9m.
42.
56.
2.15.
3.34.
4.8.
4.39.

This town contains about 60 houses, and, like most others, without a tree in it; there are, however, some tamarind trees a short distance off. This place and Muang Lai belong to the Kiang Húng Tsóbua, and are assigned to some public officer at the head of a department in his household.

Numbers of Chinese passed with cotton and salt.

6th March.—From Muang Phang to Muang Hám. Direction { N. 65 E. / N. 30 E. }

Estimated Distance, { 13½ Miles. Time 5 h. 11 m. / 4¾ „ „ 1 h. 23 m. }

After passing over a plain, we gradually entered a thick jungle, crossed the Nam Tara, a stream of about 15 feet wide, rushing rapidly over a stony bed to the eastward, and commenced to ascend, which we continued to do with little interruption until we arrived at the Mé Phit, a rapid stream of 35 feet wide flowing to the southward and westward over a stony bed. From this the ascent became very steep, until we nearly attained the summit of the first range, when it became more gradual, the road running along the sides and tops of the hills, with an occasional descent, until we reached two small streams, Nam Hak. Here having rested a short time, we again ascended still more, and reached what is considered the highest part of the road, but not of the hills by 300 or 400 feet. Here water boiled at 204½ Fahr., and my latitude on this spot was 21° 47′ 45″ N. Now we commenced to descend, and soon obtained a view of the valley below enclosed by high hills, except to the northward and eastward, where they are low. The valley is about seven miles long and two broad, and I counted no less than 18 villages in it, and was told they amounted altogether to 30, and some of them large. After reaching the valley, and crossing the Nam Khai, we arrived and halted at Muang Hám.

57.
2.13.
3.50.
4.5.
5.11.

The road has been very good throughout, and the hills all thickly covered with jungle.

Muang Hám is the seat of another petty Tsóbua. His palace resembles the one at Talau, only larger and of better materials. The Tsóbua and his family are at Kiang Húng.

The place contains about 200 houses, and the Nam Khai flows through it. There are a great many Chinese located here; they have a temple or house of worship of their own. The people of the place appeared to me not to be so well dressed as those I had seen before; both sexes very slovenly, perhaps from their dress approaching more to the Chinese than those before met with.

There are several tanks about the place for fish. There are two very handsome temples here, the interior of one extremely rich, and to which is attached a sexagonal building with eleven different stages or roofs gradually diminishing in size, and surmounted by an umbrella at the top, all of Chinese workmanship.

This valley is said to be very rich, and is watered by the Nam Khai and Mé Hám, the former coming from the southward and the latter from the eastward; they unite at a little distance to the westward and flow into the Mé Há.

To the north-west of this is Muang Khié, the capital of another Tsóbuaship; the road to it is good and there are no hills to pass over; it is the largest Tsóbuaship of the 12 dependant on Kiang Húng. The road to Muang Lém from Kiang Húng passes through it.

7th March.—From Muang Hám to Muang Hái. Direction, N., 20 E. Estimated Distance, 10 miles. Time, 3 h. 12 m.

Having crossed the Nam Khai, a stream of about 70 feet wide, flowing to the westward, by a bridge, and shortly after the Mé Hám, and passed over the fields and plains belonging to the town of Muang Hám and some villages, we crossed over a high range of well wooded hills, and reached the valley of Muang Hái, we then proceeded along the foot of the eastern hills forming the valley, and having passed three or four villages, besides seeing a great many scattered over the plains, arrived at this town of Muang Hái, where we halted.

2.20.

This town contains about 150 houses, and belongs to the Tsóbua of Kiang Húng; the chief officer is at Kiang Húng; it has 13 villages attached to it, and the valley is watered by the Mé Há, over which several bridges are thrown to facilitate the communication with the villages on the opposite or western side of the valley.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

There are a great many Chinese here, and amongst them some women; their houses are built of wattle and dab, differing completely from those of the Shans. There is a good deal of tea grown in this district, which is sold to the Chinese at 4 ticals for 10 viss; the chief is obliged to give the Tsóbua 100 viss as a duty annually.

The wife and family of the chief called on me; they are particularly fair, rather tall, and good looking.

8th March.—From Muang Háî towards Kiang Húng.

Direction	Estimated Distance	Time (*h.* *m.*)
N. 40 E. / N. 80 E.	4¼ miles / 16¾ „	1 23 / 5 29

The first part of the march was along the foot of the hills inclosing the valley to the westward, and the sides of which are laid out in tea plantations.

On again reaching the level plain we crossed the Mé Há, 120 feet wide, over a good wooden bridge at the village of Ban Don, which is entirely occupied by Chinese.

5.32. Following the course of the Mé Há we gradually got amongst the hills; these were high and occasionally rocky and steep. There were, however, loftier ranges on both sides of our route.

5.42. We crossed many streams, but only two of any size, the Nam Tsan and Mé Phung; they all flow into the Mé Há. There were many places along the road where we might have halted, but with one exception they were all too confined.

6.52. It being late we halted on the left bank of the Mé Há, much against the wishes of the Shan officer; he endeavoured to persuade us to stop at the open spot above alluded to, and to make two marches into Kiang Húng; but understanding from the men who accompanied us from Muang Hái, that by going on a little we should reach the capital to-morrow, I determined to push on. We discovered that the reason he did not wish to come on to this is an apprehension of being attacked by the Ka Kúis, a pathway leading by this from one of their villages. These people inhabit most of the hills to the north of this, and though nominally tributary to Kiang Húng, are a source of much annoyance, waylaying and plundering travellers.

The tea plants seen to-day were of all sizes, some only lately planted, while others were about 15 feet high; the plant is not in flower at present; little is done towards its cultivation, pruning is freely resorted to, but nothing is done to enrich the soil. The leaf is gathered four times a year, and undergoes the same rude process of preparation before mentioned.

The hills passed to-day, during the first portion of the journey, were covered with thick jungle; latterly this had been cleared in many places by the Lawas for cultivation, but left by them again after obtaining one or two crops. We could see the houses of some of this tribe perched upon many of the heights.

During the journey to-day we passed the charred remains of a Chinaman, who had been left sick or perhaps dying under a temporary shed of bamboos and grass; this had been reduced to ashes, but whether intentionally or not we could not ascertain.

I find that there is a more direct road to Kiang Húng from Muang Hám, where we halted on the 6th, but the Shan officer with me says that it is not used, as it runs over high mountains.

A number of Chinese porters carrying cloth and cotton to China, and some trading from village to village with dried fish and radishes, passed us; when travelling homewards they go the same distance, each day, as the mules. The load is carried on the back, supported by a rope running under the bottom of the pack, and fastened to a flat wooden collar resting on the back of the neck, to which it is fitted, and is supported by both shoulders; a rope is passed round the forehead and the upper part of the pack, this balances it and prevents it falling backward. These porters, though stout-bodied, are not such fine looking fellows as the men who accompany the mules, and who call the others the Karengs of China.

9th March.—To Kiang Húng.

Direction	Estimated Distance	Time (*h.* *m.*)
N. 75 E. / N. 87 E. / S. 40 E.	9 miles / 3 „ / 2½ „	2 53 / 1 16 / 1 46

The country continued the same as that passed through yesterday, latterly losing somewhat of its bare appearance; though we met with some steep short ascents, the descent was greater throughout, the road running along the side of the river, as yesterday; this dashes its way down over a rocky bed, with considerable force, its breadth varying from 80 to 200 feet, the banks occasionally very steep.

We passed by the village of Ban Lóng Túng on the right bank of the Mé Há, at the entrance of a valley; from this the road runs through fields and an open country with numerous villages, some of which were also seen on the sides of the hills enclosing the valley.

2.53. We next reached the large village of Kiang Lam; close to it is the old and nearly deserted fort of the same name on the right bank of the Mé Khong, which, however, we could not see. After leaving it we passed through gardens planted with tobacco, bamboos for pipes and umbrella sticks, and sugar-cane, and again reached the left bank of the Mé Há where we halted near a long bridge distant about three-quarters of a mile from the town, which we saw distinctly.

From

Captain McLeod's Journal.

From this, I sent forward to inform the authorities of my arrival, and was requested to remain where I was until a house was prepared for me, and people sent to escort me. Shortly after, five or six petty officers came out, and in the cool of the evening I accompanied them to town.

We crossed the Mé Há by a long wooden bridge; the breadth of the river at present is 136 feet with 5 feet of water in it, but during the rains 170 feet, with steep banks; on reaching the town, which we did in about 17 minutes, we proceeded by the great road to the southward, and at the extreme end of it found a spacious new house prepared for our accommodation.

This portion of the town has been entirely deserted by the inhabitants, and is occupied by the forces of some of the petty Tsóbuas, two of whom reside close by me, but by no means in so good a house as that which they have assigned for my use.

At the house I was met by a Puniah; and in the evening several of the court officers came to welcome me, and take down my replies to questions respecting the object of my journey, where I had come from, the number of people with me, and the rank of the officer who deputed me, &c. I requested that I might have an audience of the authorities of the place as soon as possible, as I had been informed of the Tsóbua's absence in China. They showed much ignorance of our position on the coast, &c.

The town which is of no size stands on the western face of a range of hills running north and south, in front of it the Mé Há joins the Mé Khong, and during the rains their united waters form an extensive sheet; now, however, the streams of both are confined within narrow beds, and only a plain of sand meets the eye.

This place is not fortified; there is one wide road running from one end of it to the other, and along this there are a great many houses belonging to the Chinese, very poor in their appearance; the streets are narrow, scarcely better than pathways, running up the sides of the hills, without any regularity, and along which terraces had been cut to admit of houses being built. The palace is a conspicuous building standing on the high ground at the foot of the hills, at the northern extremity of the town. The only other objects to be noticed are two or three monasteries, some small pagodas on the face of the hills, and a few banian trees here and there. With the exception of the valley of the Mé Há the country around is hilly, and extremely barren in appearance.

The Mé Khong or great Cambodia River passes to the north of the town; coming from the north-west it flows on to the eastward; its bed is narrower here than higher up, being confined on both banks by hills; it is crossed by a ferry within sight of the town, and the road to the Chinese frontiers, which strikes off at the village of Kiang Lam, is seen winding over the hills to the northward.

Kiang Lam was formerly the residence of the Tsóbua, and was also called Kiang Húng; the site of the capital was changed to its present locality by the late Tsóbua after he became firmly fixed in the chieftainship; in this he followed the example of the kings of Burmah and Siam, who usually, in succeeding to the throne, partly from superstition and partly for the supposed eclat attendant on founding a new capital for the Kingdom, adopt this expedient, regardless of the inconvenience and expense it causes their subjects.

10th March.—In the forenoon I had a second visit from the party who came yesterday, and was invited to the palace where the petty Tsóbuas and the Minister, who now transacts all the business of the country in the Tsóbua's name, would meet me.

The palace is inclosed by a wall of 15 feet high of brick and mud; the space it covers is very confined. The building, however, is substantial, and large, and embellished with handsomely carved and gilt ornaments, mostly Chinese; a good deal of stone has been used in its construction. It is covered with the shining tiles before mentioned by me.

On each side of the gate stands a large lion cut out of a single block of stone. Here I dismounted, and was received in the great hall by the assembled officers, who were all dressed in costly Chinese costumes. A wooden railing incloses the throne; in front of it stood two tables together; at one end of these the Minister (the Talau Tsóbua), the Muang Lóng Tsóbua, a nephew of the late Tsóbua's, and the Burmese Tseitké, were seated; opposite to them at the other end of the tables a chair was placed for me, and at one side of the tables, facing the throne, two Chinese officials were seated, with writing materials before them; the other officers, who are considerable in number, occupied chairs in a line on the left of the chiefs. So soon as I was seated the Talau Tsóbua opened the conference, observing, that they had long heard of the English, and were glad to hear from Kiang Túng the object of my visit; that they had long wished to open a communication with us, but that the state of Zimmé prevented it. I informed him that I was the bearer of letters and presents from the Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces to the Tsóbua, intimating the objects of my mission, and his wish that I should proceed to China; that when I quitted Moulmein we had not received intelligence of the late Tsóbua's death; and though I understood, that no successor had been nominated, I wished to proceed and deliver the letter to the late Tsóbua's son at Muang Lá. In reply, they stated that Mahá Dewi, the late Tsóbua's widow, was acting as Regent (being assisted in her deliberations by the twelve petty Tsóbuas) for the young Tsóbua, who had fled to China during the late disturbances here; that she possessed full power and authority to transact and settle all business in his name; and that Mahá Dewi did not receive me, as it is not customary for her to appear in public.

I have when speaking of the chief ruler of this territory called him Tsóbua; he, however, has the appellation of Tsen wi fuá, or Tsen wi buá, which title I shall in future use.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

The Commissioners' letter was delivered and read. They said, with reference to my journey to China, that orders must first be received from that place; that they regretted they could not possibly let me proceed without them.

I urged that I wished to avoid delay, as I had a long journey before me, and therefore would be obliged to them to permit me to proceed to Muang Lá, the boundary of their country, pending the reference; on their objecting to this, I pointed out that though they had expressed themselves glad to see me, yet their refusal might give rise to a supposition that they were not friendly inclined towards us; that my mission was purely of a commercial nature, and in no way connected with politics; that the English were on terms of amity both with the Chinese and Burmans, and the latter permitted our officers, on various occasions, to proceed through their territories; that I was acquainted with the Ministers at Ava, and that they had been informed of my mission, and further, that if each state, I had passed through, had in like manner referred the point for its king's decision, I would not have reached this place for a year or two.

The Minister remarked that it would not be polite to tell me to go back, but they could not permit me to go on; and as the rains were not far distant, it would, they thought, be unpleasant and inconvenient for me to wait for a reply from China; that it was true the state was tributary both to China and Ava, but it was nearer the former and looked upon it as its father.

On my applying for information regarding the likely length of time I should be delayed for a reply, they said that the officer at Esmok had no power to permit my advance, and the reference would be made from one officer to the next officer, and therefore they could not say.

The Minister compared himself to a stone, and me to water; and on my observing that to make this simile correct he ought to allow me to proceed, for it was well known that water ultimately overcame stone, he laughed heartily and said he did not mean in that way, but that he was there fixed like a rock to bear all the blame, and I wished to glide over him and pass along without any fear.

The Burmese Tseitkê, who I had heard is in disgrace, now told me that he would interpret the chief's wishes; that they did not like to speak plainly, and therefore I could not understand them, but they wished me to return. This, of course, I knew to be the drift of their speeches to me, but I did not find it convenient to understand them, so again pretended not to comprehend the Tseitké, though he spoke in Burmese, much to his annoyance.

The Talau Tsóbua in a set speech respecting the English, whom he highly complimented, added, that however desirous and glad they were to establish a communication with us, that they thought it strange an officer should be deputed on commercial affairs, and that no merchants should accompany him; that if I were a merchant they would permit me to proceed, but that there was a great difference between a merchant and an officer, and that as I was under no obligation to them, as they refused to accede to our request, they begged to decline receiving the presents brought up by me. I explained to them that with us it was customary to secure, officially, protection and security for our merchants before they ventured to trade with any foreign country; that some had accompanied me as far as Kiang Túng, but had been deterred from coming on by the reports of the unsettled state of the country; that on this point the Kiang Túng officer, who had accompanied me, would satisfy them. That with reference to the presents, they were not offered with a view of bribing them; that we considered it a custom of their own, intended for the purpose of cementing that good understanding which they had expressed themselves so desirous should exist between our countries; that whatever might be the result of the reference to China, as they assured me it was not in their power to permit me to proceed without permission being first obtained, though much disappointed, I could not be angry with them, and I should rejoice to think that my journey had not been fruitless if it were the means of establishing an intercourse between us, and gaining their friendship. On this, they all together answered, that what I had said was very proper, and they were rejoiced to find my sentiments were such as I expressed them, and they therefore thankfully accepted the presents from the Commissioner for the young Tsen wi fuá.

It was already evident that I should not be permitted to pursue my journey, but I considered it advisable to remain at the place a few days to endeavour to allay the suspicions the chiefs evidently entertained respecting the object of my mission, in spite of all their professions.

I, therefore, requested that the authorities at Esmok or Muang Lá might be informed, that I was the bearer of letters and presents to them, as well as to the Chief at Yunan, which I wished to deliver. I had not been furnished with letters for Yunan but for Talé. Finding, however, that the latter was of no use on this frontier, that the ruler at Yunan exercised government over the whole province, I determined to alter the address, and deliver it to him, if permitted to proceed.

Refreshments, consisting of cups of tea, dried fruits, and betel nut, &c., were served by attendants in Chinese dresses, who walked about with their shoes and hats on.

The conversation soon became general. The Talau Tsóbua was the principal spokesman; putting innumerable questions to me about England, &c.

After staying a long time, I took my leave. Mahá Dewi sent a message, previous to my departure, inviting me to dine at the palace the next day, and that the chiefs would be invited to meet me.

11th March.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

11th March.—At about two o'clock I was requested to proceed to the palace, where all the officers were assembled in the great hall to meet me again. A number of square tables were here standing; three of these were high, with chairs placed near them; the other tables, about 20 in number, were only sufficiently raised above the ground to admit of persons seated on the floor partaking of their meal. The three tables were for the Tsóbuas; I was placed at the one with the Talau Tsóbua, and those of Muang Hám, Muang Lóng, and Muang U' and the Tseitké. The other tables were occupied by the petty officers and my people, even the coolies.

The dinner was entirely Chinese, and served up by attendants in Chinese livery. The proceedings were conducted with due ceremony; dried fruits were first placed on the tables, which having been partaken of by the party, a large cupful of stew followed; all having helped themselves to a mouthful or two, it was succeeded by another dish, and so on, one dish following another, until there were about 15 different ones on the table at the same time. These consisted of various descriptions of fish, said to be from China, pork, &c., dressed in different ways, but chiefly stewed. Before partaking of a dish, they bowed to each other, an example which I followed; and then each helped himself to a mouthful, with the aid of chopsticks; then a pause ensued, after which the same ceremony was observed on each succeeding dish being placed upon the table. The dishes were well flavoured, though rich; there were no vegetables, rice and cakes forming part of the repast. I took the precaution to go provided with a spoon and fork, novel implements to those at the table, and which afforded them some amusement. Arrack was the only beverage; this was sipped continually, or drank off out of small cups, the same ceremony of bowing being observed as when eating; the quantity consumed must have been considerable, for they partook of it freely. When we first sat down there was much reserve and formality, but these were thrown off gradually, and they became talkative towards the latter part of the feast, which ended by tea being handed round. It was nearly dark when I returned home, much entertained and pleased.

The Talau Tsóbua is evidently a clever shrewd man, and very inquisitive on subjects to which I have never before known a Burman or Shan turn his thoughts; he is the only one here who appears to know anything about the Tenasserim coast, and the cause of our being there. He tells me that there is not one officer in ten who can speak and write the Shan language well, and not one in a hundred the Burmese, Chinese being the language in use amongst the higher classes. He is the only chief who speaks Burmese. The Shan spoken here is the same dialect as that at Kiang Túng and Zimmé, only differing slightly in accent. The character is precisely the same.

The minister spoke in terms of praise of the Chinese; that they are upright and just as a nation, though very particular in insisting upon every fraction due to them being paid; yet they never exacted more than they had a right to claim, and never retained any sum, however small, to which they were not entitled. In proof of their disinterestedness he mentioned that the Tsóbua of Kiang Khing, or Kiang Khaing, a small State to the southward of this, and tributary to Ava, wished lately to throw off his allegiance to that kingdom, and place himself under China, but the offer was unhesitatingly rejected.

An establishment of Chinese clerks is kept up to arrange the correspondence, revenue matters, &c. He compared the Chinese to the English, so far as he had heard of our character, except in one point, namely; that the English allowed anybody, who wished it, to go through any part of their country, and to see all that is to be seen, while the Chinese are so jealous, that they will not admit any strangers within their territories; that even the officers from Kiang Túng have never been permitted to go beyond Puer, except on one or two occasions, on most urgent business, and then only as far as Yunan.

A force of 2,000 men from the province of Yunan only left this three or four days before my arrival; its stay here had been but short. The inhabitants are nowhere called on to support such parties, and care is taken that provisions and everything which may be supplied for their use are strictly paid for.

Excuses were made for the absence of ceremony in my reception on my arrival. I was asked to make allowances for this, seeing the confusion the place had been in, and was assured that had I come in Mahá Wang's lifetime, it would have been such as became a stranger of rank. The minister declares that if I had been a merchant, he would have sent me on with people to Muang Lá; adding, that he had been lately severely reprimanded for allowing a Burmese officer to proceed to that place with a letter from Moné. He declares that no Burmese ambassador had ever proceeded to Pekin, but had only been permitted to visit Yunan. This is, however, not correct; there is ample proof at Ava, in the journals kept by the ambassadors, and other facts, to prove that the minister is mistaken. Pekin is here called Muang Wong, or Purking Chang.

12th March.—The Muang Khié and Muang Lóng Tsóbuas paid me a visit, the former a handsome young man, and the latter a nephew of the late Tsen wi fuá; they came to satisfy their curiosity by an inspection of my property. I called on the minister to-day, and was received in a very friendly manner by him. Even from him I could not obtain any positive information regarding the sources of the Cambodia and Salween Rivers, which are here known by the same names as at Kiang Túng. He was inquisitive as usual, questioning me about steam, Ceylon, and a variety of subjects; steam, he said, was made use of in China; but to what purposes applied he could not tell me.

The Chinese invariably speak of an iron suspension bridge across the Ku Lun Kiang,

Captain McLeod's Journal.

on the road between Talé and Yung Chiang Fú; this, no doubt, is nothing more than the chest suspended from an iron chain, by means of which the Burmese ambassadors were conveyed across a large river on their way to Pekin from Ava.

Kiang Húng is the Shan and Siamese name for this place. The Burmans call it Kaing Yun Gyi, and its inhabitants Lu thoungze nhit pana or pala. Chế Li and Ku Lun Kiang, are the Chinese names for it, signifying seven ngagas or fabulous monsters. The great Cambodia river is also called by this latter appellative, and, I conclude, gives the name to the town, in fact. The inhabitants speak of themselves as Lu-siptson pana. Zodi nagara is the Pali name for this territory. I am told that the principal forces in the Yunan province are stationed at Talé, in the north west; at Puer, in the south; Yung Chiang Fú in the north, and Quang Long Fú in the east; the number at each place being 3,000 or 4,000.

The authorities in these towns have no power to admit strangers to pass without a reference to Yunan, where the viceroy, Tsoungsu, resides. The present viceroy is a relation of the Emperor, and has held the appointment for some years; the usual term of office being 12 years, unlike the Fúquangs, the chiefs of towns, who are generally transferred from one place to another every three years.

The arrangement which exists between China and Burmah regarding to the nomination of the Tsen wi fuá is not clear. I am told that the one nominates and the other confirms; that for this purpose a consultation takes place, but how, or where, I cannot discover.

The Tsen-wi-fuáship of this territory appears to remain in one family, but the succession is not hereditary, as will be seen by the following list: A Tsen-wi-fuá dying, left four sons, Chou Nam Phung, Chou Upa Raja, Chou Thi Wan, and Chou Khai. The eldest, Chou Nam Phung, was appointed Tsen wi fuá, both by the Burmans and the Chinese; on his death his brother, Chou Upa Raja was nominated his successor, both by the Chinese and the Burmans. He, however, rebelled, and was deposed, and his younger brother, Chou Thi Wan was raised to the chieftainship. On the death of Chou Thi Wan, his eldest son, Chou Mahá Wong, was nominated by the Chinese, but the Burmans re-nominated Chou Upa Raja (the chief who had rebelled), but on his death, they confirmed the nominee of the Chinese. On Mahá Wong's death, the Chinese conferred the dignity on his son, Mahá Noi, but the Burmans nominated Chou Nam Phung's son, Chou Tsan. Chou Khai, Chow Nam Phung's youngest brother, never attained the Tsen-wi-fuáship. Chou Tsan, however, threw off his allegiance, and fled with a large number of his subjects, and placed himself under the Zimmé chief, where he still resides, with a number of the relatives of some of the petty Tsóbuas. This fact is one cause for the people, generally, being desirous to secure a free communication with that state. The Burmans next nominated Chou Thi Wan's second son, Mahá Wang. These two chiefs, namely Mahá Noi and Mahá Wang, ruled at the same time, one on the left bank, and the other on the right bank of Mê Khong; but their rule was not peaceful; there was constant warfare carried on between them, and though Mahá Noi obtained the assistance of the states of Muang Luang Phaban, and Muang Nan, Mahá Wang proved successful. His opponent suddenly disappeared, and his place of concealment is unknown, though some suppose he must be in China, others that he has fled to Cochin China, and some are of opinion that he has taken refuge in Muang Luang Phaban. It is believed that he has still many adherents in the state, and should he make his appearance at the present juncture, there is little doubt, that there will be bloodshed. During the hostilities above spoken of, neither the Chinese nor Burmans aided either party.

On the disappearance of Mahá Noi, the Chinese confirmed Mahá Wang. He is described as having been an intrepid and active chief, who filled the Tsen-wi-fuáship for 24 years. He was taken ill shortly after his return from Yunan, where he had been summoned, and after a protracted illness of some months, died about three or four months ago. The throne was hereon seized by Chou No Kham, the late Tsen wi fuá's son-in-law, to the exclusion of his son, Chou Phung, a lad of 13 years of age, not, however, the son of Mahá Dewi, but of his second wife.

Chou Upa Raja left two sons; the elder, Chou Phom, being suspected of intriguing to overthrow the government of Chou Tsan, was put to death by him. Mahá Kanan was the second son; he again had two sons; Chou No Kham the elder, the self-constituted Tsen wi fuá, married to Mahá Wang's daughter, and Chou Phom the younger, married to the daughter of the Burmese Tseitké. These resided at Muang Lam, the old fort mentioned in the last day's journey, with the Tseitké and his contingent or guard of 35 Burmans.

No resistance was made to the assumption of the throne by Chou No Kham, though the Talau Tsóbua, who was the minister during Mahá Wang's reign, and some of the other chiefs, were opposed to his elevation; they being unprepared with a force, and not being certain which side the other Tsóbuas might espouse, feigned acquiescence. The new chief despatched emissaries both to China and Ava with presents, to secure his nomination.

The Tseitké had some time before this received letters from his court to be presented to Mahá Wang, appointing his son Chou Phung Amig-she meng, Lord of eastern house, a title which confers on the bolder not only extraordinary power and authority, but also the right of succession to the throne. That officer, however, had withheld these despatches to facilitate the ambitious views of his connexions. The minister, in the meantime, discovering that it was in contemplation to make away with Mahá Wang's son, assisted him to escape to Chiaa. His plans to succour his late master's son did not end here.

Being

Captain McLeod's Journal.

Being joined by other Tsóbuas, a large force was secretly collected near the capital, the principal adherents of the new ruler were invited to the Court House on the pretence of investing some of them with additional honours, when four of them were put to death. The Tsen wi fuá had only time to make his escape with a few followers; his aged father, Mahá Kanan, and his younger brother were put to death the same night, and the Burmese Tseitké only escaped by the interposition of the chief priest.

The Court of Ava supports Mahá Wang's son, and the Chinese do so too, to all appearances; but should Mahá Noi come forward, it is doubtful whether he would not be nominated. Forces have been despatched in search of this fugitive Tsen wi fuá, but his retreat had not been discovered: some of his followers have been brought in lately, some were executed, and others banished.

Some people ascribe the late unfortunate occurrences, in a great measure, to the ambitious views of the minister, his object being to open a way to the throne for himself; and assert that he has kept the two superior powers in the dark as regards the executions which have taken place, and that he has sent valuable presents, chiefly to China, to conciliate the authorities there. They further insinuate that Mahá Dewi has lent herself to his intrigues, and is to marry him ultimately. There is little doubt, that these reports have been propagated by the supporters of Chou No Kham, for if there were even a shadow of truth in them, it is not likely, that the Tsóbua of Kiang Túng especially (whose daughter is betrothed to Mahá Wang's son), and those of Kiang Khieng and Muang Kheng would give their countenance to the existing state of affairs by the presence here of their officers. These officers attend all the deliberations which take place, and watch what is passing, besides having a small force at hand to aid the young Tsen wi fuá, if necessary. My writer once attended the Court, when the officers were assembled in council and transacting their business, which is done in open Court. He describes everything being conducted in a consistent and regular manner.

The state of Muang La is supposed to be inimical to the young chief of this place, and to be disposed to support either Chou No Kham or Mahá Noi, and has, consequently, not deputed an officer to assist in the deliberations.

Some of the petty Tsóbua's, with a party, left to-day for Muang Lá, for the purpose of escorting the young chief; the time of his return, however, is uncertain.

Yesterday two natives of India were reported as having arrived at Muang Hám, from Zimmé, and were ordered up to town. Thinking that they might be Thugs, I requested that they might be sent to me on reaching this place. This morning they made their appearance. One was a Puthan, from Delhi, who had travelled by land to Ava, and attempted to penetrate thence into China, but was stopped by the Burmese authorities on the frontier, and sent back, and at last got to Moulmein, whence he proceeded to Zimmé. He left that place with a companion, a discharged Lascar, to find their way to Cochin China, where he had been told there were a great many Mussulmans; but four or five days after crossing the Mé Khong, they missed the road and came on here.

No objection whatever was made to their crossing the Mé Khong, or proceeding beyond the Muang Nan and Muang Luang Phaban districts. These men describe the road travelled by them as not bad, and, though over hills, much better than that from Moulmein to Zimmé; they found villages or the abodes of some hill tribe nearly daily. They had been nearly two months wandering from village to village, off the high road, and therefore, could not give me any satisfactory information regarding that frequented by the caravans.

I took this opportunity of speaking about the Thugs, their horrible habits, &c., to induce the authorities to seize any who should appear, and to send them back to Moulmein; which they promise they will do, if the Siamese will permit the party to pass through their country.

13th March.—Thinking I had made a favourable impression on the chiefs, I endeavoured to persuade them to permit me to proceed towards China to meet the expected reply on the road, and be guided by its tenor. I was told the letter could only be opened by the chiefs at Kiang Húng, and that however anxious they were to prove the sincerity of their professions of friendship for us, yet it was impossible to comply with my wishes.

A report was dispatched to China, when information of my arrival at Kiang Túng and intended journey onward reached this place, as well as on my advent here. A letter was to be sent to-day, forwarding the copy of the letter from the Commissioner in the Provinces to the Tsóbua of this place. It will reach Muang Lá in three days; the journey is ordinarily made by the Chinese caravan in five days.

While my writer was with the Talau Tsóbua to-day, the Chinese Secretary brought the despatch for China, with a translation of the Commissioner's letter, to be stamped with the Kiang Húng seal, which is kept by the minister. The former was read and translated; it set forth most satisfactorily the object of my mission, the advantage which both countries would derive from the trade proposed to be established, and my wish to proceed towards China, having letters to the authorities there. It was altogether worded in a very proper manner; though it must be admitted that they have taken their time to make this communication, but I suppose that they delayed in the hopes of being able to lay before the authorities some certain information respecting the real object of my mission.

The chiefs endeavoured to prepare me for a disappointment: they assured me that

Captain McLeod's Journal.

none, even of their body, was permitted to advance far into China, and as this was my first visit, I must not be annoyed should I receive the refusal they anticipate, but hope that I may be more successful at some future time.

14th–17th March.—All the Tsóbuas here at present have visited me, and I have been to see most of them. The Talau, and the Muang U' Tsóbuas, and my neighbours often came to drink tea with me, but they prefer something stronger, and show a partiality for cherry brandy, and though the minister does not drink common spirits, he is far from averse to this cordial. Knowing from experience how addicted all Shans are to spirits, for in my communications formerly with the Kalé Tsóbua on the Manipur frontier, I found, that a bottle of whisky or port wine had a wonderful charm in rendering him communicative, in spite of the difficulties of carriage, I came provided with a supply.

The chief subjects of conversation on these occasions, are the strange and wonderful things to be found and seen in England, Calcutta, and China. They lose no opportunity of extolling the last-named country, and its system of government. The Talau Tsóbua told me, that he had perused the small work I had given him, but that it contained so many astonishing things, that he could hardly credit some. I am closely cross-questioned, and find it difficult to satisfy him always. There are usually so many listeners present on these occasions, that I am obliged to be cautious in making inquiries regarding the neighbouring countries, the situation of towns, and the different roads, those especially in China. It would be difficult to allay their suspicions if once aroused. Any sketch or map I might obtain of any part of China would not supersede those already published by the Jesuits, and with which we must be content until more accurate knowledge can be obtained from personal observation.

The Muang U' district to the southward of this, adjoins the territories of Muang Luang Phaban, on its north-west frontier. The caravans pass through it to Muang Nan, and the roads to Cochin China from this and from Muang Lá, traverse it. To the south-east of it, lie the territories and capital of Muang Li, governed by a Tsóbua who is tributary both to China and Cochin China. The Muang U' Tsóbua informs me that much salt is found in his district, and that no tax is imposed on the Chinese traders who pass through it; he estimates the number of mules going through it annually at 3,000; this, I am told, is much in excess of the true numbers, which is about 1,200. The town of Muang U' itself, is about 10-days' journey from this, and seven more to the ferry across the Mé Khong, towards Zimmé; Muang Phung and Muang La, likewise the residence of Tsóbuas, are only half a day's journey distant from each other, and three to the eastward of the Mé Khong; these places are five nights' journey from this, and six from Dakhong, the ferry on the Mé Khong. The route, however, through those places is not frequented by the caravans, many of the towns both to the southward and westward of them being now deserted. Utai, the frontier stockade in the direction of Muang Luang Phaban, belongs to Muang U'; beyond Utai is Muang Li, already mentioned.

The Chinese town of Esmok is only separated from the Shan town of Muang Lá, where a Tsóbua resides, by a small stream. The Chinese town has no gateway in its southern face, and only one in each of the others. The wall surrounding it is said to be three fathoms high, and three broad atthe top, on which horsemen patrol every night.

The mode adopted to give warning of danger is by signal fires; watchmen are constantly on the look out, and materials for the purpose are kept prepared. There are 1,000 men at present at Esmok; the troops garrisoning it do not generally amount to above 300. It is not a large place, and the officer ruling it is equal in rank to Burmese Myo wun.

Some of my people found their way to the Tseitké's; he is very anxious that I should call on him. He told them that he is in constant dread of losing his life; that there is a party against him in particular, who wish for his removal; that the Shans are not, he thought, over partial to the Burmans; that my arrival had allayed the ferment here to a great extent; that before it, armed parties were hourly parading the streets, persons were apprehended, several executed, and numbers banished to other towns.

I dined with the minister to-day; his house is a very poor and small one, about 40 feet square, raised on posts, the sides of bamboo mats, and roof covered with grass. It resembles in form those at Zimmé; none of the chiefs have good houses, and there is not a wooden one in the place. Those in which the people reside are very poor, and built of the same materials as the minister's. One great inconvenience in them arises from the smoke having no way to escape except by the doors or forcing its way through the roof; it is generally so cold that a fire at night is necessary. Four other Tsóbuas formed the party; they were very inquisitive about the different countries beyond the seas, articles of commerce and products of our country. I found great difficulty in replying to the numerous questions of the Talau Tsóbua on geography, astronomy, &c. &c., for want of significant words in Burmese. He had heard of my taking altitudes, and begged I would show him my sextant, and explain how I could see the sun on the ground.

They questioned me again about the cause of the war with Ava; they had heard it was in consequence of our protecting rebels, and taking territory that did not belong to us, but they themselves do not consider us to be an ambitious nation, or that acquisition of territory is our aim, though we had become master of such an extensive empire, as there was nothing to have prevented us from keeping Ava, yet we gave it up.

They wish to persuade me that both Ava and Siam pay tribute to China.

They pressed me to send merchants up, but the mountainous country these would have

Captain McLeod's Journal.

have to travel over is an obstacle; they could not return to Moulmein the same season, even if they disposed of their goods at once, for their elephants would not be in a condition for the journey even to Zimmé, and they could not dispose of them here. Some attempt might, however, be made, and should our merchants find the trade not remunerative, they might give it up without any bad effects; it might be the means of drawing the caravans down to the coast, and open a way into China for our traders, should they wish it; I look upon the road travelled by the Chinese caravans to the eastward of the Cambodia river, as the one by which this trade must be commenced. I am disposed to think that greater difficulties are represented to exist along it, than truth warrants; at all events, we can hardly expect the Siamese to give their consent, at once, to that by Kiang Túng being thrown open.

At night a Burman came, and told me in confidence, that orders had been received from Kiang Túng on no account to permit me to proceed beyond the Mé Khong, and if I attempted to cross the river to take my head off; that the Burmans look upon me as a spy, and the Shans were partly inclined to do the same. That Dr. Richardson had been ordered to return before he reached Moné by the authorities there, but refusing to do so, and persisting in continuing his journey towards Ava, that he had been seized, put in irons and imprisoned, and all his papers taken from him. Though I was amused at the fabrication of such a story, some of my followers are much alarmed.

18th March.—Though there are Chinese merchants still here, the principal ones have left the place in consequence of the disturbances. I have, however, seen many of them, and they are as anxious as all the others to visit Moulmein. I have given them every information they could possibly require. They import the same things as to Kiang Túng, the prices differing but little.

In the bazar I saw a great many medicinal roots, &c., but I did not observe any which is not to be found at Moulmein. Here, as at Kiang Túng, broadcloth is selling cheaper than at Moulmein; five yards of good red, blue, and green at 13 ticals, and light blue at seven. The cloth differing in colours on the two sides is what they most admire, none had been brought down this year. I have shown all the merchants I have fallen in with samples of the Pernambuco cotton, with which they were greatly pleased.

Cattle is abundant in this province; a cow sells for five ticals, a bullock for 10, and a buffalo for 17. These last are brought up from Muang Luang Phaban.

The following are the prices of articles not before mentioned; the others vary but little:—

	Ticals.
Blue cotton trousers, a pair	1
Tinsel lace, 3 fingers broad, for 2 cubits long	½
Needles, 1 viss	5
Coloured paper, 1,000 sheets	15
Papers with flowers, &c., 100	25
Cups, 100	11 to 15
Wax, 1 viss	1½
Salt, 1 viss	½
Camphor, 1 viss	1½
Sugar, 37½ ticals	½
Lead, 100 viss	12
Iron, 1¼ viss	10

I intended to send my Chinese interpreter to Muang Lá, and had obtained permission for him to proceed there; but in a conversation with the Talau Tsóbua, he appeared to think that the man could not return before I left, as he has little doubt respecting the reply I shall receive. My wish was that he should communicate with the merchants at that place, and find out, if possible, the feelings of the authorities. This the interpreter thought he could do without being brought into contact with any of the officers of Government or running any personal risk. The Talau Tsóbua said the chiefs would certainly hear of his arrival, have him up before them, and question him most minutely; detain him, he thought, until they sent up the information obtained to Yunan, to which he might be ultimately ordered, and that, being a Chinaman, there was no saying what the authorities might think of his having accompanied me. Under these circumstances, I did not think it prudent to send him; in fact, by this time his proceeding was unnecessary, as I obtained the information I required from some merchants whom I had before met at Kiang Túng, and to whom I had given notes to the authorities at Moulmein, should they, as they promised, proceed there next year. They had been to Maung Lá, and there sold their cotton, and were returning for another supply. They had heard many exaggerated reports in circulation about me; these they had contradicted, and informed all the mer-

Captain McLeod's Journal.

chants they had met with the real object of my mission. They had been sent for and questioned particularly by the authorities at Muang Lá. An account of my arrival had reached Kein toung, and was travelling towards Talé. The first intelligence the Chinese authorities received of my intended journey to their country was from some Chinese traders, who left Zimmé a week after me, *viâ* Dakhong.

There appears to be a vast number of tribes inhabiting the mountains around Kiang Túng, and this place, besides those I had already mentioned. I shall briefly state what slight information I could procure about them; for of those mentioned below, I only met two or three men of the Kadam tribe, and none of the others.

The La La have no written character, and their language differs from that of the others; they bury their dead, worship Nats, and are addicted to spirits; polygamy is permitted; they dress like other mountain tribes; they reside on the eastern bank of the Mé Khong, and are tributary to Kiang Húng.

The Yem dress like Shans. The remarks above also apply to them.

The Si Sún are principally under China, and are found to the north of this; they are opium planters. Some few write Chinese; they have a distinct language, but no written character; they worship Nats, and are tributary to China and Kiang Húng.

The Kali are located on the eastern bank of Mé Khong, to the north of this. They dress like the Chinese; have no written character; language different from the others; they worship Nats; polygamy is permitted. They are opium planters also, and are tributary to China and Kiang Húng.

The Putai dress like Shans, worship Nats, bury their dead; polygamy is permitted; they are addicted to spirits; they pay tribute to Loas and Cochin China.

The Kapín reside on both banks of the Mé Khong; they bury their dead; when any friend dies, those who have lately lost their relations, take money, and request the corpse to receive charge of it, and deliver it to their departed relations, who must stand in need of some comforts in the other world; the money is accordingly buried with them. Polygamy is countenanced; they worship Nats; dress like other mountain tribes; the women have a peculiar headdress; they are tributary to Kiang Húng.

The Kaláu are on the eastern bank of the Mé Khong, and are tributary to Kiang Húng and Muang Luang Phaban.

The Ka Káu. The usual remarks apply to this tribe, except that polygamy is not permitted. The maidens twist their hair on each side of the head in a peculiar way, so as to resemble the horns of a buffalo; they chiefly dress in white: they are under China, Cochin China, Loas, and Kiang Húng, and reside on the borders of those countries.

The Kadams are not a numerous tribe; they burn their dead; have been, lately, partially converted to Buddhism; have houses of worship and priests in almost all their villages. Their language, which differs from the others, has been reduced to writing, the Shan character being used. They believe in metempsychosis. Polygamy is not tolerated amongst them. They are described as a very quiet race; drink spirits, but are not much addicted to it. I only saw two or three men of this tribe; they are of a middle size, with broad faces, large noses, thick lips, eyes rather small and wide apart, and the hair rather curly; they are said to be much afflicted with goitre. Besides the tribes mentioned above, there are several others, namely: the Kama, the Kamet, the Tsen, the Thin, the Nga, the Ka, and the La, to the southward, and on the eastern bank of the Mé Khong; they are tributary to China, Cochin China, Muang Luang Phabun, and Kiang Húng. I have stated all the information I can collect of these different tribes; the people generally appear to know very little of them, and it is impossible to ascertain their numbers; indeed, many who spoke of them have never seen any of them.

I made some inquiries regarding opium; it appears that some of the hill tribes cultivate the poppy, and are tacitly allowed to do so, on paying the frontier authorities a consideration; the drug prepared is of a very inferior description.

19th–22nd March.—Being anxious to pay my respects to Mahá Dewi, though told that she does not appear before strangers, I sounded the Talau Tsóbua, who entering heartily into my views proposed it to her; she gladly assented, no doubt to gratify her curosity. I accordingly proceeded to her abode, a high wooden building at the back of the reception hall; having ascended by a handsome carved wooden staircase, I entered a capacious apartment, the walls of which were covered with gilding and coloured papers; the posts supporting the roof were decorated with festoons of red and gold, and the room ornamented with Chinese lamps and pictures. Shortly after taking my seat on a chair placed for me close to the Talau Tsóbua, Mahá Dewi entered, accompanied by Mahá Wang's sister; they took their seats on chairs, while the train of ladies following them took theirs on the floor. They, too, were richly, though to me, fantastically dressed, in a mixture of Shan and Chinese costumes; their attendants were dressed in the same style. Mahá Wang's sister, who addressed me in Mahá Dewi's name and her own, was profuse in her expressions of pleasure at my opening a communication between our distant countries; she apologized for the state in which I found the place, and for my reception not being more befitting, and such as they could desire; that had Mahá Wang been alive it would have been very different, and he would have permitted me to proceed onwards, at least to the boundary of his territory, if not into China itself.

I congratulated them, in my turn, upon the tranquillity which had been restored, and the overthrow of the enemies of the rightful heir to the throne, and assured them that the intelligence of the Tsen-wi-fuá's death would be a cause of great regret to the authorities

rities at Moulmein; but this would in some measure be relieved by the knowledge that his son is his successor, and that I hoped that he would be as friendly disposed towards the English as they declared that his father would have been. I assured them that I was much flattered by the attentiou I had met with, not only at Kiang Húng itself, but at all the places I passed through on the road belonging to it.

They informed me, that they expected the young Tsen-wi-fuá soon; that parties had gone up to escort him down, but it was doubtful whether he would be allowed to come immediately, as the Chinese authorities thought him too young to rule, and wished to detain him a year that he might be initiated in Chinese literature, &c. They hoped, that in the event of information being received of his speedy approach, I would remain to see him; in this invitation the minister also joined.

After some conversation on general topics, refreshments, consisting of tea and betel, were handed round; the attendants before doing so, performed their obeisances to the Princess by touching the ground thrice with their foreheads. It was proposed that I should be shown over the palace before I left. There is nothing particular to notice about it; the rooms are lofty and comfortably furnished. There is a room fitted up in the Chinese style, with marble tables for the use of the Chinese clerks; a great deal of stone is used in portions of the building; this is a hard sandstone brought down the Mé Khong from a distance of two days' journey.

The woods used in the buildings here are called by the Burmans Thengan, Yem, and Kiun Koulia. There is some teak found near this to the north, but very small and stunted in growth.

Dinner was sent for me from the palace in the afternoon; this has been done every second day since my arrival.

Some of the Tseitké's people came to visit me; they spoke of the contempt the Chinese authorities have for merchants, and about whom they do not trouble themselves, permitting them to go wherever they please; they say that some Burmans have been on trading expeditions as far as Kein Toung; but that the Chinese are averse to their proceeding beyond that towards Yunan; that on the appearance of any official, however inferior his rank, attempting to enter their country, their suspicions are immediately aroused; that officers even from this place, have not the privilege of going there, except on duty, but no objections are made to traders.

In crossing the Mé Khong at the ferry, one-quarter of a tical is levied on each mule or pony, which goes to the Tsen-wi-fuá, likewise three-quarters of a tical on entering the Kiang Húng territory; this last sum being paid, renders the Tsen-wi-fuá responsible for any losses the traders may sustain from theft within his territory; and as the Ka kúis at times attack the caravans, armed parties are stationed at certain places to escort the traders for some distance. On their return one-quarter tical is likewise collected; this is the only regular and acknowledged perquisite that the Burmese Tseitké receives; he with his followers, however, are supplied by the Tsen-wi-fuá with provisions. The usual number of mules passing through this place annually is about 5,000; more, however, are said to go to Thaini; tea and cotton are what the Chinese take away in return for their goods, but in what proportion I cannot ascertain; Muang Lém also participates in this trade, but no person can tell me the number of mules visiting those territories annually.

A great deal of tea is grown and prepared in the northern parts of Muang Lém district by a race of people called Palongs.

A trifling trade is carried on between Cochin China, Muang Luang Phaban, and this place, but none with the other Siamese States, except a little contraband traffic in betel nut with Muang Nan. English piece goods, &c., are brought up from Rangoon *viâ* Kiang Túng.

Many of the territories in China to the north and north-west of this, formerly belonged to the Shans, particularly the towns comprising the Kothan pyi, or Ko Shan pyi, or nine Shans countries; these were, Kóthá, Lathá, Tsanta (Zanda), Muang Wan (Mo Wun), Tsen Guen, Kiang Ma (Kaing Ma), Moná, Muang Li, or Muang Lyin, and Muang Mau. All nine towns now belong to China, except Kiang Ma, which, like this place and Muang Lém, pays triennial tribute to Ava. Some also mention a place, Muang Mung, or Maing Mam, which is similarly connected with both States; but I am unacquainted with its position.

As many towns have Shan, Burmese, and Chinese appellations, which cause much embarrassment, I subjoin those I have been able to make out:—

Shan.	Burmese.	Chinese.
Muang Meng Luang	Monien	Teng ye Fú.
Muang Meng	ditto	Puer.
Muang Wan	Mó Wán	Longtchuen.
Muang tse Luang	Maingtse gyi	Vinnan or Yunan.
Muang Ku		Kein Toung.
Wang Tshang	Wintcho	Yun Chiang Fú.
Muang Lem	Maing Yun gyi.	
Muang Tchan		Shuen Li.
Kiang Húng	Kaing Yun gyi	Che Li.
Baula Luang		Tsatchan.
Baula Noi		Yulau.
Muang Ham		Kanlampa.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

Thaini is called by the Shans Tsen vi and Men Tsen vi si sip kau Muang; by the Burmans Thaini, and Thaini Laze kolon maing, both referring to the 49 cities or towns comprised in its jurisdiction.

As some places have Pali names, which are used in historical works, the following are those I could collect:—

China - - - - - - - -	Widiharit.
The Provinces of Sack Wan in China - -	Pinsaharit.
Muang Nai, or Moné - - - - -	Konandi.
Muang Lém - - - - - -	Beik karata.
Kiang Túng - - - - - -	Khémarata.
Kiang Húng - - - - - -	Zodinagara.
Kiang Khieng - - - - - -	Tha khalarata.
Zimmé - - - - - - -	Nantapuri.
Labong - - - - - - -	Harijungia.

The Kambausa Taing was comprised, I was told, of the following towns:—

Burmese - - - - - - -	Shans.
Moné - - - - - - -	Muang Nai.
Thaini - - - - - - -	Tsen Vi.
Ngioung Yué - - - - - -	Hi Yong Wi.
Mobie - - - - - - -	Hapai.
Mogoung - - - - - - -	Muang Kong.
Momeit - - - - - - -	Muang Mit.
Momien - - - - - - -	Muang Gong.
Mogok - - - - - - -	——
Toung pien toung ma - - - - - -	——
and some say Ong lat Myo - - - - - -	——

This last list was given me by a Burman Shan; but I do not think it is to be depended on.

The Myé lat Shans are here called Nue.

The names for the other places and people are the same as at Kiang Túng.

The language spoken at Muang Lém is said to be a dialect between the Shan of this country and that of Moné.

The country to the north of this is mountainous and barren, and between Muang Lá and Tate the mountains are described as particularly high.

No tea grows in the province of Yunan. Coal is found about Puer and Muang Lá, which they have some mode of preparing, by powdering it and mixing it with earth, then making it into cakes, in which form it is transported from place to place.

The district of Litchou produces quicksilver and vermillion. At Kankein, needles are made. At Kiang Chi, silk and caps. Wa Chi furnishes jackets wove without seam. Kiang Nau, paper. Yung Chiang Fú, a stony substance, called by the Burmans "meik thila." Talé, copper pots, &c. The Hu Kuang Province has zinc; and Yunan is rich in minerals, copper, vermillion, quicksilver, &c. About Esmok and Puer salt is abundant.

I did not see a single piece of fine earthenware or porcelain here; the cups used are of the common sort. The pottery is of the rudest description, made by the people themselves.

The Chinese merchants, in speaking of the coolies we met carrying the heavy loads I have mentioned, told me that I could form no idea of the numbers of people perishing from hunger and poverty in their country; that the streets, towns, and country swarm with beggars. Famines are frequent, though no part of the province is left uncultivated that can be made use of.

The Kouk nhien rice is used here chiefly, but the other sort is also common. There is no wheat nor barley, nor is any brought from China. When I dined with the Talau Tsóbua I saw one or two sheaves of wheat that had been brought from Ava, and kept as a curiosity.

I procured some wax of the Shula Shú, a vegetable production, which is taken internally as well as applied externally, and is supposed by the Chinese doctors to heal and strengthen to an extraordinary degree.

Muang Lém, Kiang Má, Muang Tien, and Muang Mung, or Maing Main, pay their duties, and make their reports to Shuen li Fú.

23rd March.—Understanding that the reply had arrived from China to the reference made from this, and that it was unfavourable to my advancing, I called on the minister and told him that I wished to proceed to Ava, *viâ* Muang Lém; and, failing in this, to return by any road on the eastern bank of the Mé Khong. He received me in his usual friendly manner, but at once told me that he much regretted it was not in his power to accede to my wishes. All my arguments in favour of my projects failed to make him disposed to countenance either of them; but he promised to call in the evening with a definite reply, and to bring the letter he had received from China.

Some Shans from Muang Nan with elephants have arrived within the last week, at Muang

Muang Phung with betel-nut. That town had long been deserted, and only lately repeopled, and these are the first traders who have come there direct. Captain McLeod's Journal.

The Muang Lóng Tsóbua brought me, unasked for, a very rough map of the country, and the names of the towns forming the capitals of the Sip tson pana, or 12 Tsóbua-ships, and requested I would not show it to any person.

24th March.—Last night being very wet the Talau Tsóbua sent an excuse for not coming as he promised. He called to-day with the letter from China. It set forth that the authorities there had consulted all their historical works, and could not find a precedent for an officer entering China by the Muang Lá road; that English vessels daily repaired to Canton, to which place I ought to have gone. It contained the same observation about no merchants having accompanied me, &c., as were urged here, but ended, I was told, by inviting our merchants to come up and trade, and that their own traders were at liberty to proceed to Moulmein if they wished it; that orders had been issued to the authorities at Kiang Húng, which place was a town of their own, to pay me every attention and settle all my business; that if I still persisted in coming up, it would be necessary to obtain the Emperor's sanction. The letter bore the impression of the seals of both the civil and military authorities at Puer, and the envelope, consisting of a large bag of coarse brown paper, was stamped with the same. I requested them to furnish me with a copy of the letter, which they did. I pointed out to them that I had come from the ruler of one province to that of another one; that the nearest and most direct road to it is that by which I had travelled; that the English, having establishments on the coast, are anxious to open a direct communication by land with Yunan; the person honoured with an embassy to the Emperor would not, of course, come by the road I have; that the rulers of Laos sent up their tribute by this route, being the most direct. I requested that they would offer the same explanations as I had already given for merchants not having accompanied me. The chiefs said all they could to reconcile me to my disappointment. With reference to my proceeding by Muang Lém, or returning by the road on the eastern bank of the Mé Khong, as proposed by me, the Minister told me it pained him much not to comply with my request; the reason given is, that he had received a letter from the Kiang Túng Tsóbua, entreating him to send me back by that place, as after my departure he had received orders from Moné to detain me until instructions could be received from Ava; but that I had been permitted to come on on the Tsóbua's responsibility, and if he, the Minister, did not now comply with his request, the Tsóbua would incur the displeasure of his Government; that he himself was under great personal obligations to the Tsóbua, who had once received and protected him against his enemies when they sought to take his life; that this letter had been forwarded to China, and he had, in reply, been directed to have me escorted, when I wished to return, by the same road as I had come up by. He therefore hoped, that I would not object to this, for he would be obliged, in that case, to apply again for instructions to China. I thought it advisable to waive the matter with a good grace, for there can be no doubt what would be the result of such reference.

I wished to start to-morrow, but am to dine at the palace to take leave of my new friends and receive the letter for the Commissioner in reply to the one brought up by me.

Silver and iron are found in the Kiang Húng territory, but the former so small in quantity that the mines are not worked. The Bau-dwen or silver mines in the Muang Lém territory are very productive: they are worked by Chinese who are generally employed by the villagers, who, in a body, pay 1 viss 12½ ticals, monthly, for the exclusive working of the mine, be the quantity obtained what it may. The mine is said to be very deep and running to a considerable distance under a hill; many deaths are caused by parts falling in. The ore is melted in the common Burmese mode: the white soft powdery substance found adhering to the cover of the furnace in which the ore is smelted, is collected and sold for three times its weight in silver; it is considered good for sore eyes. Lead is also obtained and is sent to China and is there made use of to cover houses; the price is 2½ ticals for 75 viss.

There are salt mines on the eastern side of the Mé Khong at Utai, and some other places. The duty on grain here is collected at the rate of three-quarters of a tical for 20 baskets of seed sown, by some accounts; others tell me that each cultivator pays three-quarters of a tical for whatever quantity he may sow. The transplanting system is adopted as at Kiang Túng. The above tax is paid to China. An officer comes round annually to look into the state of the crops, and make remissions if necessary. The petty Tsóbuas pay direct to China. The grain is chiefly grown in the Muang Khié, Muang Hám, Kiang Khieng, and Muang Hái districts.

The tea districts are Baula, Ingu, I'pung, and Ban-man (a village). These are on the eastern bank of the Mé Khong. On the western bank are Nam Nau (village), cultivated by the Ka kúis, Sen Len, Muang Phan, Muang Hái, Muang Hum, Kiang Tien, Ban Phit, Ban Wa, Muang Wing, Muang ong Luang, and Muang ong noi. This list was given me by a Burman, therefore not to be quite relied on, particularly the names.

Baula and I'pung have establishments of Chinese to prepare the tea. The produce of these districts is paid as a tax to China on the whole tea grown in the Kiang Húng territories; 560 mules' loads are sent from these two places. Of these, 25 loads are of the tender shoots, for the Emperor himself; great as the quantity is, the Minister and other Tsóbuas invariably tell me the same, and therefore I have no reason to doubt its correctness; the other estates are private property.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

The leaf is collected four times each year, the quantity lessening each time. It is made up into circular flat cakes, and the decoction is the common beverage, without sugar or milk, at all hours of the day; it is by no means badly flavoured, differing much from what I have before tasted at Ava; they pay no particular attention to its cultivation. The Talau Tsóbua sent to Muang Hái and procured some seed for me.

I visited the ferry across the Mé Khong above the town, and had great difficulty in getting a small canoe to cross over in; my own people were obliged to pull me over, the Shans being afraid to do so. I measured the river above its junction with the Mé Há, where it spreads out into a large sheet of water during the monsoon. The banks are high, but above this spot, as well as at and below the town, the river is bounded by hills confining the stream within a much narrower bed than where I crossed. The stream at this season is about 450 feet wide; from bank to bank it is about 1,620 feet; its rise during the freshes, judging from the high banks, must be at least 50 or 60 feet. Its bed is rocky; at one place the stream rushed down with considerable rapidity, but its average velocity I should think is about three miles an hour. It is not at any season fordable, and must be now more than 15 feet deep, but how much more I cannot say. There were several canoes here loading with paddy to be taken down to the town of Muang Hám, being the produce of Kiang Lám and the surrounding villages. The river is said to be navigable for canoes all the way to its mouth in the dry season, though there are rapids and falls in it; one particularly between the towns of Kiang Khieng and Kiang Thén; and one near Chandapuri. After passing Kiang Khieng it takes a south-westerly direction to below the town of Kiang Thén, where again it turns off to the south-eastward and flows on in that direction; no trade is at present carried on by the river, though before the destruction of Wintchiang and the reduction of Muang Luang Phaban to its present comparatively insignificant state, many boats passed up and down with goods. Gold is found in the sands of this river. No regular duty is taken from the sifters, who are generally Chinese, but a permit is given them, and they make a present according to their success.

English piece goods sell here at a trifle higher than at Kiang Túng, but at present there is little or no demand. No duty is taken here, but a merchant bringing up a large investment makes a few trifling presents. Birds' nests, sea slugs, sharks' fins, gold thread, and lace, and asafœtida will always pay the trader bringing them up well.

There is a bazar here, as at Kiang Túng, every fifth day, but at present it is thinly attended. Provisions of all sorts are cheap. A few plantain and pomegranate are the only fruit trees I have seen in the place. Beans, peas, radishes, are found in all their gardens.

The religion is the Buddhism of Ava; there are not, however, more than six monasteries in the place. Their religious buildings are similar to those at Zimmé, though these are attached to some pagoda (zedi).

The people are generally of a lighter olive colour than those about Kiang Túng; some are, however, very fair. They are of a middle stature. They partake much of the Tartar countenance; many of the chiefs, indeed, are descendants of Chinese parents either on the father's or mother's side. The chief's dress, on particular occasions, is entirely Chinese, the upper garment of silk, worked and ornamented with various figures and devices in gold and silk, reaching the ground, with a conical light hat with the button of rank on it, shoes, &c. The hair being permitted to grow long behind, is plaited into a tail. At other times they are habited in a mixture of Chinese and Shan dresses; sometimes wearing turbans (with the hair confined under it) of dark blue cloth, with a fringe of gold thread at the end, which goes round their head two or three times. They wear their shoes on all occasions, but avoid treading on a carpet with them on. The only ornaments they use are earrings, and a pair of plain gold bangles. The common people dress like the Shans, with trowsers, substituting the Chinese thick or fur jackets for the common glazed and quilted one. Their hair is worn after the Burmese fashion, with a goung boung either of white muslin or a handkerchief. The chiefs do not puncture or tattoo themselves, though the common people do. Tobacco is smoked in small pipes, and though they chew betel, it is not to excess, and their teeth are generally white. This partial abstinence arises perhaps from the scarcity of the areca in these territories. Muang Hám, on the Mé Khong, is the only place where the nut grows, and the town is described as being surrounded by this palm.

The women are short and rather fair, but not so much as I expected to find them. They are of a middle stature, and dress like the women at Kiang Túng, with jackets like the Burmans, but, on great occasions, with long ones more in the Chinese style. I saw very few of them about the place, and never those of the chiefs when visiting at their houses. Many have been sent to different towns to be out of the way at present. They wear turbans of the same materials as the men, the ends falling on their neck behind.

There are several Chinese women here who have been clandestinely brought out of their country. Some of them came to see me, and the only thing remarkable was their insisting on prostrating themselves, with their heads touching the ground, three or four times, and standing with their arms crossed in a most respectful manner, and their deformed small feet.

The territory of Kiang Húng is bounded to the south, on the western bank of the Mé Khong, by those of Kiang Khieng and Muang Niong; to the southward and westward by those of Kiang Túng and Muang Lém; to the north-west by that of Muang Lém and the wild Ka kúis; to the northward by the Province of Yunan, and to the eastward by Tonkin and the Cochin China territories; to the southward by Laos, or the territories of

Captain McLeod's Journal.

of Muang Luang Phaban and Muang Nan. The Mé Khong flows through the length of it, and it is watered by numerous other streams of considerable size, all falling into that river.

The town, when fully occupied, may contain about 400 houses, but not above 250 now. It stands in about 21° 58′ north latitude, and 100° 39′ east longitude. Water boils at 210° Fahrenheit. The 12 Tsobuaships under it are:—

Muang Khié „ Lóng „ Kheng	On the western bank of the Mé Khong.
Kiang Khieng Muang Phung „ La „ Lá (Esmok) „ Hám Baula Luang Muang Ú Kiang, or Chin Tong Muang Hing	On the eastern bank of the Mé Khong.

This list was given me by the Muang Lóng Tsóbua; it varies with respect to one or two places from that given me by others, still, he being an officer of rank, I have taken his list. It is, however, worthy of notice, that none of the parties could give the names off-hand.

The tribute to China amounts to 65½ viss of silver annually, I am told, besides grain and the tea.

To Ava each petty Tsóbua triennially presents,

A gold cup, weighing	2½ ticals.
Tinsel cloth, each	1 piece.
Silk cloth, each	1 „
Shoes, each	1 pair.
Salt	1 cake.
Tea	1 viss.
Candles covered with gold leaf	1 viss.
„ with silver leaf	1 viss.
„ with gold flowers	1 viss.
„ with silver flowers	1 viss.

The Tsen wi fuá presents the same, with the addition of two ponies and the gold cup, weighing 7½ ticals. Each of the petty Tsóbuas offers the same annually to the Tsen wi fuá as they do triennially to Ava.

The Muang Lóng Tsóbua told me that his share towards a tribute to China was 10 viss of silver; that each Tsóbua pays according to the extent of his territory. Each Tsóbua takes two baskets of rice on each pair of bullocks yoked to a plough, and receives about 200 viss of tea and cotton annually from his subjects collectively. They are not obliged to pay their tax to China in silver; it may be paid in anything they please; 30 viss of silver is paid to the Tsen wi fuá, and 12 men are supplied by each Tsóbua for constant service.

The silver current is of the best description, either the Chinese stamped square coin, or Bau silver, or the Burmese Yuetni.

Rupees are in great demand, chiefly for ornaments for children; they willingly give one tical of Bau for one rupee; the few I had are expended.

The contingent to be supplied by this state for service, should it be called for by the King of Ava, is 5,000 men. The Chinese do not require the provinces tributary to them to keep up any force.

25th March.—Mahá Dewi's brother, the Muang Phung Tsóbua, came this morning and endeavoured to persuade me to delay my departure until the 27th. I have already, to please them, put it off one day; I therefore pleaded the approach of the rains as my excuse for not remaining. The falls of rain here are very heavy and frequent during the south-west monsoon, as also at Kiang Túng, much more so than at Zimmé, I am told.

At about 12 I was requested to proceed to the palace, where I was received by all the Tsóbuas, in their full dress. On two tables covered with red cloth were laid out the presents, arranged so as to make a show.

The officers from Kiang Túng, Muang Lóng, and Kiang Khieng, being about to leave the place, presents for them were likewise laid out. Those for the former consisted of a spear cased in silver, a small silver cup, a piece of blue cotton cloth, and a thin sheet of silver plate stamped with Chinese characters, which was suspended on his breast. This last is an honorary distinction borrowed from the Chinese, and intended as a mark of favour and friendship. Each of the others had a silver cup or piece of cloth and the stamped silver silver conferred on him.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

To my writer, interpreter, and cooly goung, they gave a small silver chunam box, a piece of blue cloth, and a piece of the stamped silver. To me they presented, in the young Tsen wi fuá's name, a very handsome worked Chinese dress of ceremony, similar to those worn by themselves, a Chinese dress hat, and stamped piece of gold plate; and a silver cup, from Mahá Dewi, two pieces of tinsel gauze, a pony, and an old Shan hat. From themselves, a fur jacket of the huli skin, a silver cup, and some tea. They insisted upon my putting on the Chinese dress and suspending the gold plate on my breast, which I did, much to their satisfaction. The letter for the Commissioner was delivered to me, its contents having been explained in the first instance.

They assured me, that my visit has given them infinite pleasure, that they will use their best endeavours to continue in our friendship, which they have been long anxiously looking forward to cultivate; that they have a high respect and esteem for us, and as soon as they are assured of a passage being granted them through the Zimmé territories, they will send their merchants down; and pressed me to return next year myself, and to bring up some merchants with me; that every protection shall be afforded them, and if they wished to proceed to China, every assistance shall be rendered, and no duty be at any time levied on their goods. They said that they hoped I have no cause to disbelieve the sincerity of their professions; they candidly confessed that, on my first arrival, they viewed the object of my mission with suspicion, which they hoped I will forgive, considering it was the first time they had had any intercourse with a British officer; that my frequent and unreserved intercourse with them soon removed all unfavourable impressions, and they hoped that I am satisfied of the truth of this from the manner in which they have latterly communicated with me. In reply, I told them I feared that some persons had been taking advantage of their ignorance of the British character, to work upon their fears. I could only assure them, as I have often done before, that I have faithfully told them the object of my mission; that our only wish is to extend our commercial intercourse; that we wish to see all at peace and happy; that we have no desire to extend our territories, though at the same time we are ever prepared to punish those who dare to insult us in any way, but they may rest assured that they will never have cause to regret the kind reception they have given me, and the permission they have accorded our traders to visit them. When I spoke about the extension of our territories, they immediately called out, "We know that well, for you might have had Ava had you wished it, and you did not even retain what you had taken by force of arms." After some complimentary and friendly conversation, we sat down to dinner. Nothing particular occurred until the Tseitké's departure (for I stayed till dark, they insisting upon my sitting down again every time I attempted to move), when the Talau Tsóbua said to me, "From your remarks, I think you know who was the cause of the stiff reception we gave you at our first interview; you are right in your surmise; though the Tseitké is a bad man, he had adroitness enough to work on our credulity, propagating many absurd and untrue reports, and describing the character of the English different from what we had heard and have now seen; you were represented to be like needles, trying to push in everywhere. He is a mischievous old man, and has been the cause of all the disturbances and bloodshed here; had he done his duty even to his own king, without reference to the son of the man to whom he is under the greatest obligations, nothing would have occurred. Mahá Dewi and we are all glad that you have not called on him." He could not finish without venting his spleen, as usual, against the Burmans, and lauding the Chinese.

During the repast a civil message was brought from Mahá Dewi, requesting I would permit her to have a knife, fork, spoon, and wine-glass; never having before seen such things, she wishes to keep them as curiosities.

When I took my leave, all the party followed me to the door and regretted that I would not prolong my stay amongst them, and wished me a pleasant journey. Their conduct on all occasions forms a contrast to what might be looked for from Burmans under similar circumstances; the aim of the latter is to treat strangers, whether equals, or even superiors, if they will permit it, with marked indifference and slight; whereas with my new friends the reverse is the case, their politeness being extreme. When visiting the Tsóbuas they invariably meet me at the bottom of the steps, and insist upon following me up into their houses, and when leaving, often accompany me to the gate of their enclosures, in spite of my remonstrances.

I have given all the Tsóbuas here a small present, such as my stock would afford: fusils are what they most want; however, I had but one to spare, which I gave to the Muang Lóng Tsóbuas, having before presented one to the minister. He is considered the best Chinese scholar amongst them here. I much regret not having some real curiosities to give to some of them, especially the minister, for they show a greater desire to gain information than any people I have met with, and it would be a great pleasure to contribute towards increasing their desire for knowledge.

Having in my way up heard of the road direct from this to Muang Hám without passing through Muang Hái, which would save me at least one day, I requested to be permitted to proceed by it. The Kiang Túng officer with me assured me, that the authorities would not comply with my request, as it was not the high road for officers to travel by; that even the Muang Niong and Kiang Túng officers now here would not be permitted to proceed by it. However, the Talau Tsóbua obligingly directed me to be escorted by it, and sent orders to all the towns in the Kiang Húng jurisdiction to have everthing ready for me on my arrival, particularly the coolies, so that I might not be detained, and that it should be left entirely to myself at what places I halted, without reference to what is customary.

Before

Captain McLeod's Journal.

Before starting I received three commissions; one from Mahá Dewi and her sister-in-law, for spectacles with the strongest magnifying glasses, and the same from the Talau Tsóbua, with the addition of a compass, and some flower and garden seeds, he being fond of gardening.

I had asked the minister for the history of the place: on the first occasion he looked serious, and after considering a short time he asked me whether I wished he should lose his head; that there was but one copy, and that lodged in the palace, and though he afterwards promised to have extracts made for me from it, he never did so. I must, however, do him the justice to say, that I believe he did not intentionally disappoint me, but his duties are numerous, and require, particularly at this time, all his attention and leisure.

I quitted Kiang Húng well pleased altogether with the result of my sojourn, which at first appeared likely to have terminated abruptly before it had hardly commenced, when I should have quitted the place, leaving an unfavourable impression. I am satisfied now, that, so far from this being the case, the authorities are sincere in their professions of respect and goodwill towards us.

From Kiang Húng to Kiang Túng.

26th March.—From Kiang Húng towards Muang Hám. Direction, S. 65 W. Estimated distance, 14 miles. Time, 4h. 33 m.

Started at a-quarter past nine, being escorted for about two or three miles by three Myo tsas (officers having towns assigned to them, though not Tsóbuas), and one officer with 22 men, who proceed to Muang Hám with me, where they are to be relieved by a similar number.

The first part of the journey lay through the valley in front of Kiang Lam, having in it numerous villages, some large, with cultivation, and watered by the Nam Lóm, a stream of about 20 feet broad flowing from the hills. The largest village we passed through was Dón Lón, of about 30 houses, though there were larger ones seen. We passed many heads of fine cattle grazing on the plains. At most of the villages bazars were established, and tanks formed to preserve fish in, but all the villages, like the town, having no fruit or other trees. Reached the foot of the hills, and shortly after passed the large and deserted village of Nam Lóm, and commenced to ascend the hills gradually rising through a thin jungle mixed with small bamboos, and halted on the top of a hill, with a fine stream of water a little way down the side of it, on our left, flowing to the north-west. We passed a good many Chinese to-day. Those coming from the westward and southward do not travel through Muang Hái. 1.22. 2.40.

27th March.—To Muang Hám.

Directions, { S. 50 W. / S. 70 W. / W. 70 W. } Estimated distance, { 12 miles. / 7 „ / 5 „ } Time, { 3h. 54m. / 2h. 29m. / 1h. 40m. }

We continued to ascend from the time of starting, and after surmounting a steep zig-zag ascent reached the highest point of the hills in this line, with higher ones, however, ranging on both sides; we then commenced to descend. On the sides of the ranges we saw many neat Ka kúa villages, consisting of 20 or 30 houses, but without any trees about them. Having reached the first narrow valley, with a fine stream running through it to the north-west and shaded by trees, we proceeded along it, and then came upon fields belonging to the Ka kúas on the hills, which extended to the village of Nóng Lóng. From this the streams flow to the southward and westward; the chief one is the Nam Hám, which we frequently crossed, the road running over low but steep hills and reached the valley of Muang Hám, which is watered by above stream. This was a long march; some of the coolies were 11 hours altogether on the road. We ought yesterday to have come further than we did, as we passed many halting places, and the village of Nóng Lóng, all having abundance of water. The distance from Kiang Húng to Muang Hám by the road we have come is shorter than by Muang Hái, but it is more hilly. The Chinese prefer it, having more places to encamp on, and more pasture for their mules. 1.16. 1.44. 3.29. 3.54.

The Tsóbua, who had left Kiang Húng six days before me, was absent on a hunting excursion; notice of my approach had only been received last night, but he sent me a message promising to be in the next day, if I would halt and stay with him a day or two.

Some men originally from this place, but now residing at Labong, are here; they followed Puniah Pap, and having relations here came on; though very anxious to return with me, they are waiting for something being made up by the Tsóbua for his sisters, who are with the Chow Raja; but at Labong they were seized and carried away by the Siamese Shans many years ago.

28th March.—From Muang Hám to Muang Phang. Estimated distance, 19 miles. Time, 6h. 3m.

Having reached the foot of the hills, began to ascend them, and attained the place where the latitude was taken in going; after which the descent commenced, and continued with little 1.27. 2.28.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

little interruption, though very gradual, until we reached the top of a very steep hill, from which the fall for a great distance was very great.

Passed some pine to-day, but at no height. I have observed that this tree does not always grow on the most elevated spots; it appears to depend more on soil, being generally found where the earth is of a whitish clay mixed with gravel. As usual, passed a number of Chinese on the march, particularly parties with cloths and cotton. In the evening, the head men of the place came to pay me their respects, and were anxious to know the cause of my not having gone on to China.

At this place, there are some Chinese who gain their livelihood by distilling spirits and carrying it to the Ka kúa and other villages. Coolie hire from this to Muang Húng is three quarters of a tical; to Talau the same; to Kiang Túng three and a-half ticals for Shans, but for Kadams, &c., less.

29th March.—From Muang Phang to Muang La. Estimated distance, 10 miles.
Time, 5h. 8m.

4.14. Started early; having reached Talau, breakfasted there. A great deal of the ground about this has been laid out in tobacco plantations since we passed up.

Not being expected until to-morrow, no coolies had been collected; however, to my surprise, they brought a number of women to carry my things. I was very averse to make use of them; they, however, laughed at my scruples, and told me they were generally employed carrying loads and baggage for the officers of Government passing through. They certainly marched off with mine as if they enjoyed it. They had only to carry them to Muang La, about three miles; the men also were away from this, as at the other place, as I was not expected so soon; I could not get any coolies, so was obliged to halt.

30th March.—From Muang La to Ban Tapin. Estimated distance, 24 miles.
Time 8h. 29m.

3.50. We breakfasted at the village of Ban Kap, or Muang Ma, and had the coolies who had accompanied us from Muang La relieved. To prevent any delay here, I desired the Kiang Túng officer with me to write off last evening to the head man here to have the coolies ready; though the note only arrived this morning, I found the old man had exerted himself, and had all prepared for me, he himself waiting to receive me with abundance of provisions. He was very inquisitive to know the cause of my not having proceeded to China. I told him that the lateness of the season, and the authorities having complied with our wishes respecting our traders, had caused my speedy return. He does not appear to be a friend of the Talau Tsóbua; he attributes all the bloodshed at Kiang Húng to his ambition, and was anxious to hear the particulars of the occurrences there. The villages in this valley have more fruit-trees than were seen at any others, for we passed numbers of fine mangoe and tamarind trees. Some Chinese have a village of their own near this, and make a good deal of sugar from the cane grown in the neighbourhood. The doctor with whom I had entered into an agreement about the sick Chinaman came to tell me that his patient died the day after our departure, and that he had had him decently buried, and now brought the balance of the money I gave him to return to me; he was not a little delighted on being told to keep it.

6.6. We intended to have made the Pang mé foi plain our halting place, but the gadflies were so troublesome, and the ponies became so unmanageable, that we found it necessary to push on. On the road, even, I was obliged to beat them off with small branches of shrubs, until my arms really ached.

31st March.—From Ban Tapin to Kiang Túng. Estimated distance, 23 miles.
Time, 7h. 27m.

1.33. Started at three o'clock. Though the moon was up, the hills and trees prevented our benefiting by her light to reach the first zeat, where we sat down to enjoy a blazing fire

3.3. some traveller had just quitted. We breakfasted at the second zeat; here a small party of Shans passed us from Ava and Moné, with a few piece goods: they had seen

4.22. Dr. Richardson at the latter place, but could not give any particular information respecting his movements. After passing the third zeat, we halted at the village of Pakhan, the heat being great, until the cool of evening, and surprised everybody by making our appearance in town. I sent to inform the minister of my arrival; he was, however, out in the country with his wife.

In the evening an old Burmese woman, who is a favourite in the place, came to tell me that Dr. Richardson was detained at Moné for orders from Ava, and appeared mysterious respecting some communication received concerning myself, which she said I would hear in due time. This old woman, when I was here before, appeared to take great interest in the success of my mission, and in the impression made by me on the people here; she frequently brought me the news from the palace, and was anxious I should not call on any officers of Government. Hearing that I had paid the minister a visit, she came and entreated that I would not demean myself by calling on any of the others; that I must keep up my dignity; that I was only to go to the Tsóbua, for though Puniah Wang never called on any officers deputed here by other states, that he had on me, to show how highly

highly they thought of me; that by making myself too common the Tsóbua's son would not visit me.

A criminal was sentenced to be executed, having committed numerous thefts and cruelties; the priests, headed by Tsóbua's youngest son, rescued him at the gate, though not without giving many hard blows; the young prince's presence prevented the jailors and their gang exerting themselves: the culprit was taken to a monastery, his head shaved, and he himself admitted into the priesthood, so that he is now exempt from all punishment.

1st April.—Puniah Wang returned in the evening; he rode in without any parade, his wife, dressed like a common woman, with a large Chinese hat, following him on foot. He came to see me after it was dark by himself. He told me of the letter from Moné, which he promised to show me; also a second one, finding fault with the Tsóbua for not forwarding a list of the presents made to him. They have since furnished one, he told me, but by no means a correct one, and that the Tsóbua had sent some of the things to the king. A list of the presents taken to Moné by Dr. Richardson, and copy of the Commissioner's letter, had been sent here. He likewise mentioned that there was a report of some quarrel or fight between the Prince of Tharawaddi and the Mengthagyi, and of the King's death, but supposed it merely originated in the known feeling of dislike existing between the two, and the general opinion that the latter had some views on the throne. There is likewise a report of some British officer having arrived at Tsagain, opposite Ava, with a large train of followers.

The Chinamen who had gone to Zimmé, and whom I had met on the road, returned yesterday; they came to see me, and told me that they had purchased betel nut there, but that the Chou Raja Wun would not allow them to carry it to Kiang Túng, saying that the subjects of Ava should never have their wants supplied from that place, and that they were determined to prevent all communication between the two places; that his younger brother should be sent to establish chokies on all the roads leading to Kiang Túng, on the Mé Khók, and seize all persons found trading. Several of the chiefs had endeavoured to obtain permission for them to take the nuts away, as they had purchased them; but the Chou Raja Wun was inexorable. They moreover added, the chiefs of Zimmé were very much afraid of the English; that all the Chinese merchants looked to us to have the road thrown open. They had been considerable losers by the journey, but the Tsóbua here had sent for them to make up their losses.

Puniah Wang, as usual, is very bitter against the Zimmé people, and he to-day spoke of the Burmans in no very respectful terms. He told me a nephew of Tsóbua's had come from Zimmé to see his uncle by stealth; that it would be known there, and it was the Tsóbua's intention to beg of me to use my influence to prevent his being punished. He doubted whether the Tsóbua would allow him to return until he is assured of it. I pointed out to the Puniah how unfortunate it was that such a thing should occur at this time; that I much feared the Zimmé people would become very suspicious, and make it an excuse for not throwing open the road to us; that I strongly advised the nephew's immediate return; he might get back without its being known that he had been here, and I could then, if he was found out, have better grounds for asking pardon for him.

Some of the traders I left here have been quarrelling amongst themselves, and, I fear, giving the officers no very good opinion of their respectability. Many have returned to Moulmein, some are to accompany me, and some to remain. I have induced one party to proceed to Moné, or along the right bank of the Salween to the Kareng-ni country. Some, without reason, complained to me that they have been prevented from going with their goods to the surrounding villages; this Puniah Wang denies, and I discovered afterwards that none had applied for permission, and gave me as their reason for not doing so, and for complaining without cause, that they had heard they would not be permitted to proceed. It is a great pity that more respectable persons do not come up both to Zimmé and this place; the men who now carry on the trade are, generally speaking, a vile set, and a disgrace to the British name.

2nd April.—I went to call on the minister early in the morning; he showed me the letters from Moné in Burmese, one directing that I might be detained here, and on no account be permitted to proceed, but that, if I persisted in going on, a list of my followers and servants was to be taken, and no assistance whatever given me. The other was about the presents. I had left my elephants here in hopes of meeting a sale for them, having at Labong heard there was always a great demand for them; however, the visit of the Zimmé people had overstocked the market. Puniah Wang wishes for a female one, and offers in exchange a pony he had refused 300 ticals for, yet he would not purchase the animal for 200 ticals from me.

Having procured rice, &c., for the march, the elephants left to-day. I made my arrangements to meet them on the road and to replenish my stock of rice; they will then proceed to Zimmé by easy stages.

Kiang Then, or Kiang Tsen, is described as having been formerly a large and flourishing place; that the lands about it are more fertile than elsewhere; the old town has a number of fine fruit trees about it. It is on the western bank of the Mé Khong. Opposite to it is a very fine large island. There is near it, too, a very large lake, which is never dry, and which supplies the people around with fish.

Called on the Tsóbua, who was very kind in his expressions towards me. I told him that I much regretted the steps he had taken to oblige me to return here, as I had fully

Captain McLeod's Journal.

explained to him before my departure my motives for wishing to return by another road to Zimmé, or to proceed towards Ava. He seemed hurt at my supposing he had done so, either from unfriendly motives or of his own accord. I relieved him by telling him I was acquainted with the particulars. He said he thought that I was making too much of the authorities at Zimmé; that they and the Siamese were much afraid of us, and if we insisted upon anything they must give in to us; that if we choose to do it ourselves or join him, we should easily compel them to grant our wishes about the roads. I told him our object is not war, though we are powerful, and speedily took vengeance on any who dare to annoy us; yet we wish to be at peace with all our neighbours, and gain privileges from their friendship and not by arms. He asked me, whether in case he called upon the English at any time, for he evidently saw the Zimmé people were seeking a quarrel, whether we would assist him. I informed him that my mission was purely of a commercial character, and I had no authority to entertain questions like that put by him, and that all I can do is, to make the Commissioner in the provinces acquainted with what had passed. He stated that the reason he is so urgent about the Zimmé road is the good of his country, and that he might hear something of his relatives in his old age; and that as we are anxious for a free communication with him, and with Kiang Húng, we are bound to do something to coerce the Zimmé authorities. He spoke of the Yandabo treaty protecting the Siamese; that if the Burmese Shans attacked them we should assist them, whereas they are at liberty to molest and carry away the inhabitants of the Burmese places with impunity. I assured him, that so far from our countenancing their aggressions, we regretted to hear that the Siamese were inclined to forget the blessing of peace which they had so long enjoyed, and which the chiefs invariably expressed their desire should continue. After making inquiries about my journey, reception, &c., at Kiang Húng, he spoke about his nephew (mentioned before by Puniah Wang); I told him that my interposition, I was fearful, might be productive of mischief to him, and interfere with our proposal about the road. It was, however, finally agreed that I was not to mention having seen his nephew until the Chou Hona returned from Bankok, and then to consult with his brothers at Zimmé, and to act as I thought prudent. I, however, again strongly urged his nephew's return, but to no purpose. A Burman dinner was served up for myself and all the officers; and I was obliged to partake of something. Neither the Tsóbua nor his sons touched anything.

Received a letter from Dr. Richardson at Moné, dated 6th of March; it was brought by some of the Tseitké's people. At about nine o'clock at night the Puniah, who had recognised me on my arrival, came to me with a message from the Tsóbua, saying he wished to see me that night privately, as he had something particular to communicate; I accordingly proceeded to the palace accompanied by my writer and interpreter. We were taken to the back of the building, where all was still; after passing through many dark passages and rooms, we found ourselves at the back of the hall of audience.

Here were the Tsóbua, his eldest son, and Puniah Wang. The apartment was only lighted up by one wretched oil light. The object of this secret interview was to renew the propositions of the morning in more distinct terms, he being fearful then of being too explicit. He was anxious to form an alliance, both offensive and defensive, that we should assist him when called upon, and we were to consider his country as ours, and he would bind himself faithfully to obey us in all matters. What I have mentioned will suffice to show the drift of the conference, which lasted a considerable time. He was quite prepared to place himself under our protection, but I did not countenance the proposal, and was cautious not to give him any encouragement or to commit myself in any way. He spoke in the warmest terms of gratitude of the King, but he has a strong dislike to the Mengthagyi and others at Ava. Before my departure the Tsóbua called Puniah Wang, and whispered something to him, and then walked to a large chest, and taking from it a sword with a golden scabbard, gave it into his son's hands to present to me. The Tósbua, addressing me, said that it was a Shan custom, when a friendship, such as had been formed between us existed, to exchange arms in testimony of the sincerity of each party; he hoped, therefore, that I would accept the sword and keep secret what had passed between us. The only thing I could offer in return was a double-barrel pistol of curious workmanship, and which I knew he was anxious to obtain; I accordingly told him that I would deliver it to Puniah Wang. On my way home I observed to the Puniah that the Tsóbua appeared to be greatly attached to the Burmans; he replied that he was much so to the King, but that his Majesty is now considered as not taking any interest in the Shan States, and the consequence is, that the Burmese Tseitkés lord it over them.*

3rd April.—I went to-day, by appointment, to take leave of the Tsóbua, and receive the letter for the Commissioner. The visit was a very long one, but during it nothing particular occurred; he pressed me to prolong my stay, and spoke about the Zimmé chokies, and his intention to send a party to reconnoitre.

He apologized for the paltriness of the presents that he had made, which were so far under the value of those he had received, that he was ashamed to offer them; but his country did not produce anything worth our acceptance, and we did not require gold or silver,

* Is it not possible that the intelligence either of the Prince of Tharawaddi's success, or of his having set up the standard of revolt, might have reached this, and, though I was kept ignorant of it, might have led the Tsóbua to think of throwing off the Burmese yoke, from which he derives no benefit, and seeking our alliance and protection.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

silver, of which we had abundance. I assured him that the costliness of a present itself weighed little in our estimation; that the friendship and regard he has professed for us, as well as the attention I have received, and the encouragement promised to our traders, exceeded in value any presents he could possibly offer us. The presents from the Tsóbua consisted of a sword in a silver scabbard, two silver cups, two pieces of Chinese tinsel gauze, and a fine pony. His eldest son presented a sword like the other, and a silver cup; a nephew of his, and younger son, each a cup. To my writer was given a sword like the above ones, and to each of my followers, a small Shan box, of the value of about four annas. I reminded him of the historical extracts he had promised me, which were brought and delivered to me, written in Shan.†

He asked me to procure for him a four-barrel gun, a watch, compass, and 12 English sword blades, that would cut through a musket at a blow! His eldest son wanted a double-barrel gun and watch for himself, a pair of pistols for his brother, and Puniah Wang a compass and thermometer. In the evening I went to see Puniah Wang; he spoke of sending a party with me to see where the Siamese chokies were placed; the party is to consist of a few Burmans; otherwise, he said, they would suspect at Ava that they have been intriguing with us and the Siamese. He again asked for the elephant, she had started with the others; he was so urgent that I agreed to exchange her, but he is to send a person with me to take charge of her, when we come up with her. The Chinaman whom I hired at Zimmé, and left here when I proceeded to Kiung Húng, I intended should return with my elephants; but after my departure a relation of his from China was beaten by some Shans and died in consequence; he is to waiting for the brother of the deceased to prosecute the assailants.

From Kiang Túng to Zimmé.

4th April.—From Kiang Túng to the Foot of the First Range of Hills.
Estimated Distance, 11 miles Time, 3 h. 35 m.

I was delayed by receiving a message from the Tsóbua, that he had directed all the officers to go and escort me out of the town. Knowing well that this was only done thinking thereby to please me, and show his respect for us, but that by it, he ran some chance of incurring the displeasure of the Burmans, I remonstrated, especially as I wished myself to escape the show. After some demur, he only insisted upon four or five of them accompanying me some miles; this I could not prevent, say what I would.

A party of one officer and 10 men are to accompany me to Hái Tái. I did not wish them to go with me into the Zimmé territories as was proposed. The Tsóbua apologized for sending so small a party, but the Moné letter was the cause; in fact, I suspect that they reported that I would not, either in going or returning, permit myself to be detained.

Having passed through the village Muang Khien, we halted on the plain at the foot of the first range of hills. 2.14.

5th April.—From the Foot of the First Range of Hills to that of the Second Range.
Estimated Distance, 16½ miles. Time, 5 h. 14 m.

Though the coolies and the people were called at half-past three to cook and eat their breakfasts, we did not get off until near six. We passed through the village of Muang Pák, and continued our march to the foot of the high range, when we halted. We met some Shans, who were going to town with salt and pickled fish caught in the Mé Het; these men certainly lead a most wandering life to obtain their livelihood. 3.44.

On arriving at Muang Pák, to my surprise, the man who had brought Puniah Wang's pony to be changed for the elephant, said he had been directed to return from that place either with the elephant or pony. It had been settled that he was to have accompanied me to Hái Tái, for we knew well that I should not overtake the elephants before. I suspect the man must have made some mistake, confounding the Chokey village for the frontier one, but he was very positive; I, therefore, allowed him to return, giving him a note to his master on the subject.

6th April.—From the Foot of the Second Range of Hills to the old halting place on the Mé Nium.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 20 miles; time - - -	6	36
Reached the first stockade in - - - - -	0	46
Thence to Patchiang, near the second stockade - -	1	52
From that to the Mé Het - - - - -	2	25
From Mé Het to old halting place on the Mé Nium -	1	33

The jungle in many places had been burnt.

We met, in spite of the Zimmé chokies being established, a party of people from Nón-quan with eight elephants, taking betel-nut to Kiang Túng. They are followers of the Chou Hona of Labong, and did not fall in with the Chou Raja Wun's people. At the

† These, I find, are most meagre respecting Kiang Túng itself, but contain much of the founding, &c. of the States of Zimmé, Labong, &c.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

the halting place we met some more people going to Muang Paniak; a party at this place, two days before, lost a bullock by a tiger, we were consequently obliged to tie up the ponies a little after dark.

7th April.—From the Mé Nium to Hái Tái. Estimated Distance, 17 miles. Time, 5 h. 23 m.

All the swamps we crossed in going are now dry.

	H.	M.
From the Mé Nium to the Mé Pán - - - -	1	30
From the Mé Pán to the top of ascent - - -	1	0
From the top of the hill to Ban Hái Nua - - -	1	3
From Ban Hái Nua to Hái Tái - - - -	1	50

The coolies who accompanied me from Kiang Túng, return from this; no appearance yet of the reconnoitering party who were to have followed. We found the elephants here.

8th April.—From Hái Tái to an open space amongst the Hills.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 14 miles; time - - - -	4	37
From Hái Tái to the Mé Oú - - - - -	2	50
From the Mé Oú to the Mé Hem, an old halting place	0	40
From the Mé Hem to halting place - - - -	1	7

The road has become so much drier, that our marches are performed with more expedition than in going. We are enabled, having only ponies and no elephants with us, to start at or before day-light every morning. The place we have stopped at is not the one I intended to have halted at; I wished to have gone on, but having remained behind to talk to some people who had accompanied Puniah Pap, the Zimmé officer, on his return, I found on reaching this place, my tent pitched, and the elephants here.

The people I met were taking back on their elephants betel nut and cocoa nuts, presents from the Tsóbua's brothers, made when the officer from Kiang Túng visited Zimmé, and all of which he could not carry away, but left some at the frontier village.

9th April.—From the halting place in the Hills to the Nam Tsón Nák.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 20 miles; time - - - -	6	24
From halting place to a plain - - - - -	1	22
From the plain to old halting place on the Mé Tsái -	3	24
From the Mé Tsái to the tank - - - - -	1	0
From the tank to Nam Phu, or Mé Má - - -	0	40
From Mé Má to Nam Tsón Nák - - - -	0	10

Having yesterday taken rice from the elephants I left a party with them to come on slowly, the weather being unfavourable and little or no forage procurable.

At the Mé Má we came upon a party of hunters; they had been very successful in shooting deer, &c., whose flesh they had dried, and in catching fish in the lake near Kiang-Then; one of the party had, in the morning, shot a large tiger on the road near the tank, which was inclined to dispute his passage, though mounted on an elephant.

10th April.—From the Nam Tsón Nák to our old encamping ground on the Hué Lük.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 23 miles; time - - - -	7	13
From Nam Tsón Nák to the hot spring - - -	1	46
From the hot spring to old halting ground on Hué Kai	0	32
From Hué Kai to the Mé Khám Luang - - -	1	51
From the Mé Khám Luang to the Mé Khám Noi -	1	31
From Mé Khám Noi to Hué Lük - - - -	1	31

The heat is becoming very oppressive; the trees are nearly all leafless, and afford no shade; they have become more so since we passed the hills. I therefore make two marches in the day, which I am enabled to do having no elephants with me.

The swamps are all dry; also some of the streams we met in going. The Hue Lük is perfectly so. We are obliged to dig for water in its bed. Some of my people lost their way; the footpaths are so numerous over the plains (made by the hunters) that it is with difficulty we know the right one; they did not get in till dark.

11th April.—From the Hué Lük to the Mé Kón.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 24 miles; time - - - -	7	34
From the Hué Lük to the Mé Katón - - -	2	5
From the Mé Katón to the Mé Khók - - -	3	4
From the Mé Khók to the Mé Kón - - - -	2	25

The

Captain McLeod's Journal.

The grass on the plains has been burnt, and the gad-flies are more troublesome than ever. The pony the Kiang Tsóbua sent is so fat and consequently not in marching trim, that he was with difficulty driven along to.day, and could not stand when he came to the halting place.

Before reaching the Mé Khók the prints of tigers were as numerous as they were when I passed before. As my baggage ponies came along, the people with them saw three of these beasts moving about.

12th April.—From the Mé Kón to Pák Bóng.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 14 miles; time - - - - -	4	19
From the Mé Kón to the Mé Tsakón (old halting place) -	1	26
From the Mé Tsakón to Pák Bóng - - - - -	2	53

Puniah Pap, the officer who has charge of this frontier, has returned from Kiang Túng. Though he did not call on me when there, he did so shortly after my arrival at his village. He is much dissatisfied with the authorities at Zimmé. From him I obtained an insight into their sentiments. He confirms the account I had heard regarding the Chou Rajá Wun's fruitless advance towards the Burmese frontiers, and the story of the Mok mái officer, who, he says, is still in favour, and with the Chou Hona at Bankok, though a worthless, intriguing fellow. Some of the men, who had been sent to Kaintú and Mok mái as spies, were seized and imprisoned and the circumstance reported to Ava. They were ordered to be put to death; but the king, on hearing all the particulars connected with the affair, directed their release. He further informs me that he narrowly watched the officers while at Kiang Túng, and had spies of his own about the place; he is satisfied that they are all really amicably disposed, and that their only object is to open a free intercourse between the two countries and with us, and to see their relatives. The Chou Raja Wun is said to be much annoyed at his having gone in to Kiang Túng; and he is in a sad fright that they will punish him, though he had gone there from the best of motives. It will, however, be useless, he said, to make them acquainted with the true state of matters there, for they will not believe him unless he echoes the same story as Mok mái officer, or something like it.

He once received positive directions not to permit any person to pass the frontiers for the purpose of trading with Kiang Túng. He, however, could not prevent a number of people doing so, as there are numerous paths branching off before reaching his village. Many of the people also pass on the plea of hunting, but find their way to that place. That many of the Chou Hona's people went with permission, he supposes, from that officer (for with them he dares not interfere), but he sent back some of the Labong chief's people, who returned again with a note intimating, that if the articles were spoilt, he should be held responsible. This communication was forwarded to Zimmé, when he was directed to allow them to pass. The ex-Tsóbua of Kiang Túng at Zimmé once sent a few articles for sale; they were seized and confiscated. He speaks in the highest terms of Chou Maha Tep and his brother, as also of the Lagong and Labong chiefs, and attributes all the difficulty about the road to the Chou Hona and Chou Raja Wun. He likewise told me that these officers and some others made a stir about the Labong people opening a communication and trading with us at first, and would not allow their own people to sell their cattle, and it was not until the Labong and Lagong people had made small fortunes, and laughed at the Zimméers, that it was permitted; though at first, not generally, but only amongst the chiefs, for in reality the poor people are still prohibited from trading in cattle. They would not sanction the Kiang Túng officer purchasing any elephants, but bought up the best themselves, with the intention of again disposing of them to advantage; but the Lagong and Labong chiefs, hearing of it, were much displeased, and sent over to tell the visitors that if they required any, to come to them, and they accordingly supplied them, to the annoyance of the Chou Hona of Zimmé.

The road from Pang-ma-foi has been blocked up, by orders from Zimmé. The Chou Raja Wun is going to celebrate, with a great feast, the induction of his son into the priesthood, and it is to provide for this fête that his brother has been sent out hunting, but at the same time to be on the look-out for any unfortunate trader transgressing, to enrich himself with the spoils.

I left the pony given me by the Kiang Tung Tsóbua here (it being unable to march) in the charge of three men, with directions to come on in the cool of the day, by short marches, to Zimmé, when it is well enough.

13th April.—From Pák Bóng to the Mé Phit old halting place.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 18 miles; time - - - -	5	49
To Pang-Ma-foi from Pák Bóng - - - -	2	47
From Pang-Ma-foi to the Mé Tiun and village - -	2	8
From the Mé Tiun to the Mé Phit - - - -	0	54

The villagers flocked round me to know the result of my mission. They are greatly interested in the matter, participating greatly in the betel-nut trade, &c. Some of their relations are still absent at Kiang Túng on a trading expedition. The village belongs to both

Captain McLeod's Journal.

both Zimmé and Labong. The people from the latter are followers of the Chou Raja But. They were brought away many years ago from Muang Khók and Muang Tsat, which were originally peopled by settlers from Thaini.

The report is that the Chou Hona of both Labong and Lagong are to be raised to the vacant Tsóbuaships, and the latter, who is said to be a very clever, good man, is to have the supreme control over the three provinces.

14th April.—From Ban Mé Phit to Ban Tanko.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 24 miles; time - - - -	7	42
From Mé Phit to Nónquan - - - - -	1	31
From Nónquan to Teng Dám - - - - -	1	47
From Teng Dám to the Mé Takau - - - -	1	37
From the Mé Takau to the village of Takau - -	0	21
From the village of Takau to the village of Tanko -	2	26

We lost the road between Nónquan and Teng Dám, though the one we followed was very good, and passed through one or two villages. From the village of Takau to that of Tanko, we came by a road running to the westward of the one we travelled by in going. I do not consider it so good as the other, passing over steeper hills, and crossing the Mé Láu often. We did not travel by it before, as the river was too deep in some places to walk through; it is, however, considered the shorter of the two.

The same anxiety was shown at this village as at Mé Phit respecting the result of my mission.

15th April.—From Ban Tanko to near the hot springs.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 22 miles; time - - - -	7	14
From Tanko to Muang Fue Hái - - - -	1	58
From Fue Hái to old halting-place at Ban Kai Nón Noi - - - - - - - - - -	2	56
From old halting-place to near hot spring - - -	2	20

The face of the country is so changed, that I am at a loss sometimes about the road. The trees are leafless, the long grass on the plains burnt, and the jungle in some places cut down for cultivation, with numerous newly trodden paths, either made by hunters or by villagers to get at the places temporarily cultivated by them; all the swamps are likewise dry.

Between Fue Hái and the deserted village of Ban Kai Nón Noi, on the Mé Láu, and as well as between that and the place where we halted in the valley of the Mé Láu, at a short distance from the hot springs, we missed the main road, but came by others equally good, though somewhat longer.

The tigers between Fue Hái and this have become very bold and troublesome; the Chinese who came from Kiang Túng lost, near Ban Kai Nón Noi, four ponies and two men killed by these animals in one night. The Shans say that two years ago the roads were so infested by them, that travellers were always obliged to sleep on trees; since that they have been tolerably free from them, but they are again becoming troublesome.

16th April.—From near the hot springs to beyond Ban Indekali.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 20 miles; time - - - - -	6	25
To the hot springs from halting place - - - - -	0	12
From the hot springs to Pang Mung - - - - -	4	7
From Pang Mung to Ban Indekali - - - - -	1	21
From Ban Indekali to halting place - - - - -	0	45

The hot springs were as unapproachable as before, but the water in the Mé Láu, close to it, having fallen considerably, some warm water was flowing from one side from under some rocks, which were, when we passed up, under water. This stream was filled with dead insects; the water had a greenish substance floating on it. The thermometer in the hottest spring rose to 150° Fahrenheit.

17th April.—From near Ban Indekali to the bank of the Mé Quan.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 24 miles; time - - - - -	7	34
From the halting place to old halting place on the Mé Lai -	2	21
From the Mé Lai to Ban Muang Lón - - - - -	3	2
From Ban Muang Lón to the Mé Quan - - - -	2	11

From Ban Muang Lón we quitted the pathway by which we went, and came by the high road. The country flat, with numerous villages and fields in all directions.

We stopped on the left bank of the Mé Quan, not at a village, in consequence of there being good pasture for the ponies where we are.

18th

Captain McLeod's Journal.

18th April.—From the left bank of the Mé Quan to Zimmé.

	H.	M.
Estimated distance, 4 miles; time - - - - -	1	15

The country the same as that near Zimmé, described on going; the road a good cart road, but over fields. We did not pass through any village, though we skirted a great many.

The authorities here were surprised to hear of my arrival; they supposed I would have monsooned at Kiang Túng, for, before my departure, they said it would be impossible for me to reach Muang Lá and return before the rains.

I sent the interpreter to the Chou Raja Wun to inform him of my arrival; he of his own accord went to the Court, when the officers were very inquisitive regarding the presents made and received by me, but nothing else.

The Chou Raja Wun sent his Puniah with some rice, &c., with many kind inquiries about my health.

Some merchants who had followed me from Moulmein, and arrived here about a month after my departure, applied for permission to follow me to Kiang Túng; the Chou Raja Wun refused them permission, but told them that the Dakhong road was open to them; he hinted that though he was afraid to give them leave, yet as their master was there, if they followed him, he could not prevent them. This was saying a great deal, and was tantamount to giving them permission. These men, however, delayed here to celebrate the Mohorum, and have arranged to start the day after to-morrow; my unexpected arrival will, of course, cause a change.

Great preparations are making for the Chou Hona's reception; he is expected in a week; and amongst others they are repairing the old zeat.

The thermometer in my tent at 12 to-day stood at 110°, and in the sun 128°.

19th April.—I have been fortunate in not having had any rain on my march; during the night we had a heavy fall, and again to-day. Having only the shell of a tent over me, I removed into the zeat, allowing the workmen, however, to continue their work. I called on the Chou Raja Wun to-day, and was very cordially received. I endeavoured to persuade him to allow the merchants who had come up after me to have the same advantage as their more lucky companions who had accompanied me. It was out of the question, he said, as he would, he was convinced, get into a scrape with the Chou Hona for even allowing me to go by Kiang Túng; he offered them passes and every assistance to go *viâ* Dakhong, and persisted in telling me that a note from the authorities here would secure them a free passage towards China. It was finally settled they should proceed by that route.

Fearing the officer who escorted me from this might incur the displeasure of the Chou Hona, I spoke about him to the Chou Raja Wun. The officer himself is absent in the country, and I can only find out that he was very well received by the Tsóbua, but not so by the Chou Raja Wun. He however promised that in case the Chou Hona should find fault, he would intercede for him. I explained my reason for having taken him on so far with me.

He asked me many questions regarding the Kiang Túng Tsóbua, the country, &c., all of which I answered without reserve, and took the opportunity of telling him, that I had attentively studied the object the Tsóbua had in sending the mission here, and that from the whole tenor of that chief's conversation with me, he might take my word for his intentions being purely amicable, without any desire to assist his relations to escape. He said that they have a certain hatred against the Burmans which they can never get over; and on my telling him that he ought not to view the inhabitants of Kiang Túng with that feeling, they being Shans, and more than two-thirds of the population of Zimmé being from those parts, who had voluntarily placed themselves under them, he declared that so long as they were under Ava, and bound to obey any orders received from thence, he can only look upon them as Burmans. His Puniah is as bitter against them as his master. He asked me whether I had observed many Zimméers at Kiang Túng. I endeavoured to avoid the question, but being pushed, for he said they were easily recognised by the size of their turbans (I suppose this question was put to discover something of the Tsóbua's nephew), I replied that during Paniah Pap's residence there, I had seen many, but that after my return my stay was so short, that I did not pay any attention to the people I met. I was pressed much to remain until the Chou Hona's arrival. I pretended that I had intended to go on, fearing the rains, but as they wished it, I would stop. I had, indeed, made up my mind to do so before, to receive a decisive answer about the roads from the Chou Hona.

The Chou Hona of Lagong has been appointed the Tsóbua of that place, and the Chou Raja Wun his successor. The Chou Hona of Labong, in like manner, is made Tsóbua of that place, and the Chou Raja But (the late Tsóbua's son) succeeds him. The Chou Raja Wun's elder brother, who has long been resident at Bankok in some office about the king, and was reported likely to have been promoted to the Labong Tsóbuaship, is to come up and reside here to assist the Chou Hona, who is to have the supreme control over all the states. On my quitting the Chou Raja Wun's house, a man followed me out, and said, "Why do you waste so much breath on them here about the roads; they have it not in their power to comply with your request? Go to Bankok and obtain permission, and stick the order up here; then let them refuse if they dare."

Captain McLeod's Journal.

The Chou Hona's son-in-law and one or two others called on me to-day.

The persons who disposed of the elephants to me entreated I would not say anything about the purchase of them unless questioned, and then to confirm what they had said.

20th April.—I was to have seen the Tsóbua to-day, but he sent early in the morning to say that he is ill and unable to sit up, and to request I would postpone my visit until the 22nd.

There is a report respecting Ava similar to what we heard at Kiang Túng. It is said to have been brought by some natives of India, but I cannot trace it to any person. One man, a Burman, declares he absolutely saw 300 men (European soldiers and sepoys) cross the Salween at Moulmein, on their march to Beleng towards Ava. The authorities here, during my long stay, frequently consulted me on this subject, but we never could distinctly trace how the report reached the place. There is no doubt that if we are led into a war with Ava, the Siamese Shans will take a more active part in the operations than they did in the last war.

There is a rumour that the Chou Hona, after quitting Bankok, had been recalled, in consequence of two English ships having arrived there to demand the Talain refugees; this appears an endless source of fear.

The supply of cattle at Moulmein this year will be very great; many men who have been in the contractor's debt are now mustering a few rupees to pay him, and proceeding there with large herds of cattle.

A merchant of ours was robbed here about two years and a half ago of about 200 ticals. Though there were many suspicious circumstances connected with the affair, he has never been able to have any inquiry instituted, the suspected parties being connected with people of influence. They at first pretended to doubt his having so much money, but this having been satisfactorily proved, they put him off by frivolous excuses for a long time, and finally demanded either security or a deposit of 500 ticals, which will be the amount of the remuneration to the suspected person, whom he will be obliged directly to accuse, and the expenses of the court, should he fail in substantiating his charge.

21st April.—Closed my packets for Moulmein, intending to send my writer on with the ponies, and myself to follow with the elephants, as the rains will have set in before I can quit this.

22nd April.—During the night we had heavy rain and a thunderstorm, during which opportunity was taken to rob some of my followers of clothes, &c., to the value of about 70 rupees. I sent and had the circumstance reported, and furnished a list and description of the stolen property.

On my visiting the Tsóbua to-day, I was received in the outer hall of his house. The good old man inquired particularly respecting my health, and hoped that all my party had been well. After thanking him for his kind inquiries and spoken about the states visited by me, and of the great desire evinced by the chiefs and authorities of all to trade with his subjects and us, I mentioned that, agreeably to the permission given by him before my departure, some of our traders were about to proceed *viâ* Dakhong, and that I had an interview with the Chou Raja Wun on the subject, who had promised them every assistance. He made no reply, but some of the court Puniahs said, it was necessary to consult on the subject, which required six days, evidently putting me off until the Chou Hona's arrival, though they had not the candour to say so at once. On my remonstrating against their dilatory proceedings, not only now but when I was here before, and stating that they unnecessarily raised difficulties, they said that they could not do business like us. The Chou Raja Wun was not present; some of the officers, when asked by the Tsóbua, admitted that he had issued some orders to the effect stated by me, whilst others denied it. They then had the effrontery to deny that it had ever been agreed that the Dakhong road should be thrown open to us. I addressed myself to the Tsóbua, stating that I much regretted to see the spirit of opposition and duplicity which pervaded all their discussions and promises to me. That they were unbounded in their expressions of goodwill and friendship towards us, but their actions did not bear out their assertions. I complained of what had taken place relative to the purchase of the elephants, and about the letter dispatched after me respecting the road, and that the strongest proof of the truth of my assertion was their present denial of their having thrown open that road to our traders. I had reported it officially to the Commissioner and had already publicly thanked them for it, and if anything further was required as a proof of my not having made a mistake, it was the Chou Raja Wun, on the 19th, himself proposing that the men should go by that road. Under these circumstances, though I had fully intended to await the Chou Hona's arrival to have the point respecting the Kiang Túng road settled, when the officers denied one day what had been agreed to the day before, it was useless my remaining, and I should therefore quit the place the next day. The Tsóbua admitted that I was right about the road, but begged I would not for a trifle hastily disturb the existing friendship. The officers pretended to be quite in the dark about the story of the elephants, &c., and now endeavoured to conciliate me by making an apology, and saying that they did not like giving a pass to the merchants now, as the Chou Hona was so near, but did not intend to deny what had formerly taken place. I told them, that it would have been more becoming had they at once told me the real truth; for it was certainly far from our wishes that any person should get into disgrace on our account; besides I had heard

heard that the Chou Hona was coming up with particular orders from Bankok respecting the road. I thought I had said as much as was necessary to show them I would not be trifled with. We, however, parted as usual on good terms.

I sent to the Chou Raja Wun, who at once admitted the cause of their wishing to delay giving the pass, and begged I would not be annoyed.

23rd April.—My elephants arrived this day, having come faster than I had intended, but forage was latterly so scarce that they were obliged to push on. I have found it necessary to alter my plans about the ponies; the elephants are in such bad condition that they will not be able to move for a month at least. I understand that a meeting has taken place at the Chou Raja Wun's, amongst those who were present at the discussion yesterday: some said I had, since my visit to Kiang Túng, assumed a higher tone; that my having gone there was an infringement of our treaty; I had, however, some supporters in the assembly, but they consoled themselves in the end by settling, that if we wished to assist the Kiang Túng people and fight, they were not afraid of us; for our army could never pass over the hills separating our territories from theirs.

24th April.—Chou Tsan, an old acquaintance, came at night to hear something respecting his brother and relations at Kiang Túng. He is in great apprehension about his nephew, who has so injudiciously gone on a visit there, and declares that none of his relations here knew of his intentions. I told him what the Tsóbua had requested me to do respecting him, and therefore asked him to consult his relations, and let me know. Chow Phom, his youngest brother, has gone to Mainlóngyi, intending to extend his journey to Moulmein. He is much afraid that, in consequence of his nephew's foolish behaviour, they will all be removed nearer to Bankok.

He informed me that the King of Siam had refused to permit any communication with Kiang Túng, and told his eldest brother, the ex-Tsóbua, who is on his way up, that he must bear his fate. The present Tsóbua has again written to the Tsóbua, Chou Raja Wun, and some of the chiefs here, by Puniah Pap, sending them each some trifling present and intimating, that he had sent the letter from this place to Ava, and when he receives a reply he will send an officer down to Bankok. The Chou Raja Wun remarked, the person deputed might go there, and should any officer again visit this place, he should be sent down there too, and there would be no road back to Kiang Túng for either of them.

There has been some consultation in consequence of a communication from the Chou Hona, who it is said has pledged himself to the king to reduce numerous places belonging to the Burmans, and bring them under his authority; to attack Muang Tsut and Muang Ka, both peopled from Moné, though on this side of the Salween.

There not being a blade of grass near this place, nor bamboos for the elephants, I have been obliged to send them to a village about 10 miles distant, there to remain during my stay here.

25th April.—The officer who accompanied me to Kiang Túng, returned from the country and called on me. The Tsóbua, on his arrival, inquired particularly after my health, and said he was glad to hear that I was getting on well, and told him he had done right in going on with me to Kiang Túng, respecting which place he made many inquiries. The Chou Raja Wun was angry with him, and did not ask him a single question about what he had seen.

The grounds for his anger is said to be, that a second letter was sent directing him not to accompany me beyond Hái Tái, the frontier village. The officer pointed out that he was in no way benefited by going with me; he had been selected, and ordered to escort me; it was true he received one letter close to town, to which he replied, and clearly stated everything I had said, and requested an immediate answer. Why did the Chou Raja Wun agree to my proposition about the road before leaving this? Why was he ordered by the Court officers to attend to my wishes? He considered that the friendship existing between the Siamese and English is such, that it would have been highly improper to have quitted me in the jungle. He went into Kiang Túng on my invitation, not merely for idle curiosity, but to see what was going on. That with respect to the second letter, it never reached him; it is said to have arrived at Pak Bóng four days after us, though we had proceeded by short and easy marches: if it were of such consequence, why was it not sent on quicker, and dispatched after him? Besides, what had become of it, for it never reached him. The fact was, he told me, that some communication had, he suspected, been received from the Chou Hona, and they were trying to shuffle the blame off themselves on to him.

Chou Kurn Kam, who is brother-in-law to Chou Na Noi Gúna, has returned from the country; he sent a message that he wishes much to see me, but is afraid to come and call.

26th and 27th April.—Called on Chou Kurn Kam; he says that the Chou Hona has been at Lahaing for a month, and was detained by the sickness of one of his family. Some person hinted to me, that if he heard I was at all undecided about staying, he would certainly delay his advance as long as possible, such is his supposed aversion to hold any communication with us. My friend is so annoyed at the Chou Raja Wun's behaviour, for

Captain McLeod's Journal.

he has threatened to put the Shan officer, his brother-in-law, in irons, that he will not interfere: he says the Court officers and Chou Raja But take totally a different view of the matter from the Chou Raja Wun. It appears that this officer has been found fault with by the Chou Hona for letting me go at all in advance during his absence, and that he is now, by the advice of Puniah Sulim, as the Chou Hona approaches, trying to lessen his share of the blame by acting with severity towards his brother-in-law. He was accused after my departure with being too intimate with me, and for having given me a pony. He told them I had given him a gun in exchange: this they did not consider sufficient. Chou Maha Nuit, a friend of Dr. Richardson, is a brother of the persecuted officer who accompanied me. He has just returned from Bankok, where he had gone in disgrace, partly, he says, for being too friendly with us, but I believe his going was entirely connected with the Mok mái affair. The king desired him to look about the city, see the number of kala (stranger) merchants settled there; that he was glad to hear British merchants came to Zimmé, that he gave them himself every encouragement; many had lands, and thus the tables were turned on his enemies. He reports the king as being very favourably disposed towards us, and of our intercourse with them.

Yesterday one of my coolies, being at a village across the bridge talking to an old Burmese woman, who was selling arrack, recognised the silk cloth one of her customers had on as belonging to some of my people; the man likewise had a piece of red China silk belonging to him round his waist; he observed the man take a dram or two without paying for them, and talk to the woman in a friendly way; he desired her, in consequence, to mark him, as he had got on his putsho; a scuffle ensued, and the thief was joined by three others, who overpowered my servant. The head man of the village hearing a noise, came out and separated my follower from another person; the thief had in the meantime contrived to escape, but without his putsho. My followers hearing a person calling out for assistance, went to the place, and brought the Thugyi to me; imagining that he was the person who had the cloth on, I sent my interpreter to the Chou Raja Wun, to request some person might be sent to take charge of him; after he had gone, finding out my mistake, and the Thugyi saying he knew the man from whom he separated my servant, I desired my writer to take him and the old shopwoman to the Chou Raja Wun, that he might detail the particulars. On their way they were met by one of the Chou Hona's Puniah, who, after saying something to the party, desired my writer in a very improper and peremptory manner to go away, setting the people at liberty. I called on the Chou Raja Wun, and related the particulars of the affair, and complained of the conduct of the Puniah; he took a very proper view of the business, and promised to have an inquiry instituted, and the offenders punished.

I expressed my surprise and regret at the steps I heard he was about to adopt against the officer who escorted me. He confessed he had given me leave to fix on my own road, but said he thought I would have gone by Muang Niong—a nice distinction now to set up; as if it were not the same as going to Kiang Túng, under which place it is. He attempted to justify himself for the harsh step he was pursuing, from necessity, to screen himself. He begged all that had passed might be forgotten, as the Chou Hona was so near, but, with reference to roads, it was his opinion that no communication ought to be carried on by us with the Burmans from between the Kareng Ni country and the Mé Khong.

At night Chou Kurn Kam, though unwell, came to see me. He told me of the consultation they had had about attacking some of the Burmese towns, and that when the Chow Hona arrived the point would be settled; that a great many of the chiefs are against it. On my reprobating the petty predatory warfare formerly carried on (which they are inclined to recommence), and which entailed so much misery on poor harmless villagers and caused ruin to the country, and asking him whether it would not be better to advance at once into the country of their enemy, towards the capital, rather than pursuing the system they did; he confessed they had not the power to attack Ava on a grand scale, and must therefore content themselves by venting their hatred on their neighbours. He is, however, himself much opposed to their slave-taking incursions, for they are nothing more.

The war between Siam and Cochin-China is not over yet. The Siamese intend to prosecute it with more vigour. They have fortified Kankok, but lately lost 3,000 men at sea on their way towards Cambodia. By all accounts they appear to have had the worst of it as yet. None of the provinces in this direction have been called upon to furnish troops.

I regret to say the finest elephant I had with me died on its way out to the village. The heat was so oppressive that another one fell down twice in going out.

29th April.—They have at last put the Shan officer in irons, but not in prison. He is kept at the Court-house. A large deputation, headed by the Chou Raja But, went to the Chow Raja Wun to beg him off, but without success. They say the Tsóbua has not been made acquainted with the affair.

30th April and 3rd May.—We have had much rain every day lately. The Chou Hona has been reported daily to be near the town; numbers of people have gone out for the last three days to meet him. The Chou Raja Wun and other chiefs proceeded to-day to escort him in one march of some three or four miles.

It is amusing to see the way the Shans here work in preparing the zeat for his reception and the sheds for the chiefs with him. The work to be done is apportioned out to certain parts

arks. I have seen a few leaves brought and put up one day, ing for fear of their being stolen, and so on day after day; and d have done in as many days, they have taken ten days and more Government superintended, and constantly visited the works: ilatory mode of doing everything.

u Raja Wun did not know of the relation of Kiang Túng Tsóhua some days after my return. Some of Punish Pap's people met him ported it. This, I am assured, is the chief cause of his fearing the leasure, and of his venting his spleen on the poor man he has put

re mentions his having accompanied some Shans in eight days from ne particular route. The Shans are unwilling that we should become a the different passes, of which there are more than one, and all far better an the road we frequent.

—The long-expected and dreaded chief, the Chou Hona, made his appearance was escorted by all the chiefs of the place, with about 100 elephants and ously armed. The only object of curiosity was the trappings of his elephant, rtainly very handsome. The Chou Raja Wun, dressed out in a silk jacket rimmed felt Chinese hat, rode on the neck of and guided his own elephant. up at the zeat. Two guns from town were dragged there with diffi- rable carriages, and which, on the Chou's entering the zeat, were fired, number returned the salute from the fort.

Kam sent me a message to say it would be considered friendly if I called on during the day, merely as a complimentary visit, and not to discuss any if I were inclined to do so, he would consult his brother, Chou Mahá Tep, wise arrived, and accompany me in the evening. I accordingly went, and received by the Chou Hona, who is a very intelligent and pleasant man. fter the Commissioner and respecting many points connected with the pro- er the health and eyesight of the Kiang Túng Tsóhua, and regarding the countries above, the roads, &c. He spoke of the flourishing trade carried by our merchants and the Americans, and how rejoiced he is to find we such goodwill towards them, and assured me of his anxious desire to ntercourse between our countries, but added that they could never agree anything to say to the Burmans, or those tributary to them. He spoke of mission, and said he was sure the Red Karengs, who were the bitter Burmans, would never consent to their passing through their country. I his countrymen, being good Buddhists, could permit and encourage the that country. He said that God had provided every nation according to eat to the Red Karengs he had given men, but no salt.

from that tribe, who accompanied him down to Bankok, went back soon, capital a most disagreeable, uncomfortable place, and Zimmé far superior nothing equal to his own mountains. I believe he was taken down with the Mokmái business.

ay be the Chou Hona's real sentiments towards us, he certainly made a ression on me. Before I took my leave, I told him that I had business to him, but should postpone it until after he had entered the town, as I h was their custom, but as the rains were near, I hoped he would expedite as much as possible. I gave him the same reason for not entering China to others. Many would not believe that I had had any intercourse with any ted with China, and it was only on seeing the Chinese dress, &c., that they had reached Kiang Húng.

urn the chiefs have conducted themselves very differently towards me to before. Two only called on me then, not knowing, I suppose, what view would take of my mission; to-day, however, numbers came, and amongst Hona's son, a dissipated, wild young man, of about 21 years of age.

alled on the new arrivals, viz.: Chou Mun Kio, a son-in-law of the Chou fficer holding a post under Government, and ranking next to the Chou ou Mahá Tep, and Chou Mun Ma, who all returned my visit in the all expressed their indignation at the officer who escorted me being put y that it was done by the Chou Raja Wun for fear of the Chou Hona being him, but as he is not, my friend will be released immediately. I endea- rest them about the roads, which they gave me an opportunity of doing, their praises of the English shops at Bankok. Though they agreed with fits of trade, they shook their heads to the Kiang Túng road, and said n was opposed to it, but there would be no objection to our traders going.

I have likewise had several of my old acquaintance calling to-day, and g them for not having come to see me after my long journey, they told re afraid, not liking the appearance of things. At about 6 p.m. Yesing 's son cross the river near where my tent is pitched and enter the shed mpy, I sent to invite him in. His reply was, that he "was ashamed to rumk."

he Chou Hona's

Captain McLeod's Journal.

to the river, within 600 yards of the old place, in full view of
the new arrivals. I have found it necessary to have the tent
sheds erected for my people, it having rained every day since m

The Chou Hona and his party it appears only came by wat
which it was too shallow for their boats; and even near that town th
to dig a channel in the sands for the boats to go through. From
been more than a month coming, making short stages, and halting freq

6th May.—This being a propitious day, as reported by the astrologers
entered the town by the "White Elephant Gate," escorted as before
guns was fired for him at the zeat; they took 35 seconds to load and fire e
I sent my interpreter to the Chou Hona during the day to know when
He is to visit the Tsóbua to-morrow, when the despatch brought by him fr
to be publicly read, after which he is to receive me.

7th May.—Agreeably to the arrangement made yesterday, I called on the
Having detailed to him the objects of my mission, and repeated the argumen
before used for our merchants being permitted to pass through the Zimmé
trade with the northern states and China, I expressed a sanguine hope that
withhold his assent to the favour asked by us; I pointed out the advantage
commerce on Bankok, which he and the chiefs, who had accompanied him, h
and that there was nothing to prevent the same to be looked for here, if th
neighbouring states were thrown open, and an unshackled trade allowed.
declared that it was impossible to permit any communication with Kiang Tú
the king's orders, for my mission and journey had been heard of at Bank
that the Burmans were most deceitful, and could not be trusted, until she
sent a royal virgin to the King of Siam, and that even then their since
doubtful. He assured me that there was no desire to prevent us trading w
Kiang Húng, but that it must be by the Dakhong road. He observed, th
Túng people were encroaching, and gradually reoccupying Kiang Then, and o
which had been wrested from them, and now belonged properly to Zimmé
what the authorities both at Kiang Húng and Kiang Túng had said with
Zimmé, and that my conviction is, that both states are most peaceably di
regard to the Dakhong road, I told him, that it appeared to me very questionab
the authorities at Muang Nan would recognise their right to send our merch
After some hesitation he admitted that they could only furnish a pass for our
to be molested to Dakhong, and that there no objections would be made to the
the Mé Khong, and making use of the road by which the Chinese caravans
This, in short, is merely allowing our traders to pass on to Muang Nan to be
as the authorities of that district might think proper. I complained of the
dour, and their desire to impress us with a belief that they had greater powers
possess in reality; that they had even attempted to deceive me, by wishing
a road on which they knew I should meet with detention, the chief of Muang
then absent, and further, I had been put to much inconvenience by being del
long as I was. The Chou Hona made many trivial excuses, and said a great
me, and persisted in declaring that no impediment existed to our makin
Dakhong road.

Respecting the reduction of the duties on cattle sold, he said he would co
other chiefs and let me know. I requested to have an audience of th
morrow, when he might inform me of the result, as it was my intention to lea
the following day. I next spoke about the officer who had accompanied
Túng. He said, that there was no fault whatever with the man, and it w
Chou Raja Wun had taken the measures he had for fear of his being
promised to send for the Chou Raja Wun, and have the person immediately

It is reported that the Chou Hona has had great powers vested in him; th
being considered too old, is to be guided entirely by him, which, however, he
and that he is to have the control over the other two states also, and fill up all
occur.

8th May.—The Tsóbua unwell; visit put off.

I am informed that the Chow Hona sent for the Chou Raja Wun to-day
that they ought not to have allowed me to proceed on a mission during hi
not having done so, that it might be expected that I would visit Kiang
the Shan officer who had accompanied me was not in fault, and their having
irons was a slight to me, and ordered his immediate release. The C
excused himself, declaring that he had acted for the good of his country; th
to be afraid of, and he did not care for the English. He was taken to ta
Hona for this piece of bravado. Poor Puniah Pap is threatened with sev
for his proceedings, and is ordered to town; I suppose the matter will end
some of his property.

9th May.—I took leave of the Tsóbua to-day, and thanked him for his kind
speak of the roads to him, as it would only worry him to no purpose.
Chou Hona previously I had been led to expect, to give me an answer a

duty. I enquired whether anything had been settled. All present pleaded ignorance. I called on the Chou Hona in the evening, when he positively refused to make any alteration in the cattle duty, declaring that the same duty is levied on cattle taken to Lahaing, Muang Nan, and the Kareng-ni country as on those going to Moulmein. This I knew not to be correct. We discussed Sirdar Khan's robbery case; the Chow Hona took some pains to master the subject, and went fully into it, but as the poor man cannot prove who were the actual thieves there is no remedy by their laws. Our discussions being ended he made himself as agreeable as he could, and made me repeated professions of respect for us, and his wish to encourage unrestrained intercourse between our countries. He begged that I would write to him from Moulmein, if I heard anything relative to Ava politics. A number of visitors, chiefly relatives of the Chou Hona, came to see me in the course of the day, and gave me some commissions to execute at Moulmein.

Captain M'Leod's Journal

10th May.—There is a shameful attempt made to screen the thief who robbed my followers; excuses upon excuses have been made for delaying the investigation; at first, some days were required to identify the person marked by the Thugyi; then the court officers were too much taken up with the preparations for the Chou Hona's reception; after that they were in attendance on him, and yesterday they pretended that the hour for transacting business had passed before I quitted the Tsóbua's house; and, to-day, though they promised to settle the affair, if I would but remain, they told my interpreter, after keeping him waiting all day at the court, 'that the old woman was not forthcoming, having gone into the country.

11th May.—I made inquiries with regard to the Chou Hona's assertions about the duty on cattle; more than one person declared that only a quarter of a tical a head was taken on those exported to the Red Kareng country, and nothing on those carried to Lahaing, and other Shan places. So much for the Chou Hona's veracity. I was further informed that the people were directed not to sell their cattle under 12 rupees a head, and the authorities here did not like cattle going to Lahaing, as they knew that they found their way to Moulmein. One of the traders, who returned with me from Kiang Hung, has advanced the Chou Raja Wun's brother money for cattle, to be delivered to him within a certain time, in the Labong district.

Sent my coolies off early in the day, and was to have followed immediately after seeing the Chou Hona, but my ponies, which had been brought in from a village, where they had been some days, and were as usual loose at night, had been driven away to some distance by some person; everybody suspects it must be the Chou Hona's son, he being given to such mischievous tricks. I had been cautioned before his arrival not to keep them in town; and was told that he once cut the tails of several mules belonging to the Chinese traders.

I went to the Chou Hona about the theft case. He was very angry with the officers in whose province it is to settle it. I left with the Chou Hona a paper detailing the circumstances in full, and as I am obliged to leave some people with my elephants, he has promised to have the matter strictly inquired into and settled.

He complained of the worthless character of the generality of our traders here, who having obtained goods on credit at Moulmein, came up here, made liberal presents (some of which he confessed he received, for if he did not, others would), squandered the rest amongst women, and finally gained their livelihood by all sorts of roguery. He kindly offered to hand me over a few of these characters to take away with me.

I leave my elephants to follow when they are able to do so, with reference to their condition and the forage on the road. In the morning I received a message from the ex-Kiang Túng Tsóbua, to say that he was near the place and wished much to see me. I had been yesterday requested by some of his relations to delay my departure a day; this I could not do; however, he arrived during the day, and remained in his boat below the town, having come up all the way from Bankok by water. I left Zimmé at half-past six; dark as it was getting, I was very happy to quit it, and reached the place where the Kiang Túng Chief was staying, for he, like the Chou Hona, was waiting for a propitious day to enter the town; zeats had been erected for him by his relations and followers who were with him. His desire to see me was respecting my visit to Kiang Túng, and everything that a person in his situation would be interested about. He said the King had set his face against the communication with Kiang Túng being thrown open, and in fact directed that should any further attempt be made from there, the person so employed should be sent to Bankok. He lamented the folly of his nephew in going to Kiang Túng, but it was too late for me to do anything. He worked himself into a passion in speaking of the treatment his people were subjected to, and declared that they could not long put up with it, and if any attempt was made to remove them towards Bankok, which was sometimes threatened, they would not submit, and I have no doubt would find their way into our provinces. He confirmed all I had heard about the king's liberal views of trade; but denied the extreme powers which I supposed had been vested in the Chou Hona. He is a fine old man, upwards of 85 years of age, and is allowed the golden betel apparatus, a mark of great distinction amongst the Siamese.

Captain M'Leod's Journal.

From Zimmé to Moulmein.

11th May.—From Zimmé to Tsán bakók.

Direction, S. 5 W. Estimated Distance, 5 miles. Time, 2 h. 10 m.

Having crossed the Mé Ping at the village of Ta-wan-tan, we proceeded along its left bank, leaving the fields and road we had passed over on our way up to our left, and having traversed the village of Pák Mung, halted at about five minutes to 10 at the village of Tsán bakók on the Mé Ping, consisting of five houses. Here we found comfortable quarters in the sheds erected for the Chou Hona, on his return to Zimmé.

12th May.—From Tsán bakók to Ban Pathan ka noi.

Direction —{S. 25 E. / South} Estimated Distance —{6 miles / 10½ „} Time —{1 h. 59 m. / 3 h. 26 m.}

The road this morning lay along the left bank of the Mé Ping until we reached the watercourse mentioned on the march up; having proceeded a short distance along its left bank, we crossed it, and soon came into the road we had before passed over. After re-crossing the canal, instead of going by Patupa we continued in the direction of the village of Ban Súk, containing about 20 houses.

From the last crossing of the canal to this, at the period of our march up, it was swampy, and though a nearer route, was not then passable. From Ban Súk we proceeded across the fields to the northward and westward of Labong, and leaving the town about a quarter of a mile to our left, reached a road leading from it to the Mé Ping, which is about three or four miles distant to the westward. We then marched over a small plain, and through an open jungle of pouk trees and bamboos, and halted during the heat of the day
3,54. on the right bank of the Mé Quan. We started again in the cool of the evening (first crossing the Mé Quan), the road running through a thin jungle of bamboos, until we reached the Mé Nong Chang, a small stream of 15 feet wide, now nearly dry, on which the village of the same name is situated, containing 15 houses, and here joins the Mé Quan; after marching a short distance, we arrived at the village of Pathan, and got into the road travelled before, and continued along it until we reached the Mé Tá, which having crossed, halted at the village of Pathan-ka-noi, in some sheds erected for the Labong Tsóbua; here we found a party on their way to meet the Chou Hona of that place.

We had not received any certain intelligence at Zimmé of the movements of the Tsóbua of Labong, but the old Kiang Táng Tsóbua told me he had that day reached the place. Though anxious to see him, yet my arrangements having been made, I found it necessary to move on; however, not having had any communication with the place since my return from Kiang Táng I sent my interpreter in, when passing by the town, to inform the officers of my movements, and everything regarding my mission, to congratulate the Tsóbua on his accession to the throne, and to express my regret at not having known of his return before I quitted Zimmé, as I much wished to pay my respects to him.

The interpreter went to the Court, the officers expressed their delight at my safe return, &c., and took occasion to abuse the Zimmé people, and call them a bad set. They told him the Tsóbua had not arrived, nor did they know when he would. Unfortunately for their veracity the chief thugyi of Ban Dón passed me on the road, and told me he had formed part of the Tsóbua's escort the day before, and was then returning to his village. I fancy they wish to prevent my visiting the place, as it might be necessary to make some presents in return for those brought up by me. They very civilly, however, on finding I proposed to travel towards Lahaing, to within four or five marches of which the Labong jurisdiction extends, gave the interpreter a written order, directing not only the heads of villages within their province, but those beyond, to supply me with everything I required, and to pay me every attention. No person was sent to escort me from Zimmé, but they gave me a similar order to all the villages within their own district.

13th May.—From Ban Pathan-ka-noi to Ban Hun.

Direction. S. 32 W. Estimated Distance, 17 miles. Estimated Time, 5 h. 37 m.

We quitted the road travelled up at the village of Pathan-ka-noi, and after passing over
1.59. fields and the outskirts of some two or three villages, reached Ban-kok. Here the low hills enclosing the valley of the Mé Ping to the southward commence. We passed two or three pathways on our left leading to Muang Li and Muang Luan. The person whom I have hired to show me the road says, the one he is taking me by is the better one, there being no village on the other. We reached a large dry nullah to which the road had been over slightly undulating low hills, and the jungle of saul, generally perfectly free from brush-

wood

wood. The face of the country now changed, becoming more hilly and stony, with ravines and broken ground, and the jungle thick with underwood; the road, however, improved latterly, the jungle becoming more open. Finding some sheds erected for the Lahong Chou Hona, whom daily expected, on the right bank of the Mé Li, we occupied them instead of crossing over to the village of Ban Hun on the opposite bank. The village has a number of areca and other trees about it, and contains about 30 houses.

Captain M'Leod's Journal.

3.2.

3.31.

At the commencement of the march I unfortunately injured my watch, and I have nothing, therefore, to guide me as to the time I am on the march, from which I used daily to calculate my distance. The time given is by guess, and therefore not to be depended upon.

14th May.—From Ban Hun to beyond Ban Pang.

Direction, S. 15 E. Estimated Distance, 18 miles. Estimated Time, 6 h. 12 m.

The Mé Li, which is 150 feet wide, though not full, was about 8 feet deep where we first came upon it; we were obliged to go down the stream a short distance, and then cross it in 2 feet of water. We left the village of Ban Hun to our left; and after crossing the Mé Li five or six times, we reached the fields belonging to Ban Papu, a small village of five or six houses.

1.54.

The road had been and continued good, though over broken rocky hills, with ravines; trees generally fine and high, and some teak amongst them.

We passed a good halting-place on the left bank of Mé Li, which we reached again, and where sheds had been erected for the Chou Hona by the villagers from Ban Pang. About this spot the country was level, but beyond it resumed its former appearance. We halted for the coolies on the bank of a small stream, and remained there during the heat of the day. On quitting this place the road ran along the sides of hills, with a slight descent, and was latterly very good. We stopped a few minutes at Ban Pang, a village on the Mé Li of five or six houses, and being early, went on over undulating hills, free from brushwood, with fine trees, and halted for the night on the bank of a nullah, with abundance of water.

3.20.

4.34.

5.34.

15th May.—From beyond Ban Pang to Muang Li.

Direction, S. 15 E. Estimated Distance, 20 miles. Estimated Time, 6 h. 21 m.

We crossed the Mé Li, and on reaching it a second time, halted on its right bank for breakfast. The road very good, through open jungle of high saul and teak trees, with an occasional open spot, and slightly hilly. From this the road was almost level, and very good, jungle and country, as before, all the way; having crossed the Mé Li twice, passed the two small villages of Ban Hai on it, each containing six or seven houses, we halted at Muang Li, having close to it crossed the Mé Te, which falls into the Mé Li. The town stands on the right bank of the river, contains 25 houses, and has two villages of the same name near it. There are five or six villages besides these under its jurisdiction, and is governed by a Puniah.

3.30.

4.40.

We have seen no high hills; those ranging on each side of us ever since we got amongst them are low. We passed the dry beds of many mountain torrents during the journey.

The Chou Hona's party passed us between the place we breakfasted at and Ban Hai; but we did not see him, he having gone into the depth of the jungle in pursuit of game.

16th May.—From Muang Li to Pang Tsen Doé.

Direction, South. Estimated Distance, 18 miles. Estimated Time, 5 h. 59 m.

We passed over fields, confined by two low ranges of hills, until we reached the second village of Muang Li. We then entered a jungle, the trees improving in size as we advanced; and after traversing a small plain, went over undulating, hilly ground, well wooded with saul and teak, without brushwood. We then got into rather low ground, and after crossing the Nam Mé Pe four or five times, halted for breakfast on its right bank. It here flows from the south-eastward, and is about 10 feet wide. We found some fine thengan trees on its banks. We then again got on hilly ground, with hills ranging on both sides of us; and after passing two streams, commenced to descend to the steep, broken, and rocky gorge of the range, and through the dry bed of a mountain torrent; the road was at times all but blocked up by huge pieces of detached rock which had fallen from above, where masses overhung the road, threatening to crush the traveller in their fall. We were not long in getting through this pass; the road was well shaded by large mango and thengan trees.

35.

2.5.

2.30.

3.45.

Captain M'Leod's Journal.

We continued to descend, sometimes greatly, until we reached the bank of the Mè Khan Noi, flowing to the southward, and of about 15 feet wide, when we stopped to rest. When we started again we proceeded over slightly hilly ground, and after crossing the Mé Phit several times, put up for the night on its left bank. It would be impossible to move artillery along the road by which we came over the hills to-day, but a company of pioneers, with some powder for blasting, would soon remove the impediments and render it passable.

17th May.—From Pang Tseu Doé to Pang Nam Dit.

Direction, S. 40 E. Estimated Distance, 17 miles. Estimated Time, 5 h. 32 m.

The road good, over hilly ground, falling gradually. Jungle open. Having crossed the
1.12. Mé Phit, now a stream of 25 feet wide, and with 1½ foot of water, we arrived at a village containing 12 or 15 temporary houses, belonging to the village of Mé Phit. From this, we followed the course of the nullah, which, though increasing in breadth, became dry
2h. 42m. with only stagnant pools of water here and there. We then reached an open country, with a low range of hills seen on our right; the soil rather red and stony, and jungle stunted.

4. We halted for two or three hours during the heat of the day in some sheds which had been put up for the Chou Hona, on the western bank of the Mé Phit. At many places as we came along parties from Ban Mé Phit were catching fish in the bed of the stream, and my people also got an abundant supply.

Though there have been low hills on each side of us nearly the whole way, we could not see them for the jungle, which latterly, however, was in patches, with small grassy plains. We saw abundance of teak ready cut along the banks of the river. After quitting the spot we stopped at, a range of hills was observed rising to South 60 East, and running north and south, distant about five miles, to the westward of which, the Mé Wang, the Lagong river, flows, and into this the Mé Phit falls.

Having crossed the Mé Phit three or four times, we left it to the eastward, and reached
4.17. the village of that name. It contains about 100 houses, and is the last village belonging to the Labong jurisdiction. The road from Lahaing to Lagong passes through it, and runs along the bank of the Mé Wang. We stopped here a short time to get a stock of rice and paddy. The road on starting again at first ran over fields, the hills to the westward gradually decreasing in height, and only a few low ones seen towards the southward; then entered a jungle of saul, and was sandy and heavy.

Having reached a small stream with scarcely any water in it, though early (for we started from Ban Mé Phit sooner than there was any necessity for thinking the march was a long one), we halted under some fine teak trees, as the Shans with me recommended, there being no water or grass for the ponies for some distance in advance.

It has threatened to rain every evening since we left Zimmé, and always thundered; we have, however, been fortunate enough to escape with only a few drops occasionally, though there have been heavy falls in the hills.

The temporary village we passed to-day is inhabited by people making saltpetre.

18th May.—From Pang Nam Dit to Tapin, on the left bank of the Mé Ping.

Direction $\begin{cases} \text{S. 30 W.} \\ \text{S. 70 W.} \end{cases}$ Estimated Distance $\begin{cases} 17 \text{ miles} \\ 1\frac{1}{2} \text{ „} \end{cases}$ Estimated Time $\begin{cases} \text{5 h. 24 m.} \\ \text{5 h. 23 m.} \end{cases}$

1.5. After passing through a fine forest of teak and saul, we reached the Mé Ta Wang, a large nullah, but now dry; the ground about it low with ratans growing. We then arrived
1.11. at some open ground and small plains. Here a road branches off to Lahaing, following the course of the Mé Ta Wang, and passing through some villages. It also leads to where we are to halt for the night.

2.11. We shortly after came upon a small pool of good water, and after passing through some fields, continued to traverse small plains with grass, or over high ground with saul and teak,
2.54. and reached the village of Nóng khien ka, containing about 10 houses. Having traversed
3.24. the fields belonging to it, and passed through country the same as before, we reached a capital open halting place, with a fine large pool of delicious water. A little beyond this the Lahaing road separates from the one we have taken; we then gradually got amongst low hills; the southern extremity of a range seen by us this morning to the westward of Ban Nóng Khien Ka, distant about five miles, running parallel to the valley; and having passed over them, reached a small open space on the left bank of the Mé Ping.

The river is here about the same breadth as at Muang Haut; it flows past this to the eastward, but lower down it takes a southerly course. It is not fordable here. The range of hills we have come over ends here, as also that on the western bank. Beyond this nothing but a flat country with grassy plains is seen. About 15 miles to South 50 East, is a low range of hills running north and south, called Doé Niang, from there being a number of wood-oil trees on it, and three villages inhabited by people employed in collecting the oil.

Lahaing

Captain McLeod's Journal.

Lahaing is situated at the southern extremity of these hills, on the Mé Ping, which flows along the western foot of the range, and the Mé Wang discharges itself into the Mé Ping to the northward of them; the distance from this to Lahaing is said to be three nights' journey for a man.

From the pool of water on this side of Ban Nóng khien ka to this we did not meet with a single stream, all the nullahs being dry.

The coolies could only come on slowly, little by little; the heat is excessive. Under some sheds the thermometer to-day stood at 118°, and in the sun 148°. We made a short move in the evening, passed over the foot of the same range as this morning, came along the bank of the Mé Ping, and halted for the night on a small open space, the Mé Ping on one side, and the hills forming an amphitheatre on the others.

There is good pasture for the ponies here. About four in the morning, when mine were loose and grazing together, a tiger started out from near where my tent was pitched towards them; they immediately made off for the jungle; the Chinese interpreter, fortunately, was lying down in the midst of them, and with much trouble brought them back.

19th May.—From the Tapin to beyond Ban Nát.

Direction { S. 77 W. / N. 25 W. } Estimated Distance - { 8½ miles / 1½ „ } Estimated Time { 2 h. 30 m. / – 30 m. }

The first part of the march was along the steep sides of the hills which fall precipitously down to the Mé Ping; sometimes the path was on the same level with the river, when it was good; at others, high above it, rocky and narrow, frequently with rocks jutting out from the sides, causing the greatest difficulty in bringing on my baggage ponies with their loads. Two absolutely went over the side, and were only prevented from being dashed to pieces below by the exertions of my Chinaman; they were, in short, obliged to unload them at two places to enable them to pass the projecting masses of rock. It would have been totally impossible to have travelled over this part last evening. This is, however, the road elephants take, the rocks being low down do not interfere with their bodies or loads.

Latterly, the road was very good, and having crossed the Mé Ping at the ford at Ban Nát, we halted. The breadth of the river here is about the same as below, with 2½ feet of water; above the village, it turns to the northward; the hills on the left bank below the village run parallel to the river, but above it they come from the northward.

This is a nice village, containing about 50 houses, with mango, tamarind, custard apple, and other fruit trees. It belongs to Lahaing; the head man was absent; with great difficulty we procured rice for three days, and that not until very late; we could, therefore, only make a short march in the evening.

The road very good over a flat country; low jungle; houses are seen now and then along the bank of Mé Ping, with spots cleared for cultivation. We halted for the night on the bank of the Mé Ping on an open space.

From Ban Nát to Ban Niang by water is six hours' journey. It would take some time to make the greater part of the road marched over this morning passable for artillery, carts, &c., but they might easily be sent down on rafts from the village to Tapin.

20th May.—From the right bank of the Mé Ping to the Mé Tian.

Direction { S. 74 W. / S. 60 W. / S. 15 W. } Estimated Distance - { 12 miles / 4½ „ / 4½ „ } Estimated Time { 4 h. 5 m. / 1 h. 32 m. / 1 h. 30 m. }

Started at about two in the morning; the first part of the march was through a flat open country, becoming gradually jungly, but neither high nor thick; we then got amongst very low hills, and reached the Hué Da; the bed of the nullah is 25 feet, but now has merely a pool of water collected in it from some rain we had yesterday; here is a good halting place, with abundance of grass. 1.30.

Two streams unite close to this; we proceeded along the bed of one, now dry, but when full, is nothing more than a mountain stream of about 70 feet wide.

We then gradually got amongst high hills, and went over a good many, but the ascents and descents gradual, neither steep nor distressing; jungle not thick, nor trees large; the road good, only in two or three places where masses of rocks blocked it up in a measure, but which could easily be removed. We passed a good many dry nullahs, but not one with water from the Mé Ping. 2.50.

We halted on the right bank of the Mé Tian, a stream of about 70 feet wide, flowing rapidly over a stony bed coming from about South 20 West, flowing by here North 40 West, and turning to North 20 West. It falls into the Mé Ping one day's journey below Maika, which again is one day's journey below Muang Haut. This stream is by some said to be the boundary of the Zimmé territory on this side of the Mé Ping; by others, the Mé Gnáu, which is more to the northward, is fixed on as being the line of separation between Zimmé and Lahaing districts. 5.35.

The hills about this terminate in peaks, and fall precipitously down on their northern sides.

We met a party from Moulmein proceeding to Lagong to purchase cattle, and also another on their way down with a large herd.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

21st May.—From Mé Tian to the summit of the Mé Tian Hills.

Direction {S. 10 W. / S. 55 W.} Estimated Distance {11 miles / 8 „} Estimated Time {3 h. 25 m. / 2 h. 59 m.}

2.30. The road ran alongside the Mé Tian, which we crossed occasionally, its breadth varying from 70 to 100 feet, with two and three feet of water. We passed many places where we might have halted; the road was good, only occasionally obstructed by rocks; latterly it ran along the steep side of rocky hills, which form on the sides of the river, at some places exposing much rock, but generally covered with thick jungle.

We met some of the finest thengan, khoung mú, and kanien trees I have ever seen, and apparently no use made of them. One mango tree measured in girth 23½ feet.

4. Halted for breakfast on the bank of the stream at an open spot, near which a pathway led off to the westward to a Kareng village. We met some of the people belonging to it on the road.

Having crossed the river three times we left it to our right, and then went along the bed of a very small stream, and over low ground, with hills on both sides. We then com-

4.36. menced to ascend a steep hill, the whole way covered with bamboos, with a few trees only occasionally; the hills seen around are thickly covered with jungle. The highest range observed on the way up is to the westward.

5.36. We reached a halting place on the shoulder of the hill where a stockade had been erected to place cattle in; water is obtained from a spring some way down a valley, and brought up in bamboos for the cattle. Near this was a fine mango tree, the fruit very good, and afforded us a refreshing repast.

The ascent became very steep latterly, and on attaining the summit of the range (or

6.21. the top of a peak, for it is narrow and falls precipitously to the south-west), whence I expected to have a fine view, a violent hailstorm came on and drenched us through. I remained until nearly dark, in hopes of getting some bearings, but to no purpose. I, however, got a glimpse of the highest range, I think, bearing North 60 or 70 West. The thermometer here was 70°, and water boiled at 207° Fahrenheit.

We descended a few feet only, and halted for the night. Here we found a small spring of water; we had not met any from the time we commenced to ascend.

The poor ponies are badly off, the grass has been burnt and the hills are too steep for them to go far down in search of forage. It is a dismal, cold, comfortless night for all; a strong bleak wind blowing the whole time, which, in our elevated and exposed position, is anything but agreeable.

22nd May.—From the summit of the Mé Tian range to the Village of Mé Tsa láu.

Direction {S. 40 W. / N. 85 W. / S. 20 W. / S. 20 E.} Estimated Distance {4 miles / 1½ „ / 6 „ / 3 „} Estimated Time {1 h. / - 30 m. / 2 h. / 2 h. 30 m.}

We at first passed through a bamboo jungle, but soon quitted it, and the remainder of the road to the Mé la mat was through a thick dense jungle, the descent at times very steep, and the storm of the night had rendered the pathway slippery.

1 h. At the foot of the descent we reached the Mé la mat, here about 10 feet wide, with half a foot of water and the bed rocky.

From this the road ran along the valley of the stream (crossing it frequently and going along its rocky bed) with hills on both sides; we then, having quitted the stream,

3.30. came to some rising ground with fine open jungle, amongst the trees some mango, and after passing over some fields, halted at the village of Mé la mat just in time to save ourselves getting wet; here we found a nice zeat.

There are three villages close together of this name, containing 30 houses inhabited by Toung-thus, who all spoke Burmese. They pay 1½ Siamese tical per house a year, to Lahaing. We did not get off till near dark, having been detained for a supply of rice; the road, which ran through a thick jungle, was, fortunately, very good; it became so dark that we were obliged to light some candles, but what with rain falling and the ponies inclined to stray in consequence of the slow pace at which we were going, we had much trouble and a most disagreeable march. Close to this we passed over some plains and fields, and halted on the right bank of the Mé Tsa láu at about half-past eight.

The houses constituting the village of Mé Tsa láú, amounting to eight or 10, are scattered.

We managed to get possession of a half unroofed house, which afforded us but slender shelter during the rainy night.

We could not procure any fowls at the village this morning or here, the Toung-thus not rearing them.

23rd May.—From Mé Tsa láu to the Mé Huk Hué.

Direction, S. 35 W. Estimated Distance, 15 miles. Estimated Time, 4 h. 58 m.

The first part of the march was over a good road, through a fine jungle of kanien or wood-oil trees (one of which measured 33 feet in circumference), and along the valley of the Mé

Captain McLeod's Journal.

Mé Tsá láu; we then left it to our right, and went over some high ground with small saul and teak trees perfectly leafless. We saw the Thoung Yin to our right, flowing to the northward and westward, and soon afterwards crossed it. Its banks and bed were sandy, and about 25 feet high. It had about 190 feet of water in breadth and two feet in depth, and across altogether was 300 feet. Having proceeded over low hilly ground and reached 1.50.
a stream flowing to the northward, and after going along its bed and crossing several dry 2.50.
beds of mountain torrents, we ascended a steep hill. The descent from it was hardly per- 4.10.
ceptible; on our right we passed some broken low peaks of rocks, and the country was thinly wooded, but latterly we met some fine trees, and having arrived at and crossed a good stream of water, the Mé Hok Hué, halted close to a small plain, but now without a blade of grass on it. The Shan with us does not know the names of the streams, &c. He says that the one we crossed after passing the Thoung Yin is the same as the one we have halted near, which I should say is not correct. I was anxious to go on in the evening, but was prevented by the account he gave me of the distance to the next halting-place. We passed the skeletons of several elephants during the march; many of the animals have not been dead above three or four days; the heat and scarcity of forage supposed to be the cause.

24th May.—From Mé Huk Hué to the foot of the Kokarit Hills.

Direction { S. 5 W. / S. 25 W. } Estimated Distance { 11 miles / 7½ „ } Estimated Time { 3 h. 37 m. / 2 h. 35 m. }

At the extremity of the small plain which we crossed, the Nabúli road separates from the 4 m.
one we followed, which leads to the Dagyne; it is in some parts rocky and bad, but is that most frequented by the Toung thus leading to Zathabin, where a number of that race reside. We passed over plains, the grass all burnt; the descent throughout was so gentle that it was not perceptible. We crossed a stream of about 15 feet, flowing to the south- 3.4.
ward. To this we might at least have come last evening.

We continued to pass through the same sort of a country as above mentioned until we reached the Mé Pé, about 100 feet wide, flowing to South 20 East with two feet of water 2.19.
in it. It falls into the Thoung Yin. There were some fine trees on its high banks, chiefly thengan and the wood oil and a few teak.

We then traversed a forest of saul, perfectly free from brushwood, in the midst of which we came upon a pathway leading to Lahaing, which place can be reached in three 3.22.
nights; from this there are two or three hills, however, to pass over; the road by Ban Nat 4.2.
is the one recommended. The road then ran over rather low ground, the jungle being thick with creepers and brushwood. Having crossed a stream of about 20 feet wide, flowing to the north and eastward, and passed along the sides of some low hills thickly wooded, and crossed a stream, I suppose the same as before mentioned, five or six times, we arrived at a good halting-place.

The country then resumed the appearance it had before reaching the low ground. We halted on the right bank of the nullah, with hardly any water in it, on a very confined spot at the foot of a range of hills.

The road very good throughout the day.

25th May.—From the foot of the Kokarit range to the Village of Kokarit.

Direction { S. 50 W. / N. 53 W. } Estimated Distance { 10½ miles / 3¼ „ } Estimated Time { 3 h. 29 m. / 1 h. 8 m. }

We passed over a range of hills and reached a stream of 25 feet broad, with a foot of 45.
water flowing from the southward and eastward, which having crossed we came upon another one of the same dimensions, called the Kokarit River, and followed its course chiefly, however sometimes going over steep but not high hills, and reached the old town 3.29.
and fort of Zoya (one of the 32 towns comprehended in the Province of Martaban), built on low hills. Here we stopped a short time to allow the ponies to get a little grass; they have fared badly for the last two days particularly, not having had any paddy, and in fact we have not seen a blade of grass since leaving the Mé Tian; they have subsisted entirely on leaves.

On quitting the old fort, the jungle which had been very thick amongst the hills became open and stunted, with fine plains of long grass around. It continued so to the village of Kokarit, where we halted.

This village is divided into two, both inhabited by Karengs, one calling themselves Mi Khin or Talain Karengs, and the others Mi Tho. The former are considered more civilised and advanced than the latter, and in fact some of the men, who were clad like Burmans, spoke that language like one of that nation.

The river here is about 100 feet broad, with 1½ feet of water in it, and falls into the Houndrau; it is navigable for small boats during the rains, but not at present. The hills we have come over appear to run south-east and north-west, but rather inclining to north and south. A low range only is seen from this, about five miles distant to the south-westward. There is an old town called Myawadi, one night's journey from this on the Thoung Yin, near which many Karengs are located. It is two nights' journey from this to the Dagyne, and one more to the Lhaing Bue.

Captain McLeod's Journal.

26th May.—From Kokarit to the Village of Mikalón.

Direction, S. 82° W.; Estimated Distance, 12 miles; Estimated Time, 3 h. 35 m.

The road to-day was entirely over small plains, and through an open jungle of saul running over high ground occasionally, but throughout good.

2.40. We passed through a Kareng village containing about 20 houses, and having reached the Houndrau, crossed over to the left bank to the village of Mikalón and halted. The river is here 750 feet wide, and fordable at low water, being affected by the tide. Its source is at no distance to the eastward. It passes this running from the eastward, and flowing to the north-west.

Finding it would take us three marches to reach Moulmein from this, and the weather being very threatening, I determined to proceed by water, and having procured a canoe, started at seven o'clock. No sooner had we got fairly in the middle of the stream than the canoe upset; most fortunately the tide had fallen considerably, and a sand bank which was forming at this spot rendered the river less deep than it otherwise would have been; the boatmen jumped out as fast as they could and kept the canoe from sinking; the water reached their breasts. It took us about a quarter of an hour and more to reach the shore again; in the meantime all my things were wet through, many damaged and some washed out of the canoe; amongst them were some botanical specimens in loose paper. It was too dark to see at the time what was carried away. We started again at nine in another canoe.

May 27th.—To Moulmein.

I took no bearings or time, the passage being partly made at night. We reached the village of Damathat, on the Gyne, at 8 a. m., when it commenced to rain and blow heavily. Having breakfasted here, we reached Moulmein at about five in the evening, a heavy gale blowing against us the whole way.

(signed) *W. C. McLeod*,
Assistant to the Commissioner in the Tenasserim Provinces.

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

DR. RICHARDSON'S JOURNAL

Of a Fourth Mission to the Interior of the New Settlements in the Tenasserim Provinces;

Being to the Chief of the Red Karens, the Tso-boa of Monay, and thence to Ava.

13th December 1836.—At 6 p.m., in company with Lieutenant McLeod, who was also sent by the Commissioner on a mission through the Lao or Shan States into Yunan, left Moulmein and proceeded up the Gyne River. We halted the first night at Tarana, and on the 14th reached Aulan, on the 15th Atharue, near the junction of the Dhagyne and Lhaing Bue, rivers of the same size; proceeded up the latter river, and at 2 p.m. on the 16th halted at Park Tsoung, near the old town of Lhaing Bue, the last of our villages in this direction. Here we waited for the elephants (which had been sent round by the Kaloung to avoid swimming the Gyne River) till the 21st, when we left Park Tsoung and proceeded along the road, by which I have three times before travelled en route to the Shan States; I found the road incredibly improved, looking in many places like a cart road, from the Shans dragging half wild elephants between tame ones by this route to Zimmé. On the 26th we parted company; Lieutenant McLeod continued his route to the north-east, and I struck off north, a little westerly, to Mein-lun-ghee, where I arrived on 1st January 1837 (exactly seven years from my first visit). We had been on short allowance of rice two days, and obliged to halt once, searching for the Karens, who had moved (as they annually do) to a part of the hills at some distance from the road. Between the Tsheng-Tswe halting place, where the roads branch off, and from this place, the road is little travelled, and all but impassable at this season. The hills on the first day are steep and rugged, and in the following two days we had to cross the mountain torrent May-gnou 24 times, so deep and rapid that it is crossed with considerable difficulty, and repeatedly carried the people some distance down the rapid fords. The last three days the road was much better; indeed, very tolerable travelling.

1st January 1837.—At 2.30 halted at Mein-lun-ghee, formerly called Yeun-Salen; it formed part of the kingdom of Pegu; it is now the frontier town of Zimmé in this direction, and the authority of its myo-woon or governor extends over that portion of the Zimmé territory which runs down on the Salween between our Provinces and the Burmese Shan States of Kiang-túng to the northward. The town of Kiang-túng, according to Lieutenant McLeod, is 21° 17′ N. lat. The territory of course runs some way to the southward of that; it is only about one-third of this distance that the Mein-lun-ghee territory reaches to the Salween. To the northward the Karen territory stretches two

or

or three days to the eastward of the river. In the evening the old myo-woon sent some of the heads of the village to my tent with a message that he would wait on me in the morning. They brought a small present of rice and fruit, which was very acceptable, as we had no rice for the people's dinner, and some time would have been required to beat and clean it had we been obliged to collect it in the village.

2nd January 1837.—On taking a list of the people this morning, I found my own people to amount to 26, the traders, including a body of 11 Shans from Whopong and the neighbourhood, to 65; in all, 91. The old myo-woon came out a little before noon, bringing with him some rice, eggs, and a fowl or two, followed by about 20 of the people of the village of both sexes and all ages. He put some questions regarding the object and destination of my mission, stating that he was placed at one of the frontier stations to see that no suspicious or objectionable person passed the frontier, but said he supposed I would not stop if he wished me. I told him at once that I was going to Monay with a letter to the Tsoboa, and from thence to Ava, but I certainly would stop if he obliged me. It was, however, for him to consider whether I was a suspicious person, or one likely to bring any sort of harm on his country, after he had known me for seven years as the instrument of the British Government in promoting friendship with their neighbours. I reminded him of the assistance I received from him about two years ago, under orders from the Zimmay chiefs, when on my way to the Karean-nee country, and threatened him with the displeasure of the Tsoboa and King of Bankok. It was settled I should proceed; and before he left me he told me privately (all the people present hearing him) that he only wished to screen himself in case of any fault being found with him hereafter. He promised me his assistance in getting provisions; indeed it would be perfectly impossible to procure them without it; and as I cannot reckon on more than four or five days' rice between this and Gnoe-daun (said to be 14 days from this), it will be necessary to halt three or four days till so large a quantity of provisions can be collected in this small place. It will also be absolutely necessary to purchase another elephant; the present loads, small as they would be considered in India, are already too much for them, and, with the additional rice, would knock them all up in a fortnight.

3rd January 1837 (Tuesday).—Halt for rice and an elephant. The Myo-woon has sent orders to the Kareans and small villagers in the vicinity to bring in rice; and after some deliberation as to the propriety of providing for me at the public expense, I believe I am, at my own request, to be allowed to pay for what provisions we are furnished with.

4th January 1837 (Wednesday).—Find to-day that the water in the May-neum or Mein-lun-ghee River is still so deep at this season, and particularly this year, that I shall be obliged to go by a different road from the one I travelled in 1835, to avoid the frequent fording, as the coolies could not cross their loads dry; this, however, will be an advantage, as the new road lies near Karean cultivation, and has furnished me with a pretext for requiring a guide, as no one with me has ever travelled the road. The person who accompanied me on my last mission to the Karean-nee country is anxious to go again; without him we could not obtain rice from the Kareans; with his assistance the difficulty of obtaining supplies will be much lessened. The provisions are promised for to-morrow, and we are to start on the day following.

5th January 1837 (Thursday), Mein-lun-ghee.—After halting here for four days, was not a little disappointed to find we could only be furnished with four or five baskets of rice, instead of 15 to 20, the quantity I had wished to procure. There is not an elephant, bullock, or man to be hired to assist in carrying it if we had obtained it, and there are no boats at this season at the Dhagyne tseik, as the traders in salt and betel-nut who resort there annually from Zimmay, have not yet come; had they been so, I intended to have sent a supply of rice for six or eight days up the river to meet us at the Ban-ong ferry. The old man appears to have done his utmost; he refused payment for what he has furnished, and assures me that by the present route we shall be plentifully supplied, but we must not expect to travel as I did before, without a halt, the people not having rice beat out without previous warning; he has acceded to the request of the petty officer who accompanied me formerly, to be allowed to do so again, and given him authority to order the Kareans to furnish us with all we may require, and assures me we shall be able by the way to prepare for any want of provisions we may anticipate in crossing the Karean-nee country. I here succeeded in obtaining an elephant for 200 rupees. On the old man coming to take leave of me in the evening, as he has shown a readiness to assist me, I gave him a fuzil and a piece of book muslin, with which he was very much pleased. Muskets of any kind are very much prized by them, but a fuzil is invaluable.

6th January 1837 (Friday), Ban-soop-han, 1 hr. 30 m., 4 miles 4 fur. N., a little westerly.—The guide was not ready to accompany us this morning, but has promised to overtake us to-morrow, and one of the people who have been ordered to accompany him has been sent on with us to this village, about 4½ miles north, a little westerly from Mein-lun-ghee; we have only crossed the river once, close to the village; it is here of considerable breadth; I consequently forded it without difficulty on horseback.

7th January 1837 (Saturday), Ta-pa-poon, 3 hrs. 30 m., 10 miles N., 15 W.—To this halting-place we have pursued the same route travelled by me on my former mission, and described on that occasion; for the next three days our course lies more to the southward

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

than the one then followed, carrying us amongst the hills, and avoiding the necessity of crossing the river. I found before I quitted Mein-lun-ghee that the greater number of the Taung-thoos, who were to form a large part of my caravan, will probably not overtake us on this side of the Salween, as they did not start till many days after us; I have, therefore, made arrangements with the Myo-woon not to detain them here, in case they should, in the hope of overtaking me, have come without a pass.

8th January (Sunday), May-nam-new, time 3 hrs. 20 m.; distance 8 miles N., 30 W.—9.40 start along the new road which is good and level till 10; it then lies along the bed of the May-pan, a small stream which runs between low hills, some of which have been formerly cleared for paddy, but are now covered with reeds and short bamboos; at 12 it descends for 10 minutes, then passes over the tops of the low hills and along narrow ledges at their sides till 12.20, from which time it descends till 1.0, when we halt; the guide has not come up. The hills throughout the day have worn a most desolate appearance, and were it not for the scanty marks of former cultivation would look as if they had never known an inhabitant; the forest along the lower parts of the march has been interspersed with teak trees, and about our halting-place there is a good deal of fine timber.

9th January (Monday), May-tchim-leen, 4 hours, 10 miles N., 10 W.—8.30. start; country much the same character as yesterday; march more along the tops of the hills; forests generally more open; 10.50, path lies up the bed of the May-mong, a small stream in a ravine, the sides of the hills forming which are covered with bamboos; 11.40, ascend a very steep hill and pass along the top of it, from which there was a view of some extent, but nothing to be seen as far as the eye could range except mountains entirely covered with forest, their descents all abrupt, and no valleys between them; at 12.20 a very steep descent, and crossing some of last year's paddy grounds; 12.30, halt in the bed of the small stream of May-tchim; procured one basket of rice to-day.

10th January (Tuesday), May-soo, 5° 12′ 4″ N., 4 W.—8.45, start, and proceed along a road of the same character as yesterday till 10, when we rejoined the road I travelled in 1835, from which a small patch of level ground covered with long grass and jungle continued for 20 minutes, when we commenced crossing the May-soo, up the course of which we continued to travel, sometimes on its bank, sometimes in the stream ankle-deep, till 1.45, when we encamped on its bank in a ravine; we have obtained no rice to-day, and as the guide has not joined us by the old road I gave him up. Though I cannot conjecture the cause of his non-appearance, I cannot attribute, to wilful deception of the old Myo-woon of Mein-lun-ghee; yet the man was so well pleased with the 20 rupees I gave him for his services on my last mission, that I can think of no other cause; we passed 10 or 12 Red Kareans with a large herd of (50 or 60) buffaloes, which they had received as the price for five children at Mein-lun-ghee.

11th January (Wednesday), May-song, 3° 15′ 6½″ S. W.—Our march to-day has been along the road travelled on my last mission, and we halted at the foot of the highest hills in the range; we were 25 minutes in ascending; it is one of the highest in the route; I measured its height by the boiling point of water on my last mission, which gave an altitude of 2,958 feet above the sea. From this the view commands an extensive range in the distance; to the southward and westward there is a high range of mountains, distant, perhaps, 30 miles; the whole country between one sea of smaller hills, nothing like a plain nor sign of animal life to be seen as far as the eye can range in any direction; the air cold and invigorating; the thermometer at 8 a.m. did not rise higher than 48°, nor at noon than 68°; the day was cloudy, and even in the sun it only reached. 73°. As we have obtained no addition to our stock of provisions to-day, we have been obliged to send off the guide who came with us from Mein-lun-ghee in search of the Kareans.

12th January (Thursday), May-thaung, N.W. 3° 15′ 8″.—Character of the country continues the same as yesterday; no sign of inhabitants near the road; passed that leading to the Dha-gyne-tseik or Ferry at half-past 11, the distance to which is about one day and a half's march. Through the instrumentality of the guideman who accompanied us from Mein-lun-ghee, we procured seven baskets of rice to-day, which were brought to this halting-place by 22 Kareans from the last of the Zimmay villages; as he has no authority over the Kareans in advance of this, I paid him and allowed him to return.

13th January (Friday), May-tchay, N.W. 4° 45′ 0″, 14 miles.—The country has been more level to-day; the jungle is still close, and the march lay principally along the course of the shallow streams.

14th January (Saturday), Pu-ta-kay, N.W. 4° 20′ 18″, 14 miles.—Country was more open than it has been since the day after we left Mein-lun-ghee; we have crossed no large streams, and rivulets less frequent; the hills are lower, and arborescent vegetation more scanty; food for the elephants is plentiful just at the halting place, but has been scarce all the latter part of the march.

15th January (Sunday), May-nam-pa-nak, N.W. 2° 20′, 7 miles.—Have been obliged to make a short march to-day and stop at our old halting-place, as there is no water between this and the Salween, a march of 4 hours and 30 minutes; came to the ground early and made the latitude by an observation at noon 18° 10′ 8″.

16th January (Monday), Ban-ong, N. 40°, W. 4° 20′ 60″, 14 miles.—Made the march to-day

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

to-day in precisely the same time as on my last mission. The Thooghee of the Karean village of Ban-ong of 25 houses on the western side of the Salween, came over to my tent soon after my arrival, and said he had orders to detain me and report to Pha-pho my arrival, as he wished to meet me here, and if he found it proper he would take me with him to his village. I remonstrated to no purpose on the unusual proceeding of stopping me here, after inviting me, when I last visited him, to return, and having entered into friendly arrangements for opening the gold and silver road of trade and friendship: his only answer was that he was a subordinate and must obey orders. As some of the people have been without rice to-day (indeed I have supplied the whole caravan for the last two or three days), I requested him to assist us in obtaining provisions, which he promised, and I believe will endeavour to do, though he took the people over to his village for the purpose of giving them paddy to beat out for themselves, and sent them back without, as it could not be collected till the morning.

17th January (Tuesday), Ban-ong, lat. 18° 16′ 16″ N.—I sent for the Thooghee this morning; he came over a little after noon and brought with him a small supply of rice, little more than half a day's allowance for all the people; he has sent to two villages in the neighbourhood to bring in a further supply for to-morrow. I have also sent some people back one day's march to a Karean village near the road, where we hope to obtain a basket or two; the difficulty of obtaining provisions here is always great, and this year particularly so from the failure of the rice crop. The Thooghee sent an express off this morning to Pha-pho to report my arrival; it appears that for some time, from intelligence he has received, he is expecting me.

18th January (Wednesday).—The Thooghee sent over for some of our people this morning to go up the river for rice; I have sent three or four of my people, and as many of the traders to a small Taungthoo village two days up, where there is a better chance of obtaining it than here; others have been out to one or two villages of some size which are in this neighbourhood, and have obtained, I believe, another half-day's allowance for everybody; the people told them they had been ordered by Pha-pho not to sell their rice, as it would all be wanted for me, and they would not let us have any without his order. I have not seen the Thooghee to-day.

19th January (Thursday), Ban-ong.—To-day has passed as yesterday, without my having any personal communication with the Thooghee of the village. I sent the interpreter to him in the morning to inquire as to the probability of our getting a supply of provisions, and when we may expect Pha-pho: he promises, if the chief does not arive to-morrow, to go himself with the interpreter in search of rice, of which he assures me there is a considerable scarcity this season; in the meantime, the people have made out for to-day by mixing the little rice they could get with maize and vetches, and our own people are expected to return to-morrow.

20th January (Friday), Ban-ong.—Nothing has occurred to distinguish this day from yesterday; neither our rice party nor the chief have yet arrived: we, however, succeeded in obtaining one basket of rice for two rupees; and a Burman, if turned into the jungle, even of the most desolate and unpromising appearance, will always succeed in picking up the material for a vegetable stew, on which, seasoned with a little of his favourite gna-pie and salt, he will be able to live very well for months, but they must have a little rice with it if possible; this they eat frequently; their appetites are not nearly so voracious as the natives of Hindostan.

21st January (Saturday), Ban-ong.—Seeing no prospect of the arrival of Pha-pho I sent for the Thooghee in the morning, and told him that as we were still unsupplied with provisions, and had heard nothing from the chief, unless something was heard from him in the course of the day, that I should cross the river to-morrow; the old man agreed with the justice of the proposal, and after a good deal of hesitation he has promised to supply me with boats in the morning. I, however, expect, should no communication arrive from the chief, he will evade performance: the rice party still absent.

22nd January (Sunday). Ban-ong.—As I yesterday anticipated, the Thooghee sent over this morning to say messengers had come in, bringing intelligence that Pha-bhang (the second chief) had gone to Dowm Tulwee, the residence of Pha-pho, and that they were both to start this day or to-morrow to meet me here; he therefore begged me to remain a day or two longer, with which request I was reluctantly compelled to comply, in consequence of the protracted absence of the party I sent up the river for rice. All the rice we have obtained here has been in small chance supplies, brought in by the people in our immediate vicinity; we have at no time since the first day had a full day's supply, and the difficulty of obtaining it is said (and we know from experience of last mission that it is so) to be greater in advance than it is here: had the people returned I should certainly have proceeded to-day. Some of the villagers told us to-day that a message from some of the Shan States, under the Burmans, had been sent to Key-pho with the present of a horse, to request a passage for traders through his country: the present and request were both refused, as not in accordance with the Karean custom, and from fear of the traders introducing diseases (small-pox or cholera), of which they are particularly afraid; and their hatred of the Burmese is greater than even the Zimmay people.

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

23rd January (Monday), Ban-ong.—Seven of the 12 people sent for rice returned this evening with about eight baskets; they were detained by the difficulty of descending two rapids, down which they were obliged to wait for the Kareans to bring them; their return was most welcome; two-thirds of the people had had nothing to eat to-day, and their return enabled us to breakfast about six o'clock in the evening. As we still hear nothing of the chief, I intimated to the thooghee my intention to cross the river to-morrow and proceed on my way. I learned to-day that Juman and Legie, two Bengalies from Maulmain, have been here again trading in slaves, and that four or five natives of India are now at Pha-pho's village on the same errand. We have been joined to-day by the Taung-thoos, with the Bodre tuga, amounting to 14, with 35 bullocks loaded with gna-pie and betel-nut, making the whole party, with 11, who joined at Mein-lun-ghee, 105 people, nine elephants, and about 50 bullocks.

24th January (Tuesday), Ban-ong.—Agreeably to the determination of yesterday, we commenced crossing about 11 a.m., with two small boats, all that could be obtained, and at 6 p.m. we had crossed everything except two elephants, which were restive, and six or seven bullocks. We met on this side of the river 80 Shans from different parts of the country north of the Kareans; they had passed themselves off for inhabitants of Laye tung, as that village has come into the Kareans, and pays the black mail; they had been, nevertheless, detained by Key-pho, one of the Karean chiefs, and it was only the intelligence of my approach that induced him to allow them to proceed; they had been 20 days from Loye-lung, and are now on their way to Maulmain. I took this opportuniy of writing to the Commissioner.

25th January (Wednesday), Ban-ong.—The people have been engaged all day in unsuccessful attempts to cross the refractory elephants, which both belong to the traders; one, a small female, was got over after a good deal of trouble, but the other, a large male, after trying every means thought most likely to succeed, is still on the other side of the river. Our rice is again out, and no intelligence of the old chief (unless some muskets fired off in the village to-night be in honour of his arrival). Five of the 12 people sent for rice on the 18th, and who were to have returned in four days, are still absent; we must, however, start in the morning, as we have little hopes of further subsistence here, and shall be one day at least without rice under the most favourable circumstances. I have advised the man to whom the elephant belongs to send him back to Maulmain. I have advanced him 75 rupees to buy five bullocks from a Shan trader, who is halted on the other side of the river waiting for slaves.

26th January (Thursday), Ka-tchaung lan, 3° 35′ N.W., 12 miles.—Waited till nine o'clock at the last village, to give the man another chance of crossing his elephant, when we started, finding it could not be accomplished; the first of the coolies came up at 12.35, but the elephants, owing to the sharp pointed rocks on the road, which distressed their feet, and the necessity of cutting a way for the howdahs through the branches and creepers for the first mile and a half, did not come in till 5.15. We met on the march to-day an old man and his family, taken at Mobie, being driven to the ferry for sale; their captor, an old Karean thooghee of about 50 years of age, was riding behind them, spear in hand. I asked him if thoughts of his own children did not make him feel some compassion for these poor people; he coolly answered "Khan" (fortune), and pushed on his prisoners.

27th January (Friday), Ban-to-ee, 4° 30′ N., 14 miles.—We started from the last ground at 7.30, and at nine met the thooghee of this village with the five people who were left by the others at the village up the Salween, where they went for rice; they remained one day there, and then proceeded overland to Pha-phos, a long half-day's march, crossing one high hill, from the top of which both the village they had left and that to which they were proceeding was visible: they halted two days at the chief's village, when he started to meet me at Ban-ong, by the way they had gone up, taking rice, &c. &c. with him. We consequently missed our supplies, and could only get a little cholum for the people's dinner to-day; the thooghee has procured us a little rice for to-morrow, and I have intimated to him my intention to proceed to the chief's village and there wait his return.

28th January (Saturday), Dwom Tulwee, 5° 25′ N.E., 15 miles.—The thooghee of the last village was civil and obliging, furnished us with nearly as much cholum as the people could eat for breakfast; I gave him half a piece of book muslin; left To-ee at 8 a.m., and halted here at 2.40, having rested the people one hour and 20 minutes on the road. We found the water had been let into our old halting place preparatory to cultivation, and took up a position on the other side of the road; the ground was white with bones, and I found we had encamped on the field where they perform sacrifice to the natts. The son of the old chief has promised us some rice, though they say the crops have entirely failed here for the last two years. The elephants did not come up till 5.30, and it was quite dark before the tents were pitched.

29th January (Sunday), Dwom Tulwee.—The son-in-law of the old chief came to the tent this morning, and said he was then starting with horses for Pha-pho, and begged me to remain till his return, which he said would, under the most unfavourable circumstances, not be more than five days, but he did not expect to be more than four. Pha-pho's youngest

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

youngest son, came this evening to borrow an elephant to go to a village a day's march from this for rice for our use, showing a much better disposition to assist us this year than formerly. I have agreed to send two of the elephants, and they are to start early in the morning. He at first objected to taking two, as they would be ashamed if they could not load them both; his scruples were got over by telling him that elephants did not like to travel alone, and that one was intended for his accommodation. I had a long conversation this morning with an old Shan woman, from Monay, the wife of the chief man of business and interpreter; she gave her opinion very freely of the Kareans, in presence of the chief's son, who was lounging about with his pipe in his mouth: she said they were jungle wild animals; they had neither temples nor laws; did not know good from evil, and were perfectly uncivilised: the bystanders, or rather sitters, though she was understood by two-thirds of them, seemed perfectly unmoved by her eloquence.

30th January (Monday).—Started the elephants for the rice this morning at seven, with the chief's son. I have not seen anyone else in authority to-day; this afternoon, a Shan Pounghee, who has established himself here with his countrymen, of whom there are about 25 or 30 families in the village, paid me a visit; he has at present six scholars in his kyoung; none of the Kareans have yet joined him, or pay any respect to his cloth.

31st January (Tuesday).—The eldest son of the chief came to the tent for half an hour to-day, and the interpreter mentioned to him that the servants had no yams for dinner: he immediately rose, leaving his pipe and knife, went home, brought as many as his hands would hold, and then went away, without any follower, to look after his buffaloes. I soon after saw him return leading one in, which a Shan, who was sitting near, said was to be sacrificed to the natts, which are extremely numerous; every tree, hill, river, stream, rock, in fact every object, natural or artificial, has one. Their children, wives, and the men themselves are seized by them when they go to the jungle for firewood, or even for water. How they were seized they could not very intelligibly explain; but it appears to be some obscure feeling of illness, and vague fancies, from a morbid imagination, of some approaching calamity. A sacrifice then becomes necessary; they consult the fowls' bones, the leg bones in preference, and if proper the sacrifice is made. They sometimes kill as many as eight or ten bullocks or buffaloes at a time, great part of which is left at the place of sacrifice to decay. When only one is killed, the head is put down, with the tips of the fore-feet on each side of it, the hind-feet a little behind and the tip of the tail a little further back, between them, all the most worthless part of the animal for the natt; the rest is taken home and eaten, and a small portion of the dressed victuals is brought out and added; sacrifices are made and prayers offered up, sometimes for a continuance of health; generally, however, it is only the evil spirits, who have inflicted some illness or misfortune, which are attempted to be propitiated. I asked if the cattle had no natts where there was such profusion, and if they were not offended at their living creatures being sacrificed to other natts. They said if it was not indicated by the fowl bones, they never made the sacrifice, even if the person was dying; and if indicated, it was made, even if they were dead.

1st February (Wednesday), Dwom Tulwee.—No intelligence of the chief, nor have I seen anyone having authority to-day. The elephants sent on the 30th for rice returned this evening, bringing about eight baskets. A supply has also been brought from Gnoe-daun by a Shan who has been once or twice at Maulmain. He says a large caravan, with about 500 bullocks, is now preparing to proceed thither with stick lac, who propose to pass the rains there.

There is a report that Pha-bhang has gone with a large force on a road to the westward. We have had a good many cases of slight fever amongst the people during the last 15 or 20 days; one of the merchants, who has been a sufferer is to-night attacked, with considerable prostration of strength and vomiting of blood.

2nd February (Thursday).—Pha-pho arrived last night in two days from the Salween; the fowl bones being unfavourable to a return by land, he came the first day up the Pon to Ban-toee in small boats, which they were several times obliged to unload and drag up the falls. From thence he came yesterday on horseback, and arrived here about 9 p.m.; he pleads fatigue as an excuse for not seeing me to-day, but I am to be introduced to-morrow; and from what I have heard from his son and the old Taung-thoo interpreter, I almost anticipate a refusal to my request to be allowed to pass through his territory. He has already ordered that traders from up the country north-west of this should not come further than Gnoe-daun, and from the southward and eastward than the Salween, in consequence of some trouble he and the old interpreter's son had last year with three men from Maulmain.

3rd February (Friday).— Waited on the old chief this morning with the Commissioner's letter and presents. He is evidently anxious to oblige us, but naturally afraid of opening a way into his country for the Burmans. After a good deal of discussion, I obtained his promise of transit through his country, and protection to traders as far as his power and influence on the people prevailed. Traders are to pay no duty, but to make a small present to the chiefs on receiving their pass; and as the old man has not the character of being avaricious, I do not suppose much will be expected. He distinctly stated that his

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

authority was supreme throughout the country; that there are three other chiefs of his appointment, and that there is no necessity for my visiting them. He spoke of the value of the presents, and regretted his inability to make a suitable return. My visit lasted for nearly three hours; and soon after my return the old Shan interpreter came out to the tent. I begged him, as we had already lost so much time, to get the letter for the Commissioner ready to-morrow, as I wished to take leave on the day after, and to start on the subsequent day. He had come to borrow a writer, as their only one was from home, whom I promised to send in the morning.

4th February (Saturday), Dwom Tulwee.—Sent the writer with paper, &c., into the village this morning, and the letter was ready by noon. The old chief regretted he could not visit me, as my tent was pitched on the spot where the cattle are sacrificed; and as he neither eats meat nor drank spirits, which they do to excess here, it would be improper for him to come here. His son and all the heads of the village, however, came without scruple. The place was of my own choice, as the place we occupied last year was under water; and there was no other spot, except in the centre of the village, level enough to pitch a tent.

5th February (Sunday).—This morning I called on the old chief for the letter. He was most anxious to detain us till the return of Pha-bhang's marauding party, which he told me amounted to 300 or 400 men; their attack is on some part of the Monay frontier, and he appeared very apprehensive of our falling in with them on their way home. We had been so long delayed I was determined to lose no time, and intimated my determination to start early to-morrow. I engaged two guides to Kadoo, who, I was glad to find, stipulated for terms before we started. The hire between this and Gnoe-daun is four tickels, coarse silver; and as the distance to Kadoo is twice as far, they are to receive eight tickels each on reaching that place. The old chief gave them strict injunctions to behave well, and authorised them to order the heads of the different villages to furnish us with rice; he also gave them instructions in Kareans, which I supposed to have reference to Pha-bhang's party. After hearing a great variety of opinions as to the best road, whether by Gnoe-daun or Kundoo, I have at last determined on the latter, as all agree it is the shortest. The hills are described by some of the people as nearly impassable, by others as not particularly difficult by the Kundoo road; by Gnoe-doun the road is nearly level, but two or three days longer, and food for the elephants scarce. I remained upwards of an hour, to my discomfort, sitting on a Tartar carpet on the hard floor, and left the chief fast asleep, with his head against a post, and his pipe in his mouth, in which state he might have been for a quarter of an hour, as he had not joined in the conversation for some time, and the house was too dark to see, till the people moved out of the doorway, to let me out.

6th February (Monday), Waterfall halting place, 4° 35′ N., 6 W., 15 miles.—From Maulmain to this place I have been less minute in describing the country and the route, having entered so much into detail in my last mission; but as the country in advance is perfectly unknown, never having been traversed by a European before, perhaps it will be thought necessary to describe the immediate route a little more particularly. Left Dwom Tulwee at 8.10 a.m., and five minutes brought us to the end of the little portion of table and on which the village is situated, when we descended a minute or two, and crossing a small plain of a few hundred yards in extent, between the foot of the hill and the Pon river, which may be brought under cultivation, and irrigated by the stream from the hill above, continued our march along the valley or ravine of the Pon, nearly due north. The river is of considerable breadth, perhaps 120 yards or more across, and full of rapids, sometimes amounting to falls, as that near which we are encamped, where the water falls two or three feet over the rocks, which reaches right across the river. The whole course of the river is interrupted by small rocky islands, covered with the common trees of the jungle, the water often, even at this season, rushing through amongst them, giving the appearance as if the river had taken this course lately, and not had time to wash away the obstruction. The whole march had more the character of a ravine than a valley, the hills never being more than a mile and a-half apart, generally not one-fourth of a mile; the road, which was apparently much frequented, lay along the banks of the river, within a few yards of it, except for about 10 minutes, when a small hill lay between us and it. The ferry to Gnoe-daun, which lies west of the Pon, we passed about 11 o'clock; one road to some hill cultivation about noon, and one to a small village east of our route, close to the halting place, were the only cross roads we saw, and little or no cultivation near the road, indicating, as does the whole appearance of the country, a very scanty population; the trees, even near the river, do not attain a large size, and on the hills, which are rocky (lime sand), they are scattered and stunted, some of the hills almost bare. We halted at 1.20, having rested 25 minutes by the way. The elephants did not get in till five o'clock; the heat, which is 92° in the tent at noon, is much felt by them, though at 6 a.m. the thermometer is only 54°, and at 9 a.m. 68°.

7th February (Tuesday), Nam-supee, 3° 40′ N. E., 11 miles.—Eight, start, and for 20 minutes continue along the Pon river, as yeterday, when we come on a small plain, which had been under cultivation within the last year or two; this continued 20 minutes more, and another 30 minutes brought us to Lun-baing (or Dun-daing of the Zimmay Shans, or the village of the plain), containing about 30 or 40 houses, with a good many pigs and cattle, but very few fowls. We passed the village at 9.40, when we halted till 10; again proceed,

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

proceed, and ascend the steep eastern hills, rugged and difficult, N. 70° E., for half-an-hour, where we were obliged to halt half-an-hour for the guide; our road then lay over some uneven table land, east, a little northerly, till 11.30, when we commenced the second steep ascent, which continues to this place, where we halted at 12.30, near a very small stream, trickling out of a high rock, to the eastward of the road. The hill rises above us in a very steep ascent, for perhaps 500 feet, and perpendicularly above that for about the same height. The hills to the westward, except some ranges in the extreme distance, are all lower than our halting-place (at which the boiling point of water is 206, giving a height 3,085 feet). There is throughout a disposition to the formation of table-land on the summits of all the hills, which, in some instances, is some miles in extent; on one of these tables it appears Gnoe-daun (a town surrounded by a stockade, surmounting a mud wall, inhabited by Shans, and, by all accounts, one of the most important in the Karean country) is situated; it is said to contain 400 or 500 houses, and the plain to be well cultivated, and perfectly bare of trees; indeed the hills altogether, to the westward of the Pon, are very scantily covered with arborescent vegetation. Met eight or ten traders to-day, with a few bullock-loads of salt; passed one cross road and two patches of old cultivation of some extent. A portion of the river, near the village, passed this morning; is visible from this bearing, S. 65° W.

8th February (Wednesday), Sa-len-lay, 3° 50′ N.E., 12 miles.—Left our ground this morning at eight, and continued to ascend for an hour along the sloping detritus at the bottom of a perpendicular eastern range of hills, much of which has been brought under cultivation. At an hour from the last halting place, the high perpendicular portion of the eastern range terminates in a bluff point, and the hills on both sides of the road have the same character; the rocks almost entirely disappear, the declivities are much less steep, and the whole country to the summits of hills, from the termination of the rocky range to our present halting place, has been brought under cultivation. The population must be very much beyond what I had formed any idea of; the cultivation, which consists of paddy and cholum, is conducted with much care; the soil, of a brown reddish colour, seems deep and good; the trees, which are of small growth and thinly scattered, are all cut off within a foot or two of the ground, their rooots appearing necessary to keep the soil from being washed away; the grass is perfectly grubbed out and burned, and the whole well turned up with the Chinese hoe; we passed three large villages, and they are said, and must be, to account for the cultivation of the whole country, very numerous; some of the paddy in the bottoms of the narrow valleys is cultivated with great neatness in terraces, as practised by the Chinese, and in these situations alone can irrigation be practised; on the hills they depend on the rain. Though our halting place appeared to be some miles from any village, five minutes after we halted it was crowded with people, who behaved in a very orderly manner, and left us at night fall; all along the road people left the villages and crowded to the tops of the hills to look at us, in some instances bringing as presents a few baskets of paddy. We have passed several streamlets to-day, and we encamped on one in a small terraced valley to-night; the Karean country is said by the guide to extend three days' march from east to west, and we have still three days to go to the northward before we reach the Burman frontier, though the Karean day's march is much longer than ours; still I had reason to believe afterwards that he was much under the truth. One of the elephant's howdahs was knocked down a precipice by a projecting stump in the very steep hill above the road, which, detaining us, we did not get in till 5 p.m.; the coolies all lost their way in the multitude of cross roads, and did not get in till six; the people were, however, everywhere perfectly civil to them, though their appearance must have surprised them.

9th February (Thursday), Too-lay-mae, 4° 30′ N.W., 13 miles.—Started at eight, and for the first 10 minutes ascend, then proceed along the undulating tops of the hills till 8.40, when the road lies along the bottom of a valley; 9.10, cross a small run of water for irrigation, in a terraced field, deep tenacious mud, through which we had a good deal of difficulty in getting my pony and the bullocks, and continue along the valley till 10.20, when it opens out to the eastward, and I expected to see something like a plain, but the hills continue as far as the eye can reach, though lower than where we now are, with one high range far east, beyond which flows the Salween, one day's journey from this; between this and the river there are no inhabitants, save the tiger, elephant, and rhinoceros, which are never disturbed, except by an occasional party of elephant hunters from Zimmay; 10.30, see Gnoe-daun due west, distant perhaps 10 or 12 miles, with its very extensive table lands, which are said to be all terraced and under cultivation; the terraces formed of stones and earth frequently five or six feet high, beyond which, perhaps, 25 or 30 miles distant, is a high range of hills, along the foot of which runs the Nam-may-meyat, a tolerably large river, at a short distance from Gnoe-daun; it takes a turn south-east, and continuing its course along the foot of the table hills, on which that town stands, joins the Pon south-westerly of where we now stand, and flows with that by the Salween, into the Bay of Bengal; the Pon is eastward of the former stream, and runs near the foot of the hills, along the tops and sides of which our road lies, 10° 40′. Suffie Hill, distant 30 miles north, 20 west, at the foot of which stands Thataung-lay, the inhabitants of which are called Taung-thoos (southern people), and were originally brought here from the old kingdom of Pha-taung, near Martaban, by Norata meng-tsoe, who reigned in Pagan in the year 379, Burman æra, or A.D. 1007. From this point we again ascend, and pass close to the road near a large village; the remains of a leopard which had been

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

killed a day or two, from 11, when the guide pointed out a division between the summits of two hills due north of this, through which our road lies to-morrow; we descend a steep rocky declivity to our halting place, which we reach at 12.30, near the first rocks on the road since leaving the last halting place; the country thickly inhabited as yesterday; eight large villages at one time within sight of the road.

10th February (Friday), Ban-sa-to, N.E. 2° 10′, seven miles.—Again started at eight; the guide had found out during the night that in a narrow ravine in this day's march, the trees from the opposite hills had fallen over the road in such a way as to render it impassable to elephants, though people and bullocks could go under them; we consequently, instead of going due north, as proposed, proceeded by a path very much to the eastward of our intended route, which threw us quite out of the line of cultivation and inhabitants; the road lay for 10 minutes north along the bottom of the valley, then over low hills, north 46 east till 8.50, when we commence a descent steep and rocky, with frequently little appearance of a path, the trees much impeding the progress of the elephants till 9.30 (south 35 east); at the foot of the descent, we reached a valley which had formerly been all under cultivation, a small village and little clear ground near it; beyond this, till 10 a.m., the branches of the trees and creepers were so interlaced, that I halted on the bank of a small stream in thick jungle, near the village called Bun-sa-to; it has only been inhabited three years by these people, who are Shans of Mok-mai, from which they were driven by the heavy taxation of the Burman Governments, 40, 50, or even 60 tickals of coarse silver being often demanded from one house during the year; whilst here, under Pha-pho, the whole village, which consists of eight or ten houses, by making a small annual present of five or six tickals value, are free from all demands, and even this small present seems voluntary. The last half hour, south, 60 east, we have seen little cultivation, and only this small village, which is a short half-day's march, due west from the ferry of Sa-to (or Ta-sa-to, ta being the Shan word for a ferry) on the Salween, from which boats go up and down constantly to Ban-ong.

11th February (Saturday).—Turrafae, N.E. 3 hours., nine miles.—Started at 8.30, and travel 1 hour and 20 minutes north, 19 west, through a jungle for the most part more open in a ravine amongst the hills, in some parts rocky and unpleasant, with one or two patches of clearing, and small streamlets, the greater part of the rest of the march north, 43 east, till 1.20, through a country which has at one time or other been under cultivation, but we saw none that had been recently so; in the last 10 minutes of the march we cross a small patch of clearing for next year, and halt on the side of the small stream of Turrafae, a little further from the Salween than yesterday.

12th February (Sunday), Pan, N.E. 4°, 13 miles.—March to-day of much the same character as yesterday (except the jungle was so open as not to impede the elephants), up and down the rocky hills, and along rocky ravines, no cultivation or marks of the country ever having been inhabited; some of the hills rather steep and difficult, and some of the timber larger than most we have seen; on this side, the Salween, about noon, we passed a clump of tolerably large fir trees on one of the hills; the hills had neither form, elevation, nor vegetation to give them interest, the whole dreary and desolate; a few small birds about our halting ground; what can have brought them here is difficult to imagine.

13th February (Monday), Kundoo, N.W. 6 hours, 20 miles.—Started at 8.15, and making a long march of six hours, halted here at three; the elephants did not arrive till half-past six, having been 10½ hours on the road. The first hour our march lay in bamboo jungle, winding amongst the hills, up the bed of the stream on which we halted last night; leaving this, we ascend a somewhat steep hill, the top of which is the Karean-nee boundary, in latitude about 19° 15′; from this the whole march is through tree jungle, more or less thick, with occasional patches for half-a-mile of bamboo, and some scattered fir trees; for nearly the last two hours the road was better and the hills became less lofty; at two we came on the clearing of the village, and making somewhat of a circuit, halted at 3 p.m.; about 4, the thooghee came out for half an hour, and at 6½ the elephants came in in a heavy shower of rain, which continued till 8 or 9 p.m.; the thooghee wished me to halt a day, and the rain, which will make the tents so heavy with the length of to-day's march, obliged me to do so on the elephants' account.

14th February, Kundoo (Tuesday).—Before taking final leave of the Kareans, it may perhaps be proper to give a short recapitulation of the route, distance, and direction of the march to their north frontier—a summary of the little which is known of the extent of their country, their numbers, and any peculiarity in their habits and customs that would strike the common observer in passing hastily through the country. From Maulmain, which lies in latitude 16° 29′ N., to the Thoung-yin river, which rises in the Siamese range of hills S.E., and taking north-westerly course, falls into the Salween, north, a little westerly of Maulmain, forming our boundary with Siam in that direction; the distance travelled is about 110 miles in a north-easterly direction, which may be done with elephants easily in nine days. In the dry weather the road is good, with abundance of water and forage; almost a perfect level till the last two days, when you come amongst the hills. In the height of the rains the road is impassable, and at the beginning and end of them very unhealthy, travellers being subject to severe remittent and intermittent fevers. After the fifth day you see no inhabitants, and depend for your supplies on the Kareans thinly

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

thinly scattered over the hills, to whom it is necessary to send notice of your approach, when they will meet you at the halting-places with rice, fowls, yams, eggs, and occasionally a pig; traders are obliged to go in search of their villages, which they remove annually some distance from the road, as they are averse to intercourse with strangers. The river is crossed one day and a half from its junction with the Salween, in lat. 17 34' 13", and is fordable for elephants from November till the middle of May, but rises many feet in the rains. From this to Mein-lun-ghee, which is a distance of about 78 miles, is travelled in a north-westerly direction; in this portion of the route the path is very bad, through a rugged, mountainous, and broken country, covered with thick jungle, and very little frequented; there is also in this stage of the journey the river May-gnou to be frequently forded, and the May-neum or Mein-lun-ghee several times; the Karean inhabitants of the mountains, who are not numerous, are often located at a distance from the road, difficult to be found, and provisions, consequently, difficult to be procured: the tax imposed by their own Government (they are subject to Zimmay) is exceedingly light, for one large village of eight families, the inhabitants of which were the only Kareans we saw between our frontier and Mein-lun-ghee, the whole impost did not exceed *Rs.* 1. 13. a family, according as they are favourably situated or otherwise for the sale of their produce. The day before reaching Mein-lun-ghee, the halting-place is at the village of Ka-pa, of 30 or 40 houses, situated in a small valley on the May-neum or Mein-lun-ghee river, the inhabitants of which possess considerable herds of cattle and buffaloes, and the portion of ground they have cultivated seems rich and productive: between the village and Mein-lun-ghee several villages are passed; the path which runs at a short distance from the river is good and well frequented. The city of Mein-lun-ghee, consisting now of 10 or 12 houses, stands on a small stream which falls into the May-neum, a little to the westward of it, two days from the Dha-guin-tsiek or ferry of the Salween, and about three-quarters of an hour's march north-westerly from the site of the old walled city of Yeun-tsalen, which is passed in this day's march, now overgrown with large trees, but the remains of the old wall and ditch of very considerable extent still easily traced. Yeun-tsa-len was formerly a part of the old kingdom of Pegu; it was given at a remote period as a dower with a Talyne princess to a chief of Zimmay; it must, however, at a later period have been reclaimed, as about 60 years ago we find in the Talyne history, that by order of the king of Ava, the myo-woon of Martaban, and myo-tsa of Maulmain, drove away some Shans from Zimmay, who had been sent with orders from the Tso-boa to re-establish a town there. The chief of Mein-lun-ghee has the title of myo-woon, and his jurisdiction extends over the whole of this valley of the May-neum, which is of considerable (some days') extent north and south, though east and west it is only a few miles; the whole of the inhabitants probably do not amount to more than 200 families; he has also jurisdiction over the Kareans of the hills, between this and the Karean-nee frontier, of whose numbers it is impossible to form even a guess; they are, however, certainly not numerous.

From Mein-lun-ghee to the Salween river (called by the Kareans Kooloo Khlo, Khlo meaning river) which is crossed in lat. 18° 16' 22", the distance travelled is about 116 miles by the course of the May-neum, and 109 by the hills; the former we performed in eight days, whilst the latter occupied eleven; the whole of this portion of the route is very thinly peopled, provisions difficult to be procured, water and forage for the cattle plentiful, path generally bad, either over steep hills covered with dense jungle, or along the stony beds of small mountain streams at the bottom of deep valleys or ravines, and so tortuous that the actual distance between the two points cannot be much more than half the distance travelled. The Karean-nee boundary, a small stream called May-tchay, at the foot of a hill, is crossed the third march before reaching the Salween, and this part of their country is almost destitute of people, and the few there are of the other tribe of the Kareans; I believe very few, or none, of the Red Kareans live east of the Salween River, though from Ban-ong, the village on the west bank, many of the people cross the river daily to cultivate their fields on the east side. The Salween, till within 60 or 80 miles of its mouth, is said to be one of the most impracticable rivers in this part of the country, with its bed full of falls and rapids, so as to render it dangerous in many, impassable in some parts, and its banks abrupt rocky mountains, with very few valleys or spots favourable for the habitation of men; where it is crossed it is about 300 yards wide at this season, and its banks, which are deep, are perhaps 600 yards apart, and are said be to filled in the rainy monsoon. The course of this reach is N. 70° W., though the general direction of the river nearly north and south. The Karean village of Ban-ong, containing 25 houses, stands in a small plain on the western bank; a principal part of their rice and garden grounds are on the eastern side of the river. From this to Dwom Tulwee, the residence of the chief Pha-pho, the distance travelled is 38 miles in a north-westerly direction, and occupies three days; the first over low stony hills, either bare or thinly covered with stunted trees, and the stones having exactly the appearance of being water-worn. Second day road more level. Towards the latter part of the march some cleared spots are passed where they cultivate cholum, and two small villages, one of 10 or 12, the other of 20 or 30 houses, and the halting-place is at a third, larger perhaps, 40 or 50 houses, on the banks of the Pon River, about two stones' throw wide, which rises in the Shan country, north of Laygea. Half of the third day's march, pretty good, lies up the valley of the Pon, which is perhaps 10 miles wide; the last half is bad, over rugged, broken hills, which bound the valley east, and the halting-place is at Pha-pho's village, lat. 18° 38' 17" N., of 70 houses situated on the lowest of the three table or shelf-like projec-

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

tions from the side of a high hill, found, by the boiling point of water, the one on which the village is situated, to be 1,021 feet above the sea; the second is 500 or 600 feet higher, and the third 2,049. The lowest is about 600 paces wide, and perhaps little more than half a mile long; the upper one is little larger, perfectly level, soil rich and well irrigated by a beautiful clear stream, which falls from the hill above: as there is said to be only one way up to the upper two flats, the Burmans and Shans look on the Kareans as perfectly secure in their impregnability.

From Dwom Tulwee to Kadoo, the latitude of which is 19° 23′ N., a distance of 100 miles in a north, very little easterly, direction, occupies eight days. This is the first Burman town, and lies about eight miles to north, little west, of the Karean boundary, which is marked by the summit of a hill about lat. 19° 15′. As this part of the route, never having been travelled by a European before, is given in some detail in the journal, it is not necessary to say more of it here than than it is a succession of mountains, generally lime or sand, more or less steep and more or less covered with jungle, in some places pretty thickly inhabited, where the soil, a red loam, is of some depth, and many of the hills capable of cultivation for dry, and many of the valleys for wet, crops.

The Kareans themselves say their country, without including the slip of territory to the eastward of the Salween, extends four days' march from east to west, and six from north to south; but this must not be supposed one of our short marches, as a Karean marches all day long. Gnoe-daun is their largest town, and is said to contain 500 houses. Most of its inhabitants, however, are Shans from the northward, who have fled here to escape from the Burman oppression. Their country is divided into three states by the three chiefs who rule it, viz., Pha-pho, Pha-bhang, and Key-pho; of these Pha-pho is nominally, and, under ordinary circumstances, really the head, and his people the most numerous; those of Key-pho and Pha-bhang, the most restless and daring in their inroads into the Burman territory. There are some other fanciful divisions, such as Lay-may (black necks), so called by the Burmans from a black crescent-shaped mark tattooed from the angles of the jaw to the pomum Adami. They are called by the Shans Tsurein, or Taleine; they wear their hair short, contrary to the usual custom, and ornament their head with a string of teeth round it, just above the ears. They are reckoned the greatest savages, and are said to be more muscular than the others; they inhabit the country north-east of Saga. Besides these are the En-bue (white chests) and Potaingo, near Shoe-gheen and Toungngoo, the Tamai, north of Mobie, and some others. Their own term for the nation collectively is Kaya, the meaning of which I did not learn. To the eastward the Salween may be reckoned their boundary; for though they have a few miles of territory, and some common Kareans subject to them, I believe there are no Red Kareans live to the east of that river; north they have the Burman Shan States, west the Burmans, and south, a somewhat extensive track, inhabited by the common Kareans, who, under their own chiefs, pay tribute to both the Burmans and Shans.

The town of Gnoe-daun, before mentioned, is the only walled town in the country, as far as I am aware, though there are some large villages in the neighbourhood of it, situated almost in contact with each other, having the general name Nong Palay, containing in all perhaps 300 houses, under Key-pho. The inhabitants are said to be some of the most desperate robbers of the whole tribe.

The only mineral productions I am aware of being found in the country are tin and lead, the former in great purity and abundance, though no doubt iron exists among their hills, which are generally of the older geological formations. There are three pretty large rivers, the Pon, the Tabek, and the Nam-may-meyat. The first and largest, into which the others fall, rises north of Laygea, in the Elephant-hill, the second near the town on the Shan frontier, from which it takes its name, and the third, said by some people to rise in the Neaung Eue lake (and I believe correctly so), runs round north of the foot of the hill on which Gnoe-daun stands, within half a day of that town, and may be navigated by small canoes from Neaung Eue to its nearest approach to Gnoe-daun; just before joining the Pon it takes an underground course for some hundred yards. The whole country is one succession of mountains from one extremity to the other, and the inhabitants, as far as I have seen the country, are located either on their tabular tops, which form they have an universal tendency to assume, Pha-pho's village, Gnoe-daun, Nong palay, and many other villages, being so situated, or near the tops of the round-formed hills, which, next to the tables, are most favourable to cultivation. The soil of the hills is generally of some depth, and of red colour (probably from iron). Though from some of the high hills I had an extensive view, I saw nothing like a volcano amongst them, nor did I hear of any that had become extinct. In so mountainous a country, as might be expected, there are numerous waterfalls in the course of the rivers; the Pon, as far as we travelled near it, has a continual succession of them; but none of them more than a very few feet, though the scenery is in some places of the wildest and most magnificent description. There is said to be one fall of great height in the Mobie River, but I could not ascertain the situation of it, and many people, who know the river, deny its existence. I only heard of one cave, called the White Elephant's Cave, above the junction of the Pon with the Salween.

Near Gnoe-daun there is a small lake, Teitone, the waters of which are used by the Shans of that town, both for irrigation and domestic purposes; it is made the means of constant exactions by the Kareans who inhabit its borders, who cut off the supply, and refuse to re-open it till they have extorted a brass drum or two (of which Gnoe-daun is the principal manufactory), or a sum of money in the coarse silver of the country. There is another lake at the foot of the hill on which Gnoe-daun is situated, called Nong palay

(Stony

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

(Stony Lake) by the Shans; it gives name to the large cluster of villages before mentioned; from the nature of the country there are probably many others, though in my rapid transit I did not hear of them. The monsoons are the same as on the east coast of the bay, but lighter. The leopard is common in all the jungles; and in the northern part of the country the royal tiger, elephant, and rhinoceros are found. Near the Salween all the domestic animals are scarce; horses are stolen and brought in small numbers from the Burman Shans; and black cattle and buffaloes are received in barter for slaves and stick-lack from the Siamese Shans. Pigs and poultry are also scarce. Fruits they scarcely cultivate, except the plantain; and even that, though so easily raised, is by no means plentiful. Pha-pho, to whom I spoke on the subject of their origin, seems, in common with the rest of the people, to know little about it, though, like almost all other nations, they believe themselves to have migrated to their present location at a very remote period; he says they came from the north-west. He gave a long and somewhat confused account of the origin of the human race generally, the founder of which, Pha Bee, a sort of demi-goddess, had three sons, from the eldest of whom, the Chinese; from the second, the Kullas; and from the youngest, the Kareans are descended. This little story did not agree with that of many of the southern Kareans I have spoken to on the subject, who call themselves the elder brothers of the White Kullas, and Paya Kaneo "Men" par excellence. Though there are many Shans from the Burmese territory farming small villages throughout the country, there is probably not one to 150 Kareans, to whose number it is scarcely possible to speak, from the way in which I crossed their country, and little information can be obtained from themselves on the subject. The factotum of Pha-pho, an up-country Shan, told me, when urging on me an alliance with them, on my last visit, for the purpose of making war on the Burmans, that they could bring 4,000 men into the field; and though doubtless on such an occasion he would wish to make the most of their numbers, I do not believe the number exaggerated. I passed in one day's march, when our route lay through an inhabited country, eight or ten large villages of, perhaps on average, 30 or 40 houses. In person they are generally small made, and low in stature, often small legs and projecting abdomens; of no appearance of muscularity, but they plume themselves on their swiftness, and in the race believe no nation in the little world they know of can compete with them; they challenged my people on every opportunity, and generally beat them. Their colour is fair, and exposure to the sun and weather gives them a red appearance, hence their name. In their habits they are perfect savages, in their persons filthy; in sacrificing a bullock or buffalo to the Natts they often smear themselves with the blood, which is allowed to remain till it wears off. Their habitations are of the rudest and most primitive description, of the same form and materials as those of the poorer order of Burmans, except that one end is always in form of a bow, where the entrance generally is, and they are darker and more filthy in the interior. The house of the principal chief, Pha-pho, was about 40 feet by 30, and perfectly dark, the only opening in it, except the crevices between the planks, being the door, and the roof (a sort of projecting verandah) coming so low outside that little light was admitted by it, and that little was intercepted during my visits by the people crowding round it; in the middle of the room was a fireplace, a small square wooden frame, a few inches deep, filled with earth, let up through the floor and supported from below, having a few inches of space between it and the floor; the roof was splendidly varnished; the half of the room was filled with yams, some growing, some decayed, the smell from which was most disgusting. The dress of the men is a short pair of breeches, generally red, drawn by a string tight above the hips, and reaching one-third of the way down the thigh; in warm weather this, and a handkerchief (most of them have managed to get a Madras or English one) round the head forms the whole of their dress; in cold weather they wrap themselves in coarse cotton sheets, of their own manufacture. The women wear a cloth about the same length as the men's breeches, which is their only dress in warm weather; in cold, they have an oblong piece of coarse cloth, intended to be white, but seldom or never washed, the two corners tied in a knot over the right shoulder; the rest of it hanging free reaches to the knee, the left arm being covered up, the right naked, and at liberty; sometimes two are worn with a knot on each shoulder; they also wrap themselves in sheets like the men, in the cool of the morning and evening. Those who can afford it are loaded absolutely with paltry small white, red, and green beads, wearing an immense roll round the ankle, round about the calf, the waist, the neck, and the head. Of domestic utensils they are destitute, except the common chattie for cooking, and coarse knives of different sizes; a trough, made of the half of a split bamboo, serves with most of them all the purpose of plates and dishes; rice, cholum, yams, and other esculent roots are their chief food, but they also consume a large quantity of animal food; all the cattle sacrificed to the Natts are eaten by them, and three or four days seldom pass without a sacrifice, at which times they also consume large quantities of a vile arrack of their own manufacture, which they drink habitually, and always carry with them if they leave their homes for a day; fortunately, opium has not yet found its way amongst them, nor do I know that gaming is amongst the catalogue of their vices; their general condition is on a par with that of other savages in the same grade of civilization, where the brute propensities and passions of men are unrepressed by education, and reason is weak in the infancy of nations as of individuals. They have of course no trades, nor any manufactures except of the clothes they wear; and of gongs and a particular kind of brass drum peculiar to themselves, one of which was transmitted by the Commissioner of the Tenasserim Provinces to Calcutta two years ago. Their

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

language is peculiar to themselves, differing altogether from that of the natives by whom they are surrounded, appears to be a dialect of the same language as that spoken by the common Kareans, who inhabit the hills south of them, but now so much altered that a conversation cannot be carried on between them as with the other Kareans; they have no letters, or symbols of any kind by which to represent their ideas; their religion, if it may be so called, consists entirely in attempts to propitiate by sacrifice the malignant Natts, by whom they suppose all sickness and misfortune is inflicted with no other view than to obtain the sacrifice of some animal or other; they endeavour to find out what, by a peculiar method of divination, with the leg or wing bones of fowls, holding two parallel between the forefinger and thumb, with the holes for the transmission of the blood-vessels upwards; they chose one for the person, and one for the deceased, or business to be undertaken, and introducing a small piece of bamboo into the holes, they judge by signs only known to the initiated what is proper to be done; they have neither priests, lawyer, nor physician, and use no medicine in illness: but a sacrifice is made to the Natts of a buffalo, bullock, pig, or fowls, as indicated by the bones; if the patient gets worse it may have been from a wrong sacrifice, and another of a different animal is made, and when he dies it may be either from the sacrifice being the wrong animal, or made to the wrong Natt. Marriages are early amongst them, and are not binding unless the female has been given away by her parents, when a pig or a bullock or two is killed, according to the wealth of the parties, and a feast given in the village, in which arrack is always an attractive part; divorce is easily obtained if there are no children, but should there be one child they are not permitted to separate. Before marriage great license is allowed. Their funerals are more simple than those of the white Kareans; the body is merely interred, and money, valuables, paddy, yams, pumpkins, in short every thing used by them in life is interred with it, in greater or smaller quantities, in proportion to the wealth of the individual; a horse is often let loose (if the person possessed one) on the occasion, with some distinguishing mark; he is never reclaimed; if the deceased was a person of substance sometimes as many as five or six bullocks are slain near his grave, the heads, feet, and tails left for the Natt, and the rest consumed by his friends and relations; with the poorer individuals a pig or a fowl or two is sacrificed in a more humble way.

The soil is of tolerable fertility in the hills, and in the valleys where irrigation can be employed it is good; their taxes paid to the chiefs are exceedingly light; nearly the whole country is high land, and the grain raised on the hills is such of course as can be grown without irrigation; the valleys in all that part of the country through which I travelled are so very narrow that though they are cultivated with care, in terraces as far up the side of the hills as their acclivities will admit of; they bear a very small proportion to the high lands, from which circumstance inundations are unknown; the great or general seed time is about April or May, and the harvest in December; cultivation on the hills is almost entirely by hand, and performed with considerable care and neatness, and the implement universally used is the Chinese hoe; in the valleys and level table-lands the buffalo plough is used. Rice is scarce and dear (we paid at one place two rupees per basket, and could not get as much as we wanted at that price; the cheapest we got was 12 annas), cholum more plentiful. The only articles they now export are tin, stick-lack, slaves, gongs, and keetsus or brass drums. They import cattle, buffaloes, salt, betel-nut, gna-pie, beads, and English handkerchiefs, and book muslin in small quantities. There is little prospect of any increase of trade to their country for some time to come. Their carriage is bullocks and cowrie baskets; their weights the same as the Burmans, and their currency coarse silver, the best of which has about 33 per cent. of alloy. Their chiefs are the three already mentioned, and the heads of villages subordinate to them; their power and influence with the people is very limited; when I mentioned to some of them that Pha-pho did not approve of their inroads into the Burman territory for the purpose of slave catching, they laughed, and asked if Pha-pho would feed their wives and children. The remuneration to the chiefs is very trifling, and I believe altogether paid in kind; they also derive some emolument from fines levied for theft and similar offences. The services of the people due to the chiefs seem almost voluntary; when an incursion into a neighbouring State (they have also contentions amongst themselves) is contemplated, it is not proposed openly, as any man calling another on such service is answerable to his family in case of his death, and particularly if he do not bring home his head, he is for years afterwards obliged to contribute to their support. Slaves are so common amongst them that hired labour is nearly unknown. A messenger or guide received about one tickal of coarse silver per day. Laws, as they are destitute of a written language, of course none but tradition and the will of the chiefs. Their punishments, as far as I could learn, are by no means sanguinary; the Thooghee of Ban-ong told me he did not believe a single man had suffered death by his sentence during the whole of Pha-pho's reign.

The village of Kundoo or Kadoo, which name is said to be a corruption of Burmese words ken-oo, or frontier post, contains in all about 60 or 80 houses; it has a small decayed stockade within which are 40 of the houses; the rest of the village is outside; it has a small bazaar and weekly market (Tuesday), when the people from the surrounding villages come in for betel-nut, gna-pie, salt, &c. &c., making their small payments by barter in rice; it is situated in a small uneven valley; the ground immediately in the neighbourhood south-east of the town is level, and laid out in rice fields, irrigated by a small beautiful mountain stream, and on the low hills in the valley, the whole extent of which may be 10 or 15 miles by 16 or 20, is cultivated the hill rice. It is still the Burman frontier town, though from the inability of that government to protect them they have been obliged to

pay

pay a black mail to the Karean-nee chiefs during the time of the present thooghee and his father, before which the Kareans used to carry off the labourers in the fields close to the stockade (the sum paid to the Kareans is about 500 tickals coarse silver per annum); the thooghee told me they found their burden only to be borne like a man over his shoulder on both sides; when they carried only on one end of the pole they could not get in at all; there were about 20 villages, small and large, under this thooghee, who seems to have somewhat of a precarious berth of it; his father and brother were killed by the Mok-mai Tso-boa about two years ago, on account of a supposed intrigue with the Shans of Zimmay to return to that country (from whence most of them and many of the Mok-mai people or their fathers were brought prisoners about 60 years ago); one of the head men of the village, a Burman, had been intriguing with the Zimmay chiefs, and Chow Raja Woon of Zimmay with (they say) 200 elephants and 1,000 men came to the Sa-to ferry to protect them; on their arrival on the east side of the Salween they did not however find it convenient to remove; the Chow returned to Zimmay disappointed, and sent my old friend Chow-ni-nan maha nut next, to find out the reason of their deceiving him. The person who had opened the communication met him on the Salween, and he carried him off to Zimmay where he still is; the Mok-mai Tso-boa put to death the Thooghee and his eldest son on a suspicion that they were implicated; the Tso-boa is also a Yam by descent, related to the heads of this village, and probably feared; in consequence of his connections, he might be under the suspicion of the Court of Ava. The present Thooghee, dreading the fate of his father and brother, left his family and entered the priesthood. About seven months ago he was raised by the Tso-boa to his father's appointment, and yesterday received the royal order for his confirmation from Ava. He came out to my tent to-day to request I would stop here till he heard, in answer to a report he had made to Mok-mai, of my arrival. I declined remaining, under the plea that, as I was going in the first instance and directly to his superior, he incurred no risk or responsibility in allowing me to pass, especially as we had been friends of the Burmans for the last 14 years. I also pointed out to him that he would certainly displease Pha-pho by detaining me. After some discussion he consented to my proceeding, and I shall continue my route by the Salaung road, with guides he is to furnish. The Bohrug road, through Mok-mai, is somewhat nearer; but there is a sharp turn round the point of a hill, over a precipice and under a projecting rock which overhangs the road, under which they say the elephants could not pass, and there is no way of avoiding it. I dismisssed the guides from Pha-pho's this evening, paying them one tickal of coarse silver a day, with many thanks to Pha-pho, who has, without mentioning it to me, ordered the people at this village, and those of Ban-hoat also, which is three days from hence, to forward me on my journey, the Mok-mai Tso-boa, it is supposed, will also come under his orders in a year or two. He has demanded from him a fine for his portion of the thooghee of this village who was killed by him. The question is not yet settled, but the Tso-boa sent him, whilst we were at his village, 500 tickals and a horse. Pha-pho denies the justice of the sentence, and says it implicates him, as they must have passed through his country.

15th February (Wednesday).—Salaung, N. E. 5° 40′, 17 miles.—Left Kundoo at seven, and in an hour was clear of the cultivatable ground of the valley. After leaving the last old clearing the road is tolerably good till near 11 o'clock, from which time it is exceedingly bad. A rocky difficult descent till past 12, at the botton of which we come into a level jungle, formerly the site of the populous town of Salaung, and reach the first water on the march, except some excessively bad in a sand pit, on the Kundoo side of the hill. At 12.50 cross the May-neum about waist-deep, and at one halt at the same village of Salaung, containing about 20 miserable huts, established two years ago by some people from Mok-mai. They are excessively poor, and their number so small that they are unable to dam the May-neum for irrigation of their fields, which are said formerly to have subsisted a large population. They live entirely by extracting catechu, and cultivating a few vegetables on the summer mud banks of the river. The May-neum falls into the May ting, which is as large as the Pon, about an hour from this, and thence into the Salween, 20 or 30 miles off east, a little southerly, above Ta-sa. The Salween is said to be navigable for small boats from Thataung to the Pank pank (parched paddy) falls in our territory. The catechu is very abundant here, and is said to attain a girth of two fathoms in favourable situations.

16th February (Thursday).—Hay-pang king, N. E. 3° 40, 12 miles.—7.10 left Salaung, and travelled in a ravine or valley along the best road we have seen since leaving Pha-pho's village. The small river on which we are encamped, and which we have repeatedly crossed to-day, runs into the May-neum at Salaung; there is always a stream of water it its bed, even at this season, though sometimes it runs under the sand for a mile or two; at others it is nearly ancle deep. Halted here at 11.5, still entirely surrounded by high hills.

17th February (Friday).—Ban-hoat, N. E. 3 15′, 14 miles.—Started at half-past seven; this day's march has been through a rocky country, the great portion of the jungle of bamboos; we are still amongst the hills, but the path itself runs over none of any height; at half-past 10 we came on a plain 10 or 12 miles in diameter, nearly circular, and as level as if deposited from a quiet lake, a great portion of it covered with bair, tamarind, and catechu trees, &c., under which a numerous herd of cattle were grazing. The soil is sandy and poor, and, from the appearance of the stubble, unproductive; several of the Burman

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

officers of the village rode out to meet me; at 11.35 halted at the large village of Baultrat, containing, perhaps, 150 houses situated on the western bank of May ting, a river of considerable size; it has a weak ruined stockade, and two or three small villages in the plain are under the jurisdiction of its chief; the inhabitants of the principal village are Burmans and Shans, nearly in equal proportions; of the smaller villages all Shans. The influence of Pha-pho extends to this village, of which he exacts the black mail; a caravan of Chinese traders come here annually for cotton; some of them who visited my tent were anxious to claim me as a Mussulman, to which religion they all belong. The Thoogyee, a Shan who is the Mok-mai Tsoboa's father-in-law, came late in the evening, bringing a nazeer of two small baskets of rice and a pumpkin. He says the eastern road is impassable for elephants, from trees having fallen into the ravines, but that the Mok-mai road is good and much frequented. I believe the truth to be that he wishes the Mok-mai Tsoboa to have the responsibility of passing or stopping me. As it will only lengthen my march one day, and as the appearance of being easily led will tend to diminish their distrust at my appearance here, I affected to believe him, agreed to go by that road, and he is to furnish a guide.

18th February (Saturday).—Mok-mai, S.W., 4 hrs. 20 m., 13 miles.—7.20 leave Ban-hoat, and for 10 minutes return along the road. We travelled yesterday from thence 20 minutes along a cart-road, across the valley, where we enter a pass in the hills, which soon opens into a second narrow valley, with a small village of 20 or 30 houses. Much of the valley is capable of irrigation, and a good deal of it brought under cultivation. The houses, as all we have seen in Burman territory, are miserably small and wretched; no garden or plantations round them, as in the Siamese territory. In Laos the people, on this being remarked to them, attributed it to the oppression of the Government, which makes a demand of money every month or two from the inhabitants of a decent house, and asked what was the use of planting gardens when the Kareans came and robbed them before our eyes. This last valley, which, perhaps, is 10 miles long, we crossed in 40 minutes, and commenced a rocky bad ascent in the bed of a winter torrent, a great part of the way over large loose rocks, which occupied one hour, when we descend into the valley of the May neum, on which the town of Mok-mai is situated, containing, perhaps, 300 or 350 houses, some pagodas, kyoung, and a small stockade sadly out of repair. At one o'clock we came to a sort of out-post of about 10 or 12 men, within a bamboo fence, looking out for the Kareens within sight of the town. Though the town contains many inhabitants, they are in a perpetual dread of their attack, and are, in fact, carried off daily (during the last month they have been unmolested) from the road we came to-day, between this and Ban-hoat. They make no secret of their fear and weakness, and told many tales of the Kareans' skill in kidnapping; amongst others, of three Kareans who came on a party of six of their people, and seeing they were the weaker party, waited till night, when they made a large bundle of bamboos, interwoven with thorns, which they threw over them when asleep, and standing on them, with their spears picked them out one by one, tied their hands and marched them off. As Mok-mai is the only town on the frontier which does not pay the black mail, they have to stand the principal brunt of their inroads. A night or two ago a village to the northward of this was attacked; I have not heard with what success. We halted about a mile from the town, and sent the guide from Ban-hoat to notify our arrival (he had a letter to the same effect from the Thoogyee of Ban hoat), and to know where we should encamp. He returned in about an hour and said we might please ourselves, either near a kyoung outside or in the town, near the Tsoboa's hoa, or palace, where he is at present engaged with the great poe or play, which will probably last two or three days. I preferred the former, as promising more quiet and less annoyance from the curiosity of the people. I could not have been worse off in both respects anywhere; we saw the whole of the inhabitants of the town, as we descended upon it, pouring out towards the pounghee house, and before I dismounted there was such a crowd that it was impossible to move to unload the elephants; and in a few minutes they commenced to shout and push each other about, shouting and insulting us in every way short of violence. I sent the Shan interpreter into the town to request the interference of the tsoboa. He almost immediately sent out an atwen-woon and some peons, who made more noise for some time than the others; however, they at last, by argument of rattan, established something like quiet; and after the tent was up asked for a list of our arms and the presents we had brought for the Monay Tsoboa, which was immediately given. He then went to the traders and got a list of their commodities, and we were tolerably quiet for the night.

19th February (Sunday)—Mok-mai.—The atwen-woon returned last night and intimated the tsoboa's request that I would remain here to-day; and as it was not contemplated that I should meet with any tsoboa between the Karean-nee country and Monay, and as he of Mok-mai is as independent in his own territory as the Tsoboa of Monay, I resolved to remain and visit him to-day, but have been so annoyed by the concourse of idle insolent people about the tent all day, that I have been unable to do so. I sent the Shan interpreter to inquire what time to-morrow it would be convenient for the tsoboa to see me, but he had gone to sleep (4 p.m,), and could not be disturbed. About 7 a.m. a than-dau-tsen came and proposed I should go to the tsetkay (inferior officer) sent here by the Ava Government, first, and thence to the tsoboa, to which arrangement I objected; and it was then settled I should go to the tsoboa at 11 o'clock to-morrow, and start the day following for Monay. I complained of the noise and insolence of the people to-day,

to-day, as not having allowed me one moment's quiet, and prevented me leaving the tent to wait on the tsoboa, as I intended. Dr. Richardson's Journal.

20th February (Monday)—Mok-mai.—Went into the town to wait on the Tsoboa this morning, and was requested to dismount at the gate; I was not asked to take off my shoes. The Tsoboa is a man about 26 years of age; he succeeded his father (who was killed during the late war) about five years ago, but has only within the last few months received the royal order for his investure, and authorising him to assume the ensigns of royalty. The father of one of his wives (the thoogyee of Ban-hoat) told me that the debts he incurred in making presents to people of influence about the court to procure it prevent his taking advantage of it, and the only mark of royalty about his house, which is rather a good one of wood and mats, is the frame of a window, which opens behind where he sits into an inner room, being gilt; there were two small chairs and a small cotton Bengal sitringee in his room. He was married to the daughter of the Monay Tsoboa about four months ago, and has eight other wives and four children, the eldest about 10 years of age. He spoke very little, and nearly all the conversation that passed in a visit of an hour was with the tsetkay.* His jurisdiction is bounded west by Thataung, (which pays a tax in silver to the king of Ava, and has also for some years paid to the Kareans), the Salween to the east, the Karean-nee south, and Monay to the northward, and is said to contain 30,000 houses, which must be very much above the number; judging from the size of the three valleys of Kundoo, Ban hoat and this, which are the only level parts of his territory we have seen, there may, perhaps, be 2,000; his contingent is 500 men. Many of his people have gone to live altogether amongst the Kareans for safety and quiet, and a majority of those left pay them tribute. I learned here for the first time that the tsoboas are quite independent of each other; but as the town of Monay is the largest and most central of the Shan towns in this direction altogether under the control of Ava, the Burmans have fixed the head quarters of the force they have in the Shan countries at that town. The Bohmoo meng tha Meng myat boo (General Prince Meng myat boo, a half brother of the king's son of a Shan princess), the general who commanded at Melaun during the late war, is, and has been since the peace, governor of all the Shan countries from Mobie nominally, but really from Mok-mai, south, to the Chinese frontier, north, and from Nat tike, the top of the pass from the valley of the Irrawaddee up to the Shan country, west, to three days beyond the May Koong (Broad River), or Great Cambodia River, east. He himself generally resides in Ava, but visits his government occasionally, in one of which visits he rode from Monay to Ava in three days. His deputy, who constantly resides in Monay, leaving, as usual, his family as pledges in Ava, is the Tsetkay daughee, who has several officers under him; and there are at the court of each of the other tsoboas two tsetkays, also appointed from Ava. These tsetkays, particularly the chief one, lords it over the tsoboas; to him the chief authority belongs, and all the external relation of the country is committed; and the royal orders are sent to Monay, from whence they are forwarded by the tsetkay; but the Monay Tsoboa has no authority to call any of the others. The lesser tsoboas have no tsetkays, and are looked upon as merely myo tsas. There are many Chinese here buying cotton at 60 ticals of ken (2), which is a very fine China silver, the 100 viss of cleaned cotton; 1,000 or upwards are said to be sent annually to the Shan territory, chiefly from Tali, a Chinese frontier town 45 days from Monay. Four or five have gone this year to ascertain the state of the Maulmain market, and unless they find it answer their expectations, I do not believe there will be much trade by this route for some time to come. The Shans are so much afraid of the Kareans on one hand, and their energies, and any motive to attempt the acquisition of property so destroyed by the oppressive nature of the Burman Government, which is unable to protect them, on the other, that though there is a decided taste for our finer cotton fabrics (which reach them by Ava, exposed certainly to heavy duties, but having the advantage of water carriage within 233 miles of Monay), the uncertainty of retaining the profit of their labour, will, I fear, prevent them putting themselves within reach of their lawless and savage neighbours. The people with me have had as favourable a market as the size of the place would warrant them to expect; and should the demand continue or increase, which under favourable circumstances it will do, the supply must be furnished by people from our Provinces.

21st February (Tuesday).—May-lome, N. E., 4 hrs. 10 min., 14 miles.—Left Mok-mai at eight, and travelled diagonally across about one half the length of the valley in two hours and a half, along a good road, except for a short space where the water had been let into the paddy fields, in which the people were at work with the common Shan plough, a rude imitation of that used in the south of Scotland. The probable length of the valley may be between 20 or 25 miles, and its width about one half that extent. The soil is white and poor, and the stubble of the last year's crop very small. We ascended the hill bounding the valley for half an hour, near a stream which pours down its pace, by which the fields below are irrigated, and come on a piece of table land, part of it under cultivation and watered by the same stream. We crossed these upper paddy fields in 10 or 15 minutes, and enter the jungle with a gentle ascent, which continues within half a mile

* I explained the nature of my mission, and the wish of the authorities at Moulmein to cultivate the friendship of the Shan Tsoboas, to whom I was commissioned through what we considered to be their chief, the Monay Tsoboa.

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

mile of this place, when we descend a short declivity, a little more abrupt than our ascent had been, into this small valley, which is cultivated in terraces, and supports the people of a small village of Ban lome of eight or ten houses, the first Burman village which is considered at all safe from the incursions of the Kareans, who last year destroyed a large village, the site of which we passed on our march to-day. The people never consider themselves safe travelling between this and Mok-mai in small parties. The nearest part of the Kareans' territory is three days south-west of this, but the intermediate portion of this and the Thataung territory is uninhabited, and the Kundoo people are glad to compound for their own quiet by not interfering with them in their retreat. They are said to come this year to Monay in parties of 150 or 200 men, and the force the Burman talk of in the Shan territory, though oppressive to the people, is perfectly insufficient for all purposes of protection from their predatory neighbours.

My guide to-day is a non-commissioned officer of the force and served in the late war; he was at Wet yea kon (Wattigam), of which he seems not a little delighted to talk. He told us that he assisted to carry off the body of Colonel M'Dowal, and that he took from the person of one sepoy 13 rupees, and from another 30, both of whom he declares were exceedingly drunk; he said a friend of his seized one who was sober, and discovered he had caught a tartar, when our acquaintance came to his assistance, and from him they took 20 or 30 ticals of Burman silver. He declares he did not kill any of these men. He has had losses, too, for his musket, which he says was a Frinthil (French) one, burst in his hand and carried off his little finger. The Mok-mai Tsoboa is so much distressed for money that he has great difficulty in staving off the claims of his creditors. We overtook at this halting place his brother-in-law and one or two of his influential people, all on foot, with some of the chief tsetkay's bailiffs, on their way to Monay to endeavour to raise money to satisfy the most pressing of the claimants. His difficulties are said to have been increased by having had to pay a fine to the Burman deputy governor of 6,000 tickals, on account of the death of the Thooghee of Kadoo, and the business is yet unsettled.

22nd February (Wednesday) Monay, N.E. 5° 40′, 18 miles.—Left the last halting place at 8 a.m., and reached this place at two o'clock, having halted by the way one hour and 20 minutes, travelling entirely amongst the hills, though the road was generally good, and a great part of the way nearly level, through valleys of small extent under cultivation, where it had been much frequented by the carts of the farmers. From 10 till 12 the hills also near the road, which were least steep, were ploughed and perfectly clear of weeds for dry cultivation, cotton, safflower, &c. &c. The hills in the distance were pointed, rugged, rocky, and broken. At 12, halted (for an altitude) at a well and zeat; from this to the town, a distance of about five or six miles, there is little cultivation, the soil of ferruginous clay, with the trap rock in all directions projecting through the surface. The guide of yesterday, and a brother-in-law of the Mok-mai Tsoboa, told us that the people of the village at which we halted last night, had orders to conduct us to the confines of the Mok-mai territory, where they said it was possible the Monay authorities would send some one to meet us; but should they not do so, they advised us to encamp in the Red Kyoung or Pounghee house. I was not met by anyone, and had to inquire my way through a part of the town, in at one of the gates and out at another, to the place they had named. Fortunately, near it we met one civil person, after many inquiries. The people, in passing through the town, appeared as if they had orders not to notice us; if it was so, curiosity or some other passion outweighed the orders; for before the tent was up we were surrounded by some hundreds of people, and subjected to the same indignities as at Mok-mai. I sent the Shan interpreter, and some of the most respectable of the traders, to notify our arrival to the Tsoboa or Tsetkay daughee, and claim protection from the mob. They were stopped by the latter chief, whose house was nearer us than the tsoboa's. He questioned them in a most arrogant manner as to who they were, where from, and what they wanted. They said they had been sent by me to the tsoboa, or himself, to notify my arrival; told him who I was, and that I had a letter and presents for the Tsoboa from the Commissioner of Maulmain, by whom I had been sent on a friendly mission to open the gold and silver road of trade. They also explained to him that we were not aware of the existence of his appointment till we reached Mok-mai, and at the same time begged that he would send some one to keep the people from crowding on the tent, as they were doing; with which request he at once complied, and sent a taung-hmoo, and some people armed with rattans to drive them out; to the first part of the message he replied that I should not see the Tsoboa until he was fully informed of our errand, that we had no right to enter the kingdom by this road, that Barney, as he called the Resident, was at the golden footstool, where we ought to have gone and begged permission before coming here. He gave them to understand that he was supreme here, and an officer of very high rank; asked them if they thought they were to talk to him on an equality, and much more in the same strain; he finally said that I should see the Tsoboa to-morrow. In the evening a seray, or secretary, came out to my tent; he mentioned to the people outside, though not to me, that he had been sent by the Tsetkay. He was dressed in a handsome and heavy fur jacket, with the hairy side in, though the thermometer in the tent was about 86°. I discovered afterwards that this was a sort of official dress with all the Government officers here, though I should think anything but pleasant in these latitudes. He questioned me as to what I wanted here, and wished to know why I had not brought letters to the Tsetkay, &c. I told him my visit was a disinterested one, for I wanted nothing but to open the gold and silver road, that the people here might exchange what they did not at present want with

our

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

our people for what they did, to get the protection of the Government here for our people, who might hereafter come on the same errand, to assure them of the good feeling towards them at Maulmain, and to promise protection and facilities for traders to their people visiting it, &c. I explained again the reason of my coming unprovided with letters to the Tsetkay by the fact of the Commissioner at Maulmain not being aware of the existence of such an officer, &c. My visitor had served in the late war; he had been a sort of aide-de-camp to the old general of the Shans, Maha nay myo, &c.; had taken part in the affair at Wattigam, and bore a part at Zimbike, when the old general was killed, with several of the Shan Tsoboas and two of the three wives of the Laygea Tsoboa who, dressed in male attire, were, for some superstitious cause, expected to have done good service against our troops at the seven stockades near Rangoon. The Burmans suffered most severely here; the Shans, who had not engaged us before, were not prepared to run away soon enough. He gave a sad description of their sufferings from cholera and starvation for many days after the storming of their stockades. His visit lasted about an hour and a half. We parted great friends, and he continued during my stay most attentive and friendly. I explained to him before leaving that it would be inconvenient to wait on the tsoboa to-morrow.

23rd February (Thursday), Monay.—This morning early Meng-nay myo yadza norata, my visitor of last night, sent to call the Shan interpreter, whom I desired to attend him. He found that the communication he had to make was, that I must, according to custom on visiting the chief, first go to the Yeum-dau, where there would be an assemblage of all the lesser chiefs; here, taking off my shoes, I must wait till he, Meng-nay myo, should report my arrival to the Tsetkay at his own house, and return to conduct me there, from whence I should proceed to the Tsoboa's palace. Scarcely was the cold of the morning moderated (which is here very unpleasant, the thermometer seldom rising above 50° or 52° till nine or ten o'clock) before the tent was surrounded by the mob, even in greater numbers than yesterday, using all manner of insulting language. I again sent in to complain, and after waiting nearly an hour a taung hmoo and some peons came and beat them off. I had been obliged to shut the door and windows, which was, however, no protection, for they held them open staring in and insulting me for the last half hour. Since the watch was set, they have been tolerably quiet; one of the peons is just now bawling out to some one claiming his acquaintance, and wishing to get a nearer view; that he is put here by the great chief, and knows nobody; if the Tsoboa should come he would beat him. In the evening I sent the Shan interpreter to Meng-nay myo to say that in Ava I had never taken off my shoes but in the palace, the houses of the princes, and at the Hloat-dau, where I sat side by side with the Woonghees, and to object to take them off at the tsetkays or the yeum, and also to say, that as the letter of which I was the bearer was for the Tsoboa, I wished to deliver it to him personally; but as the Tsetkay was of higher authority, I of course wished to see him, and be altogether guided by him. The fact of my having been in Ava and sat on an equality with the Woonghees has evidently told in my favour, for I had an exceedingly civil message complimenting me on my knowledge of the Burmese language and customs, and expressive of their regret that they were before ignorant that I was a person of any rank, and assuring me that everything would be satisfactory to me as soon as I had seen the Tsetkay, and that he (Meng-nay myo) would this evening ascertain all particulars of my reception, and let me know in the morning. He proposed to bring it about, if I approved the arrangement, that I should see the military chiefs with the tsoboa all at once in the yeum. I sent in immediately to accede to this plan, which is just what I wished, as it gets over the difficulty of having the letter to the inferior authority; he had, however, gone to the tsetkay's. The thooghee of Ban hoat, and some one who said he lived in the tsetkay's enclosure, called in the evening, and said I had taken them by surprise, otherwise it was intended I should have occupied a brick building on the other side of the town.

24th February (Friday), Monay.—This morning sent the Shan interpreter to Meng-nay myo, to approve of his proposal of yesterday, or to learn what determination they had come to regarding my seeing the chiefs; and whilst he was at his house the Tsetkay sent for him, and told him he did not understand my coming here about merchandise with nothing to sell. The man explained again that it was our custom to send an officer with traders to a new country to endeavour to procure them a friendly reception; he kept him some time and asked him the reason of the rapid rise of Maulmain, and tried to find out the secret motive of my being sent here. He then told him I must wait another day, and when he had consulted with the other chiefs he would let me know how they would receive me. Very little annoyance from the mob to day.

25th February (Saturday), Monay.—Sent the Shan interpreter this morning to the Tsetkay's, where he was told I should see all the chiefs at the yeum to-day. He asked whether the presents should be brought there; Meng-nay myo said "Yes, everything," and furnished him from his own house with trays and salvers to carry them on. About half-past 10, a person was sent from the yeum to say the chiefs waited for me, and rode into the town preceded by the presents. On passing the house of Meng-nay myo he called to the people. I however refused to stop, as I had before stipulated not to be dragged from one house to another, and he immediately joined and walked before me to the yeum. On the

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

way I asked him if the Tsoboa was there (not that I doubted his being so), and was answered in the affirmative. On arriving at the yeum, I proceeded upstairs without any notice being taken of my shoes, but was stopped outside the plank about a foot high (coon-tsen) which surrounds the centre pillars of the yeum, and requested to seat myself there. Close to me were all my own people and the people of the town; inside the plank before mentioned were the Tsetkay daughee, Meng myat boo's representative (and governor in his absence of all the Shan States); the royal Tsetkay, an old man whom I took for the Tsoboa, two Nakans, and two Bo-dha-ghees, Meng-nay-myo, seated himself by me. I begged now personally to explain to the assembled chiefs that my bringing a letter directly to the Tsoboa must be attributed entirely to the chief at Maulmain not being aware that any authority higher than the tsoboa was resident in the country, though perfectly aware that he was a vassal of the King of Ava, and hoped that a mistake so trivial as the mere wrong address would have no weight against our good intention, that of increasing and strengthening the friendship which has existed between the English and the King of Ava for so many years, by joining with the ruler in the Shan countries, whoever he might be, to open the gold and silver road by the nearest route, between this place and our possession on the coast. I then expressed a wish to deliver the letter to its address, and held it out towards the second tsetkay, a little fat old man I had mistaken for the tsoboa, when the Tsetkay daughee took it from my hand, told me the Tsoboa was not present, and commenced conversation in a most insulting and overbearing strain, which he kept up during the whole interview. He told me I had trespassed in coming here without an order from Meng myat boo; and the king, through Barney (the Resident), asked sneeringly and incredulously if the Maulmain Woonghee did not know the constitution of the force here; told me I knew nothing of Burman customs, or I would not have come here without authority. I told him he had deceived me with the promise of the tsoboa being at the yeum, otherwise I should not have come there. As for my right to come here, I referred to the treaties of Yandaboo and Ava, the latter particularly stipulating that traders, on whose behalf I was come here, should be allowed to enter the Burman dominions at any part, and proceed in any direction without let or hindrance. I explained to him that it was always a custom with us to send an officer with traders opening a new route, to ensure them protection, and as a surety to the people of the countries passed through or traded with, that they were fair traders and responsible people, coming with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government, not to mention the long friendship of the two countries, and the kind reception of their people on visiting Maulmain. He said he had never promised that I should see the tsoboa to-day; pretended he knew nothing of the Ava treaty, and said that of Yandaboo made no provision for my coming here. After a good deal more in this strain, I asked him, as he had received the Tsoboa's letter, whether I should be allowed, and when to proceed, as therein requested. He denied the Commissioner's letter contained such a request; when I begged him to show me the letter, and pointed out the paragraph, he said, "Oh, you may go; you may go." I said I was sorry that my reception had led me to think they did not wish to see me, and that the sooner I started for Ava the better. The senior nakan, who was seated opposite, now addressed me with much civility, and asked me whether I did not wish to see the Tsoboa. I said, most certainly, but that it depended on the Tsetkay daughee, to whom the king had given the chief authority here, and he did not appear to wish me to do so; this he seemed to take as flattery, for he said, "Ah, these are proper words." The nakan again said, "Why, you have just come here, and are already talking of leaving us; you must stay a little amongst us; it will be proper to get permission from Ava before you proceed." I replied, it was my wish, and the intention of the Commissioner, that I should cultivate the friendship of the chiefs here; that, had there appeared any wish to make my reception more pleasant, I should have had no wish to leave so soon, but I had as yet no reason to suppose I was welcome, though it was impossible for me to wait for permission from Ava, which, considering the friendship of the two countries, I could not see the necessity. I was, besides, afraid my people might suffer at the setting in of the rains, as they had no cover at night." The Tsetkay, laughing insultingly, said, "Oh, he calls himself Tsia woon (physician), and yet he is afraid of dying." Of which speech I took no notice, but asked him what was the proper course for our traders to take to dispose of their goods. He said no one prevented them from trading; that traders came here before my visit, and would continue to do so; that Burman boats went yearly to Bengal, and piece goods were brought here from Ava, but that there was little to get by them, as they brought no silver as the Chinese did. He said they might do as they pleased, sell where they were, or go into the bazar. After some undertoned conversation amongst themselves, the tsetkay told me that I should meet the tsoboa at the yeum, on Monday, and I requested him to take charge of the presents till that day. He said, "No, take them back again, they are not for me, you can bring them them again." I observed, that dragging them back and forward through the town was disrespectful to the Commissioner, who had sent the presents, as well as to myself. I told him that he had heard Meng nay myo tell the Shan interpreter to bring them, without giving any orders to the contrary, which he denied, though the man whom I had sent for the purpose of making the necessary inquiries in the morning confirmed what I had said; he still persisted in denying that he was aware of any instruction being given to bring them there; he, however, at last told taik-tso to take charge of them, and I took my leave. The whole tenor of tsetkay's conversation was exceedingly discourteous, to use the mildest term.

term. In the evening, Meng nay myo, and two of the tsetkay's sons, came out to my tent, apparently to see how I was satisfied. I told him I had conversation with Burmans of all ranks, from the king downwards, and had never been addressed as I had to-day. I felt exceedingly hurt; that I was not here as a private individual or insignificant person, and if the tsetkay did not think it right to receive me, he had only civilly to say so; at all events, if the tenor of the conversation on Monday was the same, I should believe that to be what he meant, and immediately return by the same route I had come here, and make a report of my reception, through Colonel Burney, to the king. Meng nay myo, who has throughout been most friendly, apologised, said "I have spoken to him, and it will not occur again; do not say anything more about it." I had then some desultory conversation with them for, perhaps, half an hour, when they departed. The young men in the worst taste attempted to depreciate the value of the presents. I told them that some of them were, like the friendship which they represented, not to be had here for money; that it was not their money price at which they were to be valued, but as marks of friendship, which was not to be bought. I have doubted whether I was right in going to the yeum, which is certainly not the proper place for my reception, but the tsetkay had declared I should not go to the Tsoboa's house without permission from Ava; and as I was anxious to get away before the time such permission could be obtained, and as I am out of order in bringing a letter to the Tsoboa, as he is situated, I could not foresee the tsetkay, with the inherent want of truth natural to a Burman, was meditating to deceive me.

26th February (Sunday), Monay.—Have been left entirely alone to-day, except 30 or 40 people constantly gazing into the tent, though at a less annoying distance than before. I have had, in fact, no intercourse with the people, their crowds and insolent behaviour precluded the possibility of it. The moment I address one of them the others crowd round, treading on and pulling the tent ropes and everything to pieces.

27th February (Monday), Monay.—I have sent the Shan interpreter to-day to the tsetkay to say I object to being seated outside the coon-tsen, with my own coolies and the people of the town within half a foot of me, convinced that with the disposition evinced by him, nothing is to be gained by concessions, indeed no Burman can have an idea even of a perfectly independent gentlemanly compliment. I desired him in the first instance to go to Meng nay myo, as he has been the channel of communication hitherto, to say I was sure he was anxious to promote the objects of my mission as I was; but as in the matter of the tsoboa's presence at the yeum, and bringing the presents there at once, the Tsetkay denied that such a promise and request had been made with his knowledge, I thought it better that I should communicate direct with himself. His reception was civil, both by the Meng nay myo and the tsetkay, who paid me some compliments, and told him that as they were situated here, a very few Burmans amongst a conquered and distinct people, the customs were necessarily different from what they were in Ava; that the tsoboa, whom I should meet to-day, was never allowed to come inside the coon-tsen; he told the man to say that he would send to let me know when they were ready; as the tsoboa was to sit outside, of course I could make no further objections. At half-past nine the person came to intimate that the military officers were assembled, and I started. Meng Nay Myo joined me on the road, and we rode together to the yeum, where I found the same chiefs I had met on my former visit, and seated myself as before after about half an hour's conversation, during which the tsetkay told me they heard of my intended visit here, a month ago, through some Shans who had seen me at Mein-lun-ghee. The Tsoboa came with four gold chattahs, and about 50 or 60 men armed with muskets, dhas, and spears, and a number carrying thanleats. When the old gentleman came in I bowed to him, which he returned, and seated himself close beside me. The morning was cold, and, either from that cause or agitation, he trembled considerably. I again explained the mistake of the letter (which had been returned to me by the tsetkay), and delivered it to him. The list of the presents was read over, and they were laid before him. He said the contents of the letter were already known to him, that they were good, and he was glad to see me here; but it would be best, he thought, for all parties that the presents and a copy of the letter should be sent to Ava, with a request for instructions from the king to allow me to proceed, to which an answer would be returned in about 20 days; in the meantime I must remain here. He was the king of Ava's slave, and afraid of rendering himself liable to punishment (yazawot) if he allowed me to proceed. I remonstrated, with all the arguments I could think of, against such delay, but in vain; there was a good deal of conversation on general subjects, particularly on geography (on which subject they are the most curious, and as ignorant as it is possible to be on any subject, believing in the Mee Mho Hill (Mount Meroo), and four large islands, &c.), in which the Tsoboa took a part. The whole conversation to-day was conducted in a mild and gentlemanly style, and so indeed were all the remarks of the tsetkay, whom it was difficult to believe the same person whom I had conversed with here only two days before. The Tsoboa is a man of, perhaps, 68 years of age, of the common height of Burmans, fair even for a Shan, though those on this side of the Salween are much darker than to the eastward, notwithstanding they are a few degrees further north; his manners are mild and gentlemanly; his son and son-in-law, the son of the Laygea Tsoboa, both fair and rather stout young men, were seated behind him; neither of them took any part in the conversation. I was requested to furnish a list of the people with me, to be sent to Ava to-

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

morrow, before I left. The tsetkay had the letter to Ava, which was to accompany the Commissioner's letter and presents, read to me; near the end of it the tsoboa's name and mine occurred in juxtaposition, and the term "the slave of the King of Ava" followed, so that there was some doubt as to which it applied. I stopped the person reading, and had the passage read again, much to the amusement of the tsetkay, who at once saw the ambiguity, and laughed heartily at my suspicion. By the messenger who took the Government letters I wrote also to the Resident at Ava.

28th February (Tuesday), Monay.—Had appointed to-day to visit the tsetkay, but just as I was about to start, he sent a person out to say he was indisposed, and requested me to put it off till to-morrow.

1st March (Wednesday), Monay.—Called on the Tsetkay daughee this morning about half-past nine, and remained till near 12 o'clock; there were a great many people at his house; his reception was kind and friendly beyond what I expected, notwithstanding his improved manner on Monday; the whole conversation was on geographical subjects, the fruit trees, and other natural productions of Europe and Western Asia, on which their information is extremely confused and limited. He looked on me with great commiseration when I told him we could grow no rice in England, and spoke of the severity of the winter's cold; and when I mentioned our cotton factories, in which one man by the aid of machinery can do the work of about 200 unassisted, our steam ships, men-of-war of 1,000 men and 120 guns, gas, lights, railroads, and coal pits, &c., he said we were a wonderful people, but still to be pitied, as we were driven by cold and hunger to all these shifts which the Burmans could do very well without. He believed, in common with everybody else here, that the king of England governs all the countries of Europe. There is some doubt of the independence of Rome, but all the hat-wearing kullah countries, which they suppose to amount to 12, they believe him to control. I met at the Tsetkay of Kien-taung, lately arrived, in 22 days from that place, on his way with the gold and silver flowers, and annual tribute from the tsoboa of that town to Ava. No reports regarding Captain McLeod's mission had reached when he left. On my former mission to Ava, the king had given me a title and gold chattahs, and as they are not very common here, I determined to use it, in hopes that it would procure me a little more respect from the people, and I sent back the Shan interpreter to the tsetkay in the evening to tell him so; he requested to see the title, which I sent him. He seemed quite pleased, found fault with me for not making it known before, and it was of so much importance in his eyes, that he opened his packets to Ava again, to tell the Government who I was.

2nd March (Thursday), Monay.—Have not visited the town to-day, but had a very civil message from the tsoboa by three of the myo-tserays, saying it was his wish to receive me hospitably, but he was a subject of Ava and subordinate to the military chiefs, to whom I had unfortunately not brought any letters. He wished me to come into the town and live in a zeat or caravansary near his palace, or, if I preferred it, he would build a place at our present encampment, and in the meantime sent me for current expenses 48½ tickals (called 50) of coarse silver, or *Rs.* 32. 4, and five baskets of rice. I promised to send some one to look at the zeat, and tried without effect to excuse myself from receiving the money. An elephant with white marks, bought by the Kien-taung Tsoboa from the Zimmay people, as a present to the king, in addition to the usual tribute, arrived here to-day on his way to Ava.

3rd March (Friday), Monay.—Sent the interpreter into the town to-day to look at the zeat; it was found to be too confined, and surrounded by sheds, in which it was proposed the traders should live; I therefore declined moving. Our present encamping place is a very pleasant one, in a beautiful grove of large bamboo, amongst the kyoungs, pagodas, and zeats, less than a quarter of a mile from the southern gate of the town, and less than half a mile from the tsoboa's hoa, or palace, the chief tsetkay's house being on the way to it. I also sent to propose calling on the second tsetkay, but he was engaged with business at the yeum with the Kien-taung people, and requested me to defer my visit till to-morrow. No one has been with me from the town to-day.

4th March (Saturday), Monay.—Paid an hour's visit to the second tsetkay to-day, an old man of about 65 years of age, who has held different appointments here, sometimes higher sometimes lower in rank, for the last 40 years; he is said to be the chief opposer to my proceeding at once to Ava. Nothing of an unfriendly nature could be gathered from his conversation to-day. A letter from Captain McLeod, dated from Hatay, a frontier station of Kien-taung, forwarding to the Kein-taung Tsoboa the Commissioner's letter, has been sent on here, and was received to-day; the tsetkay sent it out for my perusal. I have not heard whether he is detained; but as the tsoboa must obtain permission from the tsetkay here, ere he can give him leave to proceed, I fear he also will be detained for orders from Ava.

5th March (Sunday), Monay.—Called to-day on Meng-nay-myo, and met at his house the Kien-toung Tsetkay, a Burman of course, Panya Pan, and another Shan chief, who went from Kien-toung last year to Zimmay, with an intention, it is said, of coming to Maulmain; they did not, however, to-day allude to such an intention, and as the authorities here are said to disapprove of his having gone to Zimmay, I did not mention [redacted] re[redacted]

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

report. Captain McLeod arrived at Kien-taung on the 18th ultimo, and saw the tsoboa on the 20th. It does not clearly appear whether he has been detained there or not, but letters were dispatched by the tsetkay early this morning, with orders to detain him till the return of the messenger who is sent to Ava to report his arrival, and to furnish him with everything that he may want in the meantime. The messenger to Kien-taung was ordered to travel night and day. The distance of Kien-hun-ghee from Kien-taung is only nine days for an unincumbered man, and about 15 for elephants. The officers I met to-day expressed themselves in the most friendly terms, rejoiced in the prospect of a free and friendly intercourse, and spoke in the warmest terms of approval of the spirit that prompted the mission of Captain McLeod and myself to this part of the country. The house of the officer I visited to-day, which is just rebuilt after a very extensive fire which consumed most of the town last April, is the largest in the town, consisting of five different roofs, three parallel to each other, and two across these ends, with an open platform between the end and centre ranges, and also between the northernmost centre range and the other two; these ranges are all on the same floor, which cannot be less than 100 feet square; the materials and the workmanship as good as the Burman carpenters' work generally is. The houses in general are small, low, and mean; and the whole town, which is long and narrow, and so crowded with bamboos that only a very small portion of the houses can be seen at one time, may contain about 8,000 or 10,000 inhabitants; about 2,000 of these are Burmans. The tsoboa sent out people to-day to build tays (temporary houses) for myself and the people, but as there is little chance of rain for the month I am likely to be here, and delightful shade from the magnificent large bamboos, I preferred remaining in my tent, and the people have been comfortably halted in three houses, at each side and behind it. I have tied my chattah to the corner of my tent, and though I had made a considerable advance in the estimation of the people since my arrival, this has much increased my consequence; they are not yet accustomed to consider themselves at all an inferior people to us, either in power or civilisation. Before the war they considered themselves as infinitely superior to all the world; they have not lately sought to engage the Chinese, but they are all aware that they have always come off conquerors when they did engage them.

6th March (Monday), Monay.—On the way to the second tsetkay on Saturday, Meng nay myo asked if I did not intend to see the tsoboa, and though it was intimated positively to me that I should not see him in his house till the arrival of the royal order, I sent the Shan interpreter in to inquire again of Meng nay myo whether I was to consider myself precluded from visiting him. He promised to ask the tsetkay, but I have not yet received any answer. Have had no communication with the authorities to-day, except a message from the first nakan for medicine for his child; I, however, unfortunately had none to give likely to be useful. Wrote to Captain McLeod, and the tsetkay has kindly offered, if there is any answer, that it shall be brought to me.

7th March (Tuesday).—Meng nay myo sent out this morning, by desire of the tsetkay, to request me not to expect, for a day or two, his answer regarding my visit to the tsoboa. I therefore sent to the first nakan to propose visiting him to-day, but on plea of business at the yeum he requested me to wait till to-morrow.

8th March (Wednesday).—Called on the first nakan to-day; he is a man of about 50 years of age; he went to Ava with his father, who was of the royal family of Chandaporee or Wintian, the zenzen of the Burmans, when he was a child, and remained about the palace till six or seven years ago, when he got his present appointment. Nearly the whole of his family was destroyed by the Siamese when they took the town of Wintian, eight or nine years ago. He expressed himself as much pleased with my mission here, well disposed towards us, and anxious to facilitate the intercourse between Maulmain and this place. He congratulated himself on not having been employed during the war, which he says was of little advantage to anyone. From his house I went to that of the second nakan; he had just come from the yeum, where a royal order for the instalment of the Loye Lung Tsoboa, or myotsa, had been read; he was engaged at chess with some of his children and people. His house is small and mean, little better than a thooghee's of one of our small villages, and himself and everything in it in the same style, and miserably dirty. He had very little to say for himself; my visit was therefore short; he, however, told me the force of Burmans in the Shan states is about 10,000 men. In my way home I called on Meng nay myo; and in the evening he returned my visit, bringing two of his little children with him. He mentioned that on the day before our attack on Wet-yea-kan (or Wattigam) a large reinforcement of Shans were sent to it, who lost their way, and at nightfall bivouacked in the jungle close to the stockade, without being aware of its vicinity, and came up in the morning as unexpectedly to their own as our people. A report is current here to-day that a messenger arrived last night in six days from Ava, with a royal order telling the tsetkay not to be alarmed, but keep the country quiet; and intimating at the same time that the Sarawattee Prince had quarrelled with the Queen, and left Ava for Mauktsobo with 500 or 600 men.

9th March (Thursday), Monay.—At home all day; none of the townspeople have been at the tent except some Chinamen who have been here many years—one, the China auk, or superintendent of Chinese, and the other a thooghee of a village, who had formerly traded between Ava and Tale; he says the journey usually occupies 38 days, and from Tale to this place is easily done in 35; that the road is good, and villages at almost

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

every halting-place. He wanted to sell me a horse which the tsoboa is anxious to get, but he is so bad a paymaster there is no getting any money from him. Though money is exceedingly scarce here, still the necessaries of existence are dear; rice sells at 45 rupees per 100 baskets.

10th March (Friday).—Passed the day at home, but was visited by some people from the tsoboas, the only Shans I have yet been able to communicate with; they all spoke Burmese, as do most of the Shans in large towns here; they complain much of the oppression and insolence of their Burman rulers; the members of the tsoboas' family are frequently insulted in the streets if they go out without their gold chattahs or attendants.

The Burmans, who are very numerous here, live entirely on the natives, contribute nothing to the expenses of the country, or to the occasional royal exactions of money, the levying of which is the province of the tsoboa; many of them, styled keun-dau-myo, not even called soldiers, have no means of subsistence but preying on the natives, and many acts are committed with impunity by them, which are severely punished in the Shans, who complain they are looked on as little better than dogs. Much alarm is said to have been excited by the Prince of Sarawattee having left Ava, of which there is no doubt amongst the people, though the chiefs still endeavour to conceal the fact from me.

11th March (Saturday), Monay.—Went into the town this morning about 11 a.m.; called on the tsetkay, where I remained about two hours; the conversation was led by some means to balloons, which I was enabled to explain by soap bubbles and fire balloons, which are not an uncommon amusement here. The immense one which went up from Vauxhall was, of course, a matter of great astonishment to them, but their minds are in that state of progression wherein credulity and superstition are unbounded, and though far above their comprehension, I have no doubt they gave me credit for all the facts I told them. Met the Kien-taung Tsetkay, who mentioned the existence of a hill of salt, and two of charcoal or coal, in the Kien-hun-ghee district, near the road between Kien-taung and that place. To the use of the salt, unless refined (for which purpose the coal is used), they attribute the goître, which is common in the neighbourhood. He also mentioned the tsoboa of Thienee's golden chop of the Emperor of China, which they have possessed from a very remote age, and which gives a power and control over all Chinese, to which that active and independent race will not submit in any other country to which they resort for trade.

12th March (Monday).—At home to-day. No visit from anyone in authority. A scion of the royal family of Chandaporee called in the evening; he escaped at the time the town was taken by the Siamese, and fled by the way of Kien-hun-ghee to his relation the first nakan here. With him came a person professing to be in the confidence of the tsetkay, who told me he knew it was the wish of the chiefs here that I should return by the Taung-ngoo road, for which route they would furnish me with a guard, as the whole of the lower country was in the hands of robbers, and Government disorganised by the flight of the Prince of Sarawattee. Several of the people who accompanied them had served against us in the late war, on which subject they are always ready to talk. They were loud in praise of the clemency of the English, and humanity to the wounded, and extraordinary justice in paying for what they had already made their own by right of conquest.

14th March (Tuesday).—The tsetkay's son came out again to-day, and mentioned the fact of the disturbances at Ava, which are now talked of with less reserve. Report says that the Bohmoo meng had taken a part with the Prince. A report also had been brought by some merchants that the tsoboa of Thienee had been beaten to death with clubs by his Shan subjects at a poe, to which he had gone with a few followers. He was the son of the last tsoboa (a perfect savage) by a Burman woman he saw only for a few days at Neaung Eue. After his birth the woman married a Rangoon man, where the boy followed her, and was loose in the country for some years; he then came to Ava, and entered himself amongst the young Prince's followers; his father dying without other known children, he was raised to the tsoboaship about six years ago. He was a confirmed bad character, and living about the Palace in Ava had learned, with the vices of the capital, drinking and opium-smoking, to consider himself more as a Burman than a Shan, and had imbibed the Burman contempt for the latter, by his oppression of whom he had succeeded in making himself so detested that his death as related was the consequence. It is not at all known here who will succeed him. One of the family is said to be amongst the Kaktchens (the wild tribes between the Shan country, Ava, and China, so called), of whom many are subject to Thienee.

15th March (Wednesday).—Went into the town to-day and called on the two bodha-yeas, and on Meng nay myo on my way home; found the first bo with a large drum strapped round his shoulders, beating time to some of his people, who were playing all manner of discordant instruments. The music ceased on my entrance. He is said to be the most active member of the Government here—a careless, rough, open-handed, straightforward person: he told me he had now in and about Monay about 500 soldiers Burmans, exclusive of the contingent of the tsoboa, which he says is only 2 per cent. of t[illegible]

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

the number of males under their authority; he has himself, if he is to be believed, collected about 1,800 muskets, the largest number mustered by any officer in the Shan country; none of the others can command above 400, and, perhaps, on an average, not 100 each, and this of all countries, ages, and descriptions. He has three wives (and a number of other women), all of whom he told me were excellent shots; one of them, a year or two ago, beat the best shots in Thienee. The second bo, who always speaks with his mouth full of betel, and wears exceedingly dirty clothes, though given to sports and pleasures in their rough way, is less a favourite with the people; he seems a person of little natural intelligence, but was a good deal employed in the late war, and has evidently been a good deal in company with low Europeans, or half-castes, for whom he expresses much admiration; he has only been here a month or two. He expresses himself strongly in favour of free intercourse with us, and volunteered his aid and protection to our people coming here. At Meng nay myo I met several other officers who were engaged in the late war, one of whom gave an account of his wounds, and of the attack on the flotilla below Donabew, with great animation and honesty. I was amused with his account of the rapidity of our fire, amongst other instances of which he mentioned that in the attack on the gunboats it was pitch dark, and that as we had not a single light in the fleet, their first round was fired at random; they immediately heard the row-boats bring their bow round to the shore, and as soon as they blew the matches at the gun he assisted in serving for the second round, our boats fired, and before those guns had gone off, whilst the priming was shoo-shooing, as he termed, several of those who had loaded it were killed ; it did at last go off, and they fired again, but at the third round a shot from one of the boats capsized it, much to his satisfaction. From the conversation I have had here with those who were engaged in the war, and they have been more numerous than I ever had an opportunity of holding before, I am certain that, with a few intelligent men, who have had an opportunity of judging, the impression that they are incapable of meeting us in the field is general; there are, however, a much greater number, particularly young men, who believe we should now have no chance with them; our humanity, however, has not, I think, been shown to an ungrateful people; they contrast our kindness to wounded prisoners and defenceless people with their own and the Siamese barbarity. Met the Kien-taung Tsetkay at Meng nay myo; he told me Captain McLeod had started for Kien-hun-ghee before the order for his detention arrived from this; luckily for him, he had only Shans to deal with.

16th March (Thursday), Monay.—At home all day, and my only visitors from the town have been the two sons of the tsetkay. All the chiefs, and the tsetkay in particular, are busy with the new year's festival, and preparing offerings for the priests, so that I shall probably see no one for the next two or three days; our people have also contributed their mite in the shape of a Padaytha tree (a fabulous tree, said to grow in the North Island, said to produce every necessary of life), for an offering almost entirely composed of European cotton handkerchiefs and book muslin.

17th March (Friday); 18th (Saturday).—The chiefs have, as I anticipated, been so much engaged with the festival, that I have had no communication with them for two days, except a message to beg I would let some of the followers of the merchants, who happened to be actors, assist at their plays. The actors here are at the call of the chiefs, and must perform as often and as long as they please; they receive every year a new patso, or gaungbaung, according to their merits; they are theoretically a degraded class, but they do not appear to be particularly treated so.

19th March (Sunday); 20th (Monday).—Still engaged with their plays and devotions. I was invited to go this morning to hear a pounghee explain the law, but as it was very early, and nothing new to be seen or heard, I declined. The actors were on Saturday at the house of the first bo-dha-yea, where it appears they spent a riotous night, and if they have not had amusement enough for their labour, they are not likely to get anything else, for he declared to the Shan interpeter (who was invited to partake in the festival), and swore by the Shoe Dhagon, that he did not at that moment possess a patso but the one on his loins, and as for gold and silver, he had sold his tsuloe (gold chain of his rank), and all that he had was a small gold cup, pointing to it; told them they might rifle his house, and if they found anything, were welcome to it; the people had before told us he spends, or gives away, his money as fast as he gets it. They went to the second bo's house last night, and the tsetkay sent for them to-day, but they were too much knocked up to attend. They are very popular here, and as there are amongst them some of the best performers from the city of Maulmain, no doubt they must excel the provincial drudges of this country town.

21st March (Tuesday).—At home again to-day; was visited by the brother of the second bo-dha-yea on his behalf, begging me to make myself at home at his house, and to come and see him frequently. I told him it was for that purpose I had come this distance over hills, and through jungles, never before travelled by a European; that ours was a great and powerful country; we had nothing to beg; that I had made them, as I had been commissioned by the Woonghee at Maulmain, an offer of increasing friendship, of which I myself a strong feeling towards them; that I had called on each of the chiefs, and

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

till my visit was returned I could not think of calling again. He said it was true, and the custom of the country, but that the tsetkay had not given them any instructions to call; said that the tsetkay was supreme here, and I did not expect him to call on me; that my mission was to him, and I should continue to visit him of course, &c., &c.; by a concession of any of these little points to a Burman, the only effect is to raise him in his own estimation, and proportionally lower the person making it, is the individual's character, and a concentration of it, that of the nation. In the evening Meng nay myo came out, and remained about two hours; he told me the tsetkay was sorry he could not receive me as he wished, under the present circumstances; that his appointment was a precarious one, though he had so long held it, and till the royal order arrived he did not know how to act, and was afraid of doing something wrong; he gave me the following list of the 12 tsoboas, who are hereditary princes, and have a right to the umbrellas and zazabollens, and from the very important command of the Bo-hmoo-meng, the eight on this, and four on the eastern side of the Salween; of these Kien-hun-ghee has the most people, Thienee, the most extensive jurisdiction; he also gave me a copy of his route to Kien-taung, 17 days, about 12 miles a day.

The southernmost principality is Mobie, about half a day's march from Gnoe-daun, now in the country of Karean nee, by whom the Shans have been so plundered, that the tsoboa does not at present possess any territory beyond the walls of his town, which has been so harrassed for some years by the Kareans, by whom it is surrounded, without any protection or assistance from Ava, that the tsoboa has at last transferred his allegiance to them. The town is said not to contain more than 50 houses; about five or six days north, a little easterly from Mobie, is Mok mai, three or four days from the Karean nee frontier; this is also much reduced in power by the Kareans, with whom it marches to the southward; all the large villages in the principality pay a sort of black mail to them, more or less heavy, according to their size and accessibility to their inroads; even in the most unfavourable situations, however, it bears no proportion to the grinding exactions of the Burmans. The capital of the principality has not yet consented to an annual payment, though it is probable from constant alarm, and by no means groundless, in which they live, that they will be obliged to do so; in the meantime, the tsoboa has this year sent Pha pho a present of 500 tickals. As before mentioned, Mok mai may contain 350 houses. Two days northerly from Mok mai is Monay, the head quarters of the Burmans' deputed government, which may contain 1,600 houses, 300 or 320 of which are said to be inhabited by Burmans. Three days northward of Monay is Laygea, recently (during the time of the present tsoboa) raised to the dignity of a tsoboaship, and formerly mustering under the banner of Neaung Eue; it is said to contain the same number of houses as Monay, and is at present one of the best governed, and most prosperous, of the principalities. Six or eight days westerly of Monay is Neaung Eue, formerly one of the largest, now shorn of its ancient honours, and, reduced within very narrow limits, does not contain probably more than 150 houses; part of this principality also marches with the Kareans, from whom all the season, from December till June or July, they are under perpetual alarms, and are obliged to keep small military posts on that frontier; this is, however, done by themselves, without any assistance from the Burmans. From Monay to Mho meik is about 17 days, in a north little westerly direction; it is smaller than Monay, and is said to contain about half the number of houses. From Monay to Theebo is about 10 days northerly; this is also a small town, and from this three days, in the same direction, is Thienee, a large town, said to contain 500 or 600 houses; the jurisdiction of the tsoboa is the most extensive, though his district is not the most populous; many of his subjects are of the savages called Kaktchens, and a portion of his allegiance is due to China; all these pay their tribute twice a year to Ava. To the eastward of Salween are Kientaung, which, I believe, pays yearly tribute, Mien-len-ghee once in a year and a half, and Kien-hun-ghee once in three years; this last is said to be more in the Chinese than Burman interest, but as the eastern towns were visited by Captain McLeod, all the information regarding them will be found in his journal. All the tsoboas of these towns are entitled to the pyathat or spiral roof to their palaces, the white chattah, and all the insignia of royalty, with their Atwenwoons, Thandautsens, Nakans, and other Government officers, as at Ava; their poverty, in which it is the pleasure or policy of the Burman Government to keep them, prevents the most of them from assuming these honours and distinctions. The tsoboas of Monay and Laygea are the only two on the west side of the Salween who are able to do so. To the eastward of the river, the tsoboas of Kien-taung, Mien-len-ghee, and Kien-hun-ghee, all live in gilded palaces, with all the other insignia as those of Monay and Laygea do, and he of Kien-hun-ghee has more state than the others. From Monay to Kien-taung is 17 days' march, about 12 miles a day, in a north-easterly direction. The first halting place from Monay is at Moung pauk, hence to Ban-loe, hence to Kan-auk; close to Kan-auk the May-ting is crossed, a considerable stream. From Kan-auk the next stage is May-len, hence to Thay-kan, hence to Nathay, hence to Kien-loon; in the last stage the Been, a pretty large stream, is crossed. From Kien-loon the next stage is Ta kau, where the Salween is crossed. The next three stages are villages, which pay a tax in silver, and are under their own chiefs, viz., Mienlen, Thon-maung, and Ken-loon keung. The next stage is Mein peen, which commences the Kien-taung territory. Ka-quac, Tong-ta-mein, Poo, Loye-lung, are all in the territory of Kien-taung, which the next stage brings you. From Kien-taung to Kien-hun-ghee is 11 days;

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

first four days' halting places are in the Kien-taung territory, viz., Jungle halting place, May loye, Mein-ma, Mein pon. From this the road runs in the Kien-hun-ghee territory, viz., Dhalan-myo, Mein-pan, Mein-hoon, Mein-hay, Nam nan (Jungle), Katsay Kien-hun-ghee. This route is probably correct, for my informant had returned from Kien-hun-ghee, only a day or two before my arrival at Monay.

22nd March 1837 (Wednesday), Monay.—The second bo-dha-yea, Maung ko, sent his brother to me this morning, to say that he agreed with what I had said yesterday, and should, as soon as the festival was over, call on the tsetkay daughee, and speak to him on the subject. I called on the tsetkay; staid about an hour. In the course of conversation he mentioned a place a few days north-east of this, situated in a deep jungle, which appears to be the burying ground of a large, ancient town, in which are found, in stone sarcophagi, mummies, well preserved, of a race of men much larger than of the present day. No intelligence from Ava, but a report this evening that the people who were sent to report my arrival here, unable to make good their way from the disturbed state of the country between this and Ava, have returned some days ago. It is also reported here that the Prince demands the surrender of Meng-tha-ghee and the Myo lat-woon, ere he will again trust himself in Ava; and that he disclaims all intention of competing for the throne. He has taken up a position near Mauktsobo, and is cultivating some fields, the paternal property of Alompra. There were two poor lads executed here some days ago, for a trifling theft; it was their first offence, and they were condemned by Maung tso, the first bo, with the intention of reprieving them at the place of execution. The pounghees heard of their sentence without being aware of the intended reprieve, and sent a deputation to beg them off, with a promise of taking them into the priesthood. The priest sent to make the demand, in a haughty and overbearing manner, called to the bo, "Hai-toung hmoo (here gaoler), give me these men," which so enraged him that he ordered the execution on the spot, and it is said he gave an order to cut down the priests if they offered to interpose, of which there was some probability, as many of them were armed with clubs.

23rd March 1837 (Thursday), 24th (Friday), Monay.—Have been confined at home the last two days by a headache.

25th March 1837 (Saturday).—As I was starting into town this morning, on a visit to the tsetkay, received a message from him, requesting to see me at the yeum, as the royal orders and letters from the Resident had arrived. The orders desired him to allow me to proceed to Ava, and give me a suitable guard, if I wished to do so. The Resident's letter, after describing the dreadfully disturbed and dangerous state of the country, left it optional with me to go on to Ava, or return by the way I had come, if I thought it imprudent to do so.

26th March 1837 (Sunday).—After considering the matter, have determined, if possible, to make good my way to Ava, according to my original instructions; the only circumstance that has much weight with me against proceeding, is the fear that the Resident may have left Ava, as he intends doing so should the scene of action be shifted near the capital. I called on the tsetkay to-day, and intimated my resolution to proceed. He says, from his accounts, that our route as far as Nat-tike, that is within the Shan boundary, lies through one of the least disturbed parts of the country. He has promised to give me 20 muskets, two petty officers for my protection, and six or eight coolies, to enable us to make longer marches after descending the pass into the disturbed districts; they are to be ready in a day or two. In the meantime I am to wait on the tsoboa to-morrow. Near the end of my visit he read to me the khawai boung, a minute list of the number of troops forming the contingent of each of the Shan tsoboas, myo-tsa, &c., &c., west of the Salween. He would not, however, allow me to make a note of anything but the total number, which he stated to be 91,147, exclusive of 4,625 men furnished by Mein-tseik, Mein-leun, and Tong-ong. I strongly suspect he added one figure to the correct number, as I know Maha nay myo had with him only about 8,000 men when they were called out in the second campaign of the late war. P.M.—The tsetkay has just sent out a present of a horse, and was much surprised to hear that we were not at liberty to take presents; he, however, admired the principle when explained to him. One of the people, as the usual expedient, proposed that I should pay a few tickals for it.

27th March 1837 (Monday), Monay.—Waited on the tsoboa to-day; my reception was most friendly; his hoa or palace has a gilded roof of five stories, the pyathat or royal spire, surmounted by a tree (chattah), or gilded iron ornament so called; the hall, in which I was received, about 40 feet square exclusive of a large verandah, which surrounds it: the centre portion, a square of 30 feet, is raised about 18 inches, with four rows of pillars, which support the high roof, three in each row, and 10 feet apart; the innermost four of the two centre rows are gilded, and the yazabolen (throne), which is a very handsome one, is lower and of better proportions than those of the Siamese Shan tsoboas, I have seen; the gold appears burnished at the distance at which I sat, though the art of burnishing is not

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

known to the Burmans; at each side of the throne stood a large white muslin umbrella, furled, with two rows of gold plates attached to fringes near the outer edge; on it were a small gold crown a sceptre, a chowree, an ottar daun, and the royal red velvet slippers, forming the five ensigns of royalty (m[illegible]g-hmeauk tasa gna ba); the only other furniture in the room was a gilded chair, and a common clumsy Burman bedstead; there might be about 100 muskets ranged in different parts of the hall. The tsoboa sat on the raised part of the floor, on a common China carpet; his son Chow Kin Mouang (lord eater of the town, pronounced by the Burmans Keamyne) on his left, and his son-in-law, the son of the Laygea Tsoboa, on his right below, and I had a mat immediately in the front on the same level; his tsetkays, two officers placed here by the Burman Government, his own officers and people, a little behind me; he expressed himself glad to see me here, and hoped I was pleased with my visit, but evidently wished to avoid all conversation on my mission to himself; he introduced me to his sons, and soon changed the conversation to subjects entirely unconnected with Burmah; natural history and geography of Europe, and that part of Bengal mentioned in their sacred books, the 16 countries of Thela. On taking leave he gave me a pair of grey ponies, one of which is a fine large handsome animal; he agrees with everyone else in advising me to wait a day or two for the tribute party from Mien-len-ghee, which is said to have crossed the Salween seven days from this, some days ago. The poverty here is very great and general; theft, common robbery, and murder not unfrequent in this town; the tsoboa alone takes what he wants from the market people, in the bazar in Mok mai; there are five who have that privilege, for in the next seat in the bazar there was one of our people; a poor devil sat down with five eggs to sell; he had no customers for some time, when the tsoboa's people or servant came and took one of his eggs, the four others followed in the same way, and the poor creature rose up without having spoken a word and went away.

28th March 1837 (Tuesday), 29th (Wednesday), Monay.—Have waited with much impatience two days in hopes of hearing something further of the Mien-len-ghee party with the tribute, and shall wait on the tsetkay to-morrow, and urge my immediate departure, should they not be able to assure me of that party leaving this for Ava, at the furthest in three days; my greatest apprehension is that the Resident may have left Ava before my arrival, and that, unprotected by any recognised official situation or any guard, we should certainly be plundered; I do not apprehend there is the least danger, if once at head quarters, of imprisonment or ill-treatment, such as was suffered by European or American prisoners during the late war; should the Resident not have left, I may be useful to him and the service at the present crisis, as his assistant is absent on the Assam frontier. In my mission, so far, I have perfectly succeeded, as far as the feelings of the chiefs here are concerned, and my intercourse with all classes of the people since the first few days has been all I could wish, except that none of the Government officers but the secretary, Meng nay myo, have visited me at my tent.* An express arrived yesterday with orders for the tsoboa to proceed in person to Ava with 1,000 men of his contingent; the same number are ordered from Laygea, and 3,000 from Thienee; the feeling of the people here, however, seems to be all on the other side, and opinions are that they will not be able immediately to get the men off; whether this order indicates the approach of the Sarawattee's force to the vicinity of Ava I cannot learn; the people here are all anxious that I should return by the route I came, the wish always accompanied by a petition that I will not suppose they wish to stop me, but merely give their advice.

30th March 1837 (Thursday).—Called on the tsetkay this morning to urge the necessity of my immediate departure, as a few days more will throw us into the rains, should we ultimately not be able to go to Ava; and in some of the steep slippery earth hills between the Salween and the Men-sung-ghee we should have to dig steps for the elephants to ascend, if we succeeded in crossing the stream. I did not, however, hint at a return, though every one is anxious that I should not attempt, in the present state of the country, to go on; the tsetkay said he wished me to wait till the fifth day of the moon, when, in addition to the people furnished me, some of the troops from this would certainly commence their march to Ava, and starting on that day would give us the advantage of the moon to cross the (Laydau) plains near Ava, which were in a dreadfully disturbed state, he said; as to the property I had with me, even were I robbed, I could be indemnified, but in case of anything happening to one on a mission like mine, it would be disgrace to Ava all over the world; he added that as neither of the chiefs of the Nat-tike post were at their stations, there was no one in authority to apply to; I explained to him that though he had nothing nationally to do with the quarrel, yet that my presence in Ava might assist in saving the effusion of blood, and I knew the English Government would much wish me to proceed, should even the life of one human being be spared by my doing so; it was at last agreed that I should see him on Saturday for a final arrangement, as I wished not to be after Sunday in starting. A considerable number of people, Bramins and others, are waiting for my protection to Ava.

31st March 1837 (Friday), Monay.—No intelligence from Ava to-day except the arrival of some country people, who have fled here to escape the conscription of the Government,

* Subsequent to this the tsoboa's son and one or two others visited me.

Government, and the unrestrained robbery of the people taking the prince's name; there appears little zeal in the cause of the present Government, and an inclination only to comply with its requisitions as far as shall be necessary to avoid palpable cause of blame hereafter should they ultimately prove successful, and it is probable the tsoboa, though called on to do so, will not accompany the contingent from this. I had a long conversation to-day with an old Burman Bramin, who has travelled over a great deal of the Shan country, and who has promised to give me a sketch of the country between Mo-meik and Mobie, its extreme northern and southern points.

1st April 1837 (Saturday).—As I was preparing to visit the tsetkay this morning Meng nay myo came out to the tent to say another express, the son of the Yea woon of Rangoon, had arrived from Ava to hasten the tsoboa and his Shans; the tsetkay proposes that I should accompany them. The tsoboa has now decided on taking the command himself, and starts on the 7th. He also said that when the messenger left, on the 25th ultimo, Colonel Burney had been gone two days, with flags of truce, to endeavour to effect a reconciliation with the prince. In the evening a messenger brought me an answer to the Commissioner's letter from the tsoboa, but a mistake had occurred in supposing that traders were to receive special permission from Ava to visit the Shan States, whereas Colonel Burney had merely agreed that in case of wishing to send officers through this country, in future permission should be obtained from Ava.

2nd April 1837 (Sunday), Monay.—Called on the tsetkay this morning with the tsoboa's letter, and the first paragraph of the commercial treaty, pointing out that there was a mistake in the wording of the letter, as by the treaty traders were to pass without let or hinderance to any part of the country; he acknowledged the mistake, returned the letter, and promised to have it corrected. I intimated my intention of calling again on the tsoboa in the morning, to which he immediately assented, and requested Meng nay myo to accompany me in the evening. The junior bo-dha-yea called at the tent with 30 or 40 followers, which is the first visit I have received from any officer of influence here, except Meng nay myo, who has been very attentive. He brought two of his little daughters, one about nine years of age, with him. His acquaintance with the English costume had induced him to dress them in an extraordinary fashion; a sort of hussar jacket and trowsers of brown broadcloth, with large bright yellow buttons, a Madras handkerchief on their heads, and one or two small gold chains round the neck. He says he has from the first wished to visit me, but only yesterday obtained permission to do so, and begs me now to come often and see him. He is a great sportsman, and has taken a fancy to my greyhounds. The chief part of his conversation was about the prince of Sarawattee's dogs.

3rd April 1837 (Monday).—Called on the tsoboa to-day, and ascertained that he will positively start on the 6th, making a short march. I was received as kindly as before, and he invited me to accompany him, promising all the assistance in his power. By the way, I saw to-day some of the female members of the family, fair, good looking people, and much more like the Zimmay people than Shans of this side of the Salween. They did not, however, as at Zimmay, join in the conversation. On my way home I returned the visit of the bo-dha-yea; he had been up all night, and was asleep when I went in, but he had given orders to be awakened if I called. His house was full of women. His brother had called once or twice on his sister-in-law's behalf, to beg I would advise him to pay her more attention, and dismiss some of the young Shans. Some of the Burman officers appear to be behaving here in the same way towards the females of the natives, which was a principal cause of rebellion of the Zimmay people 40 or 50 years ago. The tsetkay sent out to tell me he was sending a despatch to Ava to-morrow, and I availed myself of the opportunity to write to the Resident.

4th April 1837 (Tuesday), Monay.—At home to-day; in the evening the bo-dha-yea and his two children repeated their visit.

5th April 1837 (Wednesday).—Called on the tsetkay to take leave, on the second bo-dha-yea and on Meng nay myo, all of whom were very friendly. The tsetkay told me that by late accounts from Kien-hun-ghee it is possible that Captain McLeod had also some difficulties and trouble, as the tsoboa of Kien-hun-ghee died about two months ago, and there has been a contested succession. The party of the tsoboa's son have, however, been victorious; the rebel has been killed, and the heir, who had retreated into China, to which kingdom Kien-hun-ghee is subject as well as to Ava, has been sent for to ascend the throne. There is not, perhaps, in the world a country which has been the scene of more bloodshed than these States; and though, since our war with Ava, they have enjoyed comparative peace, yet there are constantly recurring domestic feuds like the one spoken of. In the evening the tsetkay of Kien-taung and Panya Pan came out to the tent with Meng nay myo, and paid a farewell visit, bringing 50 tickals, or *Rs.* 33. 10., from the tsetkay for my expenses on the road, which, as I had accepted a like sum from the tsoboa, I was obliged to receive. He also sent 40 tickals for the Shan interpreter, who was robbed a few nights ago, notwithstanding a night guard furnished by the district for our special protection, and which I only to-day learned have been kept ever since our arrival; since which robbery we have set a watch at night, of our own people also. Though theft is invariably punished with death here, yet it is by far the most common crime, and is said generally to be perpetrated by Taung-thoos, though they are the least

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

numerous of the divisions of the people, which are composed of Shans, Burmans, Yeins, Dumoos, Dunos, and Taung-thoos, all apparently of the same race, though the Dumoos and Dunos do not speak Shans, but a kind of Burmese. There have been no less than six executions for theft during my stay here, besides the two young men mentioned in the 22nd March, one of whom had stolen a kamauk (sombrero).

6th April 1837 (Thursday), Nam tween, N. 15 W., 2, 4.1 hour.—After an anxious detention at Monay of one month and a-half (during the last month of which period I have been on the best terms with the chiefs and a few of the people), started this morning at 9.15; called on the tsetkay in passing, who, as a parting gift, gave me his own spear, and expressed a hope that we should meet again; I remained about half-an-hour with him, and came out to this place, where we halted at 11; the tsoboa who has halted about a quarter of a mile nearer the town at a large zeat which he has built near the Hmoie dau, a pagoda of great sanctity, was just leaving his palace as we passed. Monay is a long straggling town stretching north and south along the foot of the hills, on the west side of the valley in which it is situated, and may contain at a rough guess (comparing it with Maulmain) 8,000 or 10,000 people; the houses are poor and mean, and the ground on which it stands rocky and uneven; the valley is about five miles broad, east and west, and extends from a few miles south of the town to about 10 miles north, varying from one and a-half to three miles in width; the south end of it is fine paddy land and irrigated by the Nam tween, a small stream about knee deep, on the banks of which we are encamped as the brook runs along the lowest part of the valley; the water is raised about six feet by a water wheel of the rudest and most simple construction, a barbarous imitation of the Persian wheel, interwoven split bamboos being substituted for the boards which turn it, and joints of the large bamboos for the buckets, which instead of being turned over by any contrivance at the top, are fixed diagonally on the outer rim, so that when they come to the top their bottoms are raised and the water discharged into a bamboo trough which carries it off at once into the fields; the buckets being placed close to the outer edge of the wheel raise the water of course by its whole diameter, but a large portion of it is wasted by their position; a portion of the valley is also watered from the Nat yen kan, a remarkable perennial fountain which bursts from the side of the hill at a greater elevation than most of the town; it has been surrounded by a wall three or four feet high, and constantly supplies three large spouts of perhaps six or eight inches in diameter; it is difficult to account for so large a supply of water from the small elevation of the hills above it. Meng nay myo accompanied me to the halting place, which he chose for us as being some distance from the tsoboa's people; close to us is a raised causeway, about a mile in length, made by the tsetkay through a swamp at a cost of about 1,000 tickals; he is very liberal in public works of this kind; they say there is not a halting place between this and Ava which is not indebted to him. The junior bo-dha-yea came out with about 30 armed Burmans; and the tsoboa's son, the Keamyne, called in the evening accompanied by one of the Monay tsetkays; my party, now reduced to 30 people, is as much alone here as if we were in a desert, but in the present unsettled state of the country, when small armed parties are passing from every direction to join the Tsoboa, we are not quite so safe from thieves, and are obliged to keep constantly on the alert; two attempts were made last night to carry off some of the horses, but as we have kept watch ever since the Shan interpreter was robbed about a fortnight ago, they were frustrated, though we were unable to apprehend either of the offenders. The tsoboa has now determined, contrary to his original intention, to leave his son here in charge of the civil duties of the town.

7th April 1837.—Hay peck—4.30, N. 15 W., 12 miles, 7.20.—Course lay to-day northerly (N. 15 W.) between the high ridges of hills, which form the valley, if it may be so called, of the small stream of the Tone (it falls into the Nam tween, which discharges their united waters into the May ting); but after leaving the town a short way it is only a succession of undulating hills; between the higher ranges, which run here east and west, it is generally cultivated but in a very slovenly manner; at 10.10 cross an off-set from the eastern range which has never been cultivated, forming the boundary of the valley of Monay; 10.25, hills again recede, and the intervening small hills are lower and more brought under cultivation, with a good deal of water in small streamlets in the intervals, but not applicable to purposes of irrigation; 11.30, halt at Hay peck; the elephants came in, 12.30, and the Tsoboa, who started at the time I did, came in a few minutes after me; as he has only two elephants my five quite eclipse him; in the afternoon two royal messengers arrived from Ava with the Mauk to* in five days, with orders to the tsoboa to make the greatest possible dispatch; one of them says he accompanied Colonel Burney to Mauktsoho, and that on his return to Ava, where he still is, the bo hmoo meng tha retreated to Tset kyne where he remains. I waited on the Tsoboa in the evening, where I met the messenger, and he afterwards came out to the tent; he says the opinions in Ava are that the business is nearly at a close, that the Prince has only a few followers, and those leaving him, his being sent here to hasten on the Shans, which always is a last resource

* A small conical wicker work hat varnished red, looking exactly like leather, which denotes their office.

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

resource, contradicts his statement. Hay peck consists of two or three small villages on a rising ground nearly bare of trees, and consequently excessively hot at this season; thermometer 94 in a double-walled tent at noon; the whole of the first part of the march we were cheered by the song of the skylark and the monotonous notes of the cuckoo, which I have not heard for 20 years. The last of the troops (about 1,000 men), who march in a most disorderly manner, did not come up till dark; they were encamped on an open space, on the brow of a low hill, in a low square of sheds of boughs which had been previously prepared for them, the tsoboa and his immediate followers in the centre; and a place was assigned me outside, a little to their left, and forage provided for my horses and elephants.

8th April 1837 (Saturday).—Nam may-lean or Taing kegien, 6 miles north, little easterly of Mein-tseik, 6 hours 30 minutes, N. 15 W., 18 miles.—The camp was in a bustle this morning from 2.45 (thermometer 68°) till daybreak (5.20), when I started with the first; for the first 20 minutes marched N. 20 W. along the same sort of ground as yesterday; 5.40 N. 75 W. crossing the rugged western hills which have bounded the valley through a nearly level pass, and at 6.18 reach the cultivation on the western side of the range and continue a course west, a little northerly, till 8.45 passing a small well and temple; it tends more to the south (S. 80 W.) which continues to the halting place in the Mein-tseik territory, the town of that name distant about six miles south-west; ascend nearly all day; road over undulating hills without abrupt ascents; the country after crossing the rugged hills opens away to the northward on irregular undulations, scarcely amounting to hills, as smooth as drifted sand, with small abrupt rocky hills shooting up here and there from 30 to 100 feet high or more. A rugged range of hills continues to the southward till 7.30, when the country assumes the same character as on the north of the road; on both sides, as far as the eye can reach, nearly the whole of the country between the little abrupt hills is arable, but little of it can be irrigated, though there is no scarcity of water; the soil is exceedingly poor, either red ferruginous earth or grey sand, yielding in some places not more than six or eight fold, and the average of the whole district of Monay may be taken at 25, the best land not giving more than 40; we have passed four or five small villages to-day, the largest not more than 10 houses; the tsoboa's army is a most irregular body, about 1,000 men; one half of them are armed with muskets, some bad, some indifferent, which they carry in any way that suits them, generally fastened to the pole over their shoulder, to each end of which an open bamboo work-basket, lined with the pasteboard-looking substance from the joints of the large bamboo, and used for carrying their ammunition and provisions, is attached; they find their way from one halting place to another at any time of the day, and in any order the most convenient; a few of them started between 2 and 3 a.m.; none of them were at the ground before 11.30 when I halted, and they continued to drop in at intervals till six in the evening; they amused themselves by firing off their muskets on the line of march; the tsoboa has just ordered this to be put a stop to; every man who can muster a horse that can carry him may ride if he pleases, and a few have availed themselves of the privilege; their dress is nearly uniform, the kamauk, blue jacket and trousers; none but the tsoboa and a few of the followers affect the patso or goung boung, and all wear the kamauk. I made the march to-day with the tsoboa's brother-in-law, a Burman, and nephew of Menghee Maha Ouzana, but he has been so long in the Shan country, that he is more of a Shan than a Burman; we lost our way, which increased our distance about four miles.

9th April 1837 (Sunday).—Mein pon, N. 45 W., 4.15, 12 miles.—5.35 start, and immediately enter another range of the western hills, passing generally along the bottom of a narrow ravine about west between high hills till seven o'clock, when we climb an abrupt ascent and move to the northward; our ascent lay over rugged ridges for half an hour, when we cross the top of the pass, and enter the Mein pon territory. From this the road is winding, rocky, rugged, and bad till 8.45; when we come in sight of the paddy fields and halt at Mein pon at 9.45; in the early part of the morning pass some small silkworm gardens, and about 7.35 a small stream with ranges of troughs formed of the hollowed trunks of trees for steeping indigo, a particular kind of which, with large dark green leaf, grows wild in this part of the hills; have seen very little cultivation, and only one or two small villages, perhaps 20 houses, during the march; we have been joined here by the Mein-tsiek contingent of troops, 250 men under their tsoboa, or properly myotsa; one half armed with muskets, the other with spears, as the Monay men. Mein pon is rated to furnish 150, and the Monay tsoboa it is said now musters in all 1,500 men. Water plentiful, forage scarce, for the elephants particularly, which I fear will suffer from the heat and scarcity of food.

10th April (Monday).—Halt to-day at Mein pon, a small town of between 80 and 100 houses, the tsoboa of which was killed a few years ago by his brother, who stabbed him in the side whilst fishing; the town is under the Monay tsoboa, who appoints the officer in charge of it, the myo-ouk (literally, town cover), who is responsible to him; the valley of the Pon, in which it is situated, is about three miles wide east and west, and of some 10 or 12 miles extent north and south; it was formerly a walled city, but like all the other Shan towns now under Burman rule is prohibited from having fortifications, though gates and gateways are still allowed to those termed cities. I called on the tsoboa in the morning; he has been employed to-day marshalling his army, of which it has hitherto had

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

very little appearance; after to-morrow or the day following, we are to march in more regular array as we approach the enemy. I have been relieving the elephants of a portion of their loads and getting Chinese pack-saddles for some of the horses; the son of the Rangoon Yea-woon, Moung myat, who is a strong partizan of Meng tha-ghees, and has been sent to hasten the advance of the troops, is anxious to urge the Tsoboa (who makes a good show of haste, though evidently using all his endeavours to hold back till it is known which side is the stronger) to make long marches; I hope we shall be able to keep up; though the nights are cold and chilly, during the day the sun is excessively hot (shade 94°) and distressing to the elephants; the breeze is, however, always cool and delightful. The yea-woon's son came in the evening; expressed himself delighted to see a Rangoon acquaintance in this savage place; I had seen him once or twice at Rangoon.

11th April (Tuesday).—Nam-tso-ngan N. 65 W. 3, 7 miles.—Started at 4 a.m., and before daylight cross the Pon, about knee deep, amongst bunds and Persian wheels for irrigating the paddy fields; leave the valley and travel across the hills along a much frequented road, through a country of the same character as last march, but less rugged; pass two small patches of paddy and one village; about the middle of the march cross what is said to be the highest part of the route between Monay and Ava; about seven (watch stopped on the march) cross the Nam-tso-ngan, a small stream which divides the Mein pon from the Whopong district, and encamp in a patch of terraced paddy ground belonging to the latter town; this day there were no tays for the tsoboa, or sheds for the troops; they however put them up with great rapidity and finished the square as they came up. I offered one of my tents to the tsoboa, who, much to my surprise, declined it, and sat under the shade of his gold chattah, which, except mine, is the only one in the force; his tay was an oblong piece of coarse cloth, about 20 feet long by 12 wide, stretched over a ridge pole and fixed close to the ground by pegs on one side, and the other shorter and tied to posts, the edge about a man's height from the ground; a China satin curtain running across divided off his sleeping place, in which he had a bedstead with musquito curtains; the ends were closed with branches of trees and a flat shade erected in front for visitors.

12th April (Wednesday).—Nam-tsoo, S. 70 W. 5.20, 16 miles.—Starting at 5.10, ascend a trifling hill, and in 25 minutes come amongst hills with so small an acclivity as to admit of their being ploughed, which at one time or another lately they have been. 5.40.—Road rocky; hills more precipitous. 6.40.—Pass a valley of some extent, with a small village and cultivation. 7.30.—Country more open. 8.—A small village with pagodas; country cultivated on both sides of the road. 8.15.—Same, nearly level, undulating, and no trees. 8.25.—Extensive paddy fields, with the water let in preparatory to cultivation, which we cross by a raised path nearly half-a-mile in length, a mile or so above which the water starts out of the bottom of the hill in a large stream. 9.35.—Another village, and at 9.45 halt at the town of Whopong for two hours. It is a large town, perhaps 250 houses, and the territory more capable of affording subsistence to a large population than any we have yet crossed. 11.45.—The tsoboa came up, and at the instigation of the yea-woon, who came here last night, we continued our march, after crossing a small stream and ascending a rugged ascent, to an irregular table-land; leave the Whopong, and enter at 1.16 the Neaung Eue territory, and at 1.20 halt in the table land on soft ground. The elephants came up at 5 p.m., having made a distressing march of 12 hours. In the evening one of the tsoboa's scouts returned, bringing intelligence that the detachment of men placed at Yea-ngan by the Tsetkay of Monay had gone over to the prince; that none of the Shans had yet crossed Nat tike; that the Neaung Eue Tsoboa, with about 500 men, was waiting for him at Poehla; and that the prince's people, who are expected in force at Poehla to-morrow or next day, will either give us battle or receive our submission to the prince, as all the country to the westward has come over to him. The only men of any rank with the tsoboa are his brother-in-law, who is a volunteer, one other officer, and the Monay Tsetkay, a person of little intelligence or influence. The yea-woon of Rangoon's son, who is fairly committed by the active part he has taken, is anxious to push on. The Laygea Tsoboa, who is said to be a person of intelligence and decision, is two or three days' march on our right flank. The tsoboa feels sensibly the difficulty of his situation, and sent his brother-in-law this evening to ask what I advised him to do. I told him even if I were at liberty to give any advice, nothing could be more difficult, with our present scanty intelligence; as it was, to push on a day or two, and ascertain the truth or otherwise of his information.

13th April (Thursday).—Say-lay N. 75 W. 5.15, 16 miles.—5.35 start, the path continuing to lay along an irregular table land on the top of the hills; jungle thicker; ground moist and verdant, with here and there small streams; morning hazy, and very cold before the sun rose. At 7.50 the tsoboa halted to breakfast at a picquet-house of the Neaung Eue Tsoboa, placed here on account of the Kareans, who, though their country is 20 miles distant, frequently carry the people off whilst at labour in the fields. 8.35, continued our march, and in about 20 minutes descend, in a zigzag course, a steep difficult hill for a little more than half-an-hour, into the valley of Neaung Eue, wide five or six miles. East and west hills cannot be seen; north and south from the Haye, most of it may and has been cultivated, but little of it appears to have been irrigated though

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

though they have now a small watercourse down the face of the hills which we descended, and the green line of a river's course is seen towards the other side of the valley. The city of Neaung Eue is about 16 miles south of this; pass three tolerably large villages, and crossing a small stream at 11.25, halt on its banks, a patch of paddy ground, into which the water has not yet been turned. Elephants came up pretty fresh at 2.30, nine hours on the march. In some little huts in a mangoe tope, about a mile and a half from our ground, the market of this part of the valley is held every fifth day. The principal articles sold there are salt, gna-pie, rice, vegetable indigo, blue jackets and trousers, and a few betel boxes. Bamboos, which are scarce here, and common reed mats are also brought to the bazaar for sale. The tsoboa's information to-day leads him to think the force here too weak to oppose the prince's army; the Laygea and Neaung Eue are the only two other tsoboas who have turned out, with the three myotsas of Mein tsiek, Mein-pon, and Noung-moon, and the whole of the country west of Yea-ngan has gone over. He has sent a despatch to Monay to summon one of the nakans and one of the Bo-dha-yeas to join him, and use their influence in collecting the other tsoboas. Thenee, which furnishes as many men as all the others west of the Salween, is in a state of domestic warfare; no troops can be expected from thence, and the tsoboas east of the Salween have not been called on. The letter sent by the prince's chiefs to Yea-ngan and other villages, which have in consequence gone in, was in the name of the Atso-ya-tho-meng, from which it may be inferred that his views are less moderate than he at first gave out. Thirty men, two and two, have been dispatched by the tsoboa in the course of the day to endeavour, by different routes, to penetrate to Ava for intelligence. The force now here is said to be 1,100 men, with 250 from Mein tsiek, and 150 from Mein pon. Under all the circumstances, the tsoboa wished to leave me two days in his rear till he had ascertained the state of affairs in advance; he then proposes to send for me, or, if necessary, to retreat, and take me with him to Monay. I however told his brother-in-law, who brought the proposal, that I should much prefer going on at all hazards.

14th April (Friday).—Halt at Say-lay. The orders to march were counter-ordered late last night, and we remain here to-day waiting intelligence from Monay. The tsoboa has agreed to my accompanying him one march further in advance, and then be guided by circumstances. Vague reports have been brought in during the day which have caused him to make up his mind that he can advance no further. I went over to his tay at 3 p.m.; the old gentleman was as polite and attentive as usual; he told me the only thing I could do was to return with him to Monay, and either remain over the rains or till it was possible to advance. The whole of the Gnoe-goon (silver tax) villages, and (the Lay-dau) level country near Ava have gone over, and the prince's people; all the dhamias, robbers, and bad characters in the country, under sanction of his name, are in great force immediately on the other side of the hills at the foot of which we are encamped, and no one knows who is at the head of them. Were any respectable man there, I should not hesitate to push on; as it is, I proposed to send a servant of mine and one of my coolies, who have volunteered, to Colonel Burney, to endeavour to get the prince's order for me to proceed. It is, however, impossible to send anyone with them from this, and as they do not know the road the tsoboa disapproves of my doing so, and I have no alternative but to return. We, however, wait one day here for the officer from Monay, should he come on the Tsoboa's requisition forwarded a day or two ago. At 10 p.m. the bo-dha-yea's brother (Ougyne), who had pushed on two days ago to Meng-gu-dan, came to my tent with the tsoboa's brother-in-law. He had just returned with a memorandum from the head man of that village, that the prince has taken the town of Ava, that the queen and her brother are in prison, and 60 of the principal ministers and officers of the late government have been put to death. The story does not bear the appearance of authenticity; nevertheless the Tsoboa has determined to advance six or seven miles, close to the foot of the hills, there leave his elephants, and proceed to ascertain personally the state of affairs.

15th April, Saturday.—Nam-leeng, N. 70 W. 2. 30, 7 miles.—Leaving Say-lay at 6 a.m., and crossing the Nam-lack half way up the horse's flank, at 6.20 cross a bight in the western hills, N. 75, W. 7 miles. Soil better, perfectly level, and well irrigated, and encamp at the foot of the western hills, the boundary between the valley of Neaung Eue and the Gnoegoon towns or Myelat Shan country; from this to the valley of Irrawadee below Nat-tike, the whole of the cultivation is dry on the hills. In this day's march some of the watercourses were of considerable depth, and most of the fields under water, rendering the march cold, wet, and disagreeable, though the thermometer at 3 p.m. was 94° in my tent; the presence of the army has raised the price of rice here to 2 rupees and a half a basket, and a few days in advance it is said to be selling at 4 rupees per maund; the myo-thooghees of Yea-ngan, and Men gea dan have just come in and confirm the report brought by Ougyne.

16th April, Sunday.—Halt at Thantay or Nam-lon (Good-Water) so called from a spring of water about two feet in circumference, which bursts out at the foot of the hills, and is used to irrigate the western portion of this bight. The water is at all seasons red, from a mixture of a portion of the ferruginous soil, of which great part of the country and hills are composed; during the rains the portion held suspended is very great, and the colour deep in proportion. The report of the capture of Ava, and the death of the 60

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

chiefs, was contradicted in the night, and confirmed again this morning with particulars; they were said to have been pressed down with thick boards, with iron spikes in them, over which the Prince walked before they were led to execution. The Neaung Eue Tsoboa, who is one march in advance with 500 men, is to retreat on this in the course of to-day, the Mein-tsiek and Mein-pon myo-tsas are close on our left flank, with 250 and 150 men respectively, and the Laygea Tsoboa, about 10 miles on our right, with 600 or 700 men. The Tsoboa has now determined to wait here for official information of the above report, which is expected either to arrive here to-day, or pass to the northward by the Mein-tso road, which joins the road along which we came, about five or six miles west of Whapong, to Monay. The wind blowing strong from the north westward in the night, brought with it the down of innumerable cwitch creepers, near which the camp was pitched, which kept the whole army awake all night, and obliged the tsoboa to shift his quarters about a quarter of a mile this morning, where I followed in the evening. Soon after my tent was up, his brother-in-law came over and told me that messengers had come in from the tsoboa's daughter (one of the king's wives), confirming the reports of the capture of Ava without resistance. The Prince was at Tset kyne; the Myo-lat-woon, the Deberen-woon, and another, had been put to death; all the members of the late Government were in irons, except Kee-woonghee and Saygain woonghee. The Queen's brother was obliged, in heavy fetters of gold and silver (that he might have enough of the metals he was so fond of), to dance through the town begging rice, an official following him with a rattan; he is degraded from his rank as a Prince, to be called Nga O, his original name, and in a few days to be dragged by horses three times round the wall of Ava. The Queen is also degraded; to be called Mee-noo. The young Princess is with the late King, and the Setkea-meng is to marry one of the Sarrawattee's daughters. The tsoboa is to return to Monay and await a royal order for his appearance in Ava, where it is expected all the tsoboas will be summoned to appear with presents and congratulations on the solemnization of the marriage. He expects to be at this halting-place again 20 days or a month. The country between this and Ava is in the possession of bands of armed robbers, who, taking advantage of the disturbed state of the capital, in parties from 100 or 150, under the Prince's name, rob every passenger on the road. Eight or ten Bramins, who are held in nearly as much estimation as their own priests by the Burmans, who started from Monay a few days before us, have been completely plundered of the fruits of six or eight months' begging through the Shan countries. The messengers of the tsoboa, though they had on the cotton tsoloe, the badge of the Prince's party, were accused of being Nga-os men, and stripped of everything, including their patsoes. Since we have been on the march, I have seen a great deal of the gentlemanly old tsoboa, and his brother-in-law has spent almost every evening in my tent. They expressed themselves most friendly towards me personally, and favourable to the objects of my mission; on this account, and in consideration of the very unsafe state of the country, through which my attempting to push would be attended with the certain loss of my property at least, the latter invited me, in the tsoboa's name, to return with them to Monay, where he would have an opportunity of showing me more attention than he did whilst there before. I returned an answer, expressive of my thanks for his kindness hitherto, and stating that if he believed, from the information he had heard of the state of the country, that it would be impossible for me to reach Ava, I would avail myself of it still further, and return with him. At the same time I represented that we had now passed all the hilly and bad parts of the road; the near approach of the rains, and my anxiety to reach Ava, the probability of the elephants knocking up, &c. &c., and suggested that he should either furnish me with a guard, according to former instructions from Ava, or that he should leave me with the Neaung Eue Tsoboa till the possibility of proceeding was ascertained. After his brother-in-law had gone some time, the messenger from Ava came from the Tsoboa to say, the change of Government prevented his giving me a guard, but if I wished it he would introduce me to the Neaung Eue Tsoboa, and I could remain with him till an answer was received to a letter I proposed writing to the Resident at Ava, or till he returned on his way thither, when he would apprise me of his approach, and I could join him and proceed together to Ava. I gladly accepted the alternative, and proposed calling on the tsoboa to take leave, which I did about 11 p.m. After writing to the Resident, the old gentleman gave me a seat on the little raised platform he occupied himself, where I remained about a quarter of an hour, and took leave. He addressed me as his son, gave me for my expenses on the road 50 tickals of coarse silver, and hoped we should meet again. There is more mildness and real gentlemanly simplicity in his manner than that of any Burman I ever met with, reminding me forcibly of the kind old Chow-tchi Weet, Tsoboa of Labong. His brother-in-law returned with me to the tent, and remained till near one o'clock. He used a great deal of persuasion to induce me to return to Monay. A petty officer of the Neaung Eue Tsoboa came, about midnight, to say he was appointed to wait on me in the morning to show me the road. There will be little sleeping in the camp this night. The Tsoboa is overjoyed at his release from a hazardous and disagreeable duty, and the men at the prospect of returning to their homes; their quiet and generally orderly behaviour, without discipline, might be an example to more civilized nations.

17th April (Monday). Neaung Eue, S. 20 E., 5 hours, 15 miles.—At 4 a.m. the Tsoboa started to the northward, along the foot of the hills, to return by the Meintso road; his brother-in-law came to bid us a last good-bye, and in a few minutes afterwards the Neaung Eue's amat (officer), who was to show us the road, came and deputed another man, who

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

who, in a few minutes, came to his own house, when he went in to breakfast, and deputed another who soon left us to find the way by ourselves. Our route lay a little to the eastward of south, along the foot of the range of hills which bounds the valley of Neaung Eue to the west, with an occasional hummock between us and the plain of the valley, till nine o'clock, when we leave the hills and cross towards the eastern ones, where we were caught in a thunder-storm and piercing cold wind, and reached a village just in time to be completely wet; here we halted a little more than an hour till the rain was over, when the sun shone out with overpowering effulgence. From this village the road is a dead level, having all the appearance of the bottom of a lake, and the soil, which is a mixture of sand and clay, is in many places full of shells, something like the common periwinkle. At half-past 10 we cross the Neaung Eue or Bora-that river, about half-leg deep, and proceeding along a path rendered as slippery as ice by the rain, cross stream led here for the paddy fields, with a very deep muddy bottom; we overtook the rear of the Neaung Eue soldiers, straggling on as we have been accustomed to see the Monay men, and reach Neaung Eue at 2 p.m., five hours exclusive of halts. I sent the Shan interpreter to the Tsoboa to inquire where we were to encamp; he returned almost immediately with an old man, who pointed out a vile place on the north side of the town; we moved a little further out into a fallow paddy field; the poor old man got a beating for showing so bad a place, and we are promised a better to-morrow.

18th April (Tuesday). Neaung Eue.—It rained heavily nearly all night; fortunately our ground happened to be tolerably dry, and I had, in anticipation of the rain, bought some thatch, and got up sheds for the people just as it commenced; sent the Shan interpreter to the tsoboa to express my wish to wait on him to-day; he begged me to defer my visit till to-morrow, as our new encamping place lies nearer his hoa (palace).

19th April (Wednesday).—Shifted our berth last night into the town, or more properly village, for there are not above 150 or 200 houses of the same miserable appearance as those of Monay, or perhaps a little more so. There is not one good house in the town, and the country villages are worse; they are all very low, and from the walls of many of them being made of thatch, much of it old and discoloured, have a sad ruinous appearance. Many here, and indeed throughout the country, have the same low end as the houses of the Red Kareans. The site of the town is a dead level, and, as conjectured, was formerly the bed of the lake, which extended several miles up the valley to the northward of this; it has now shrunk away about three miles to the southward, and fills the end of the valley about 12 or 14 miles north and south, and reaching to the foot of the hills east and west, perhaps, on average of $2\frac{1}{2}$ or $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles; it is fed by the Bora-that, which falls into its northern end, and a few small rivulets from the hills; the only stream it gives rise to is the Mobie River, from its south end, which after penetrating the hills, and flowing underground for some miles, appears again a short way from Taung-ngoo, and then flows into the sea by the Setaung River, the waters east of this all falling into the Salween. Our encamping ground is a vacant space to N.W. of the han; between that and the houses of the tsoboa's lesser wives, of whom there are about 20 or 30 living in the houses of their parents, distinguished by the privilege of attaching planks in the shape of buffaloes' horns, to the end of the ridge pool. He is said to add two to the number annually, but unless they have children they receive absolutely nothing from him, and then only a bare subsistence. Even some who live in his house are said to to have their food carried to them by their friends. About 11 o'clock I visited the tsoboa, and remained about an hour; his house, enclosed in an old wooden fence, is mere bamboo; the floor, which is also of bamboos, covered in part with mis-shapen boards. Though of the same rank as the Monay Tsoboa, he has none of the insignia of royalty, except the gilded frame to the window behind his couch; even his betel apparatus is the same as the commonalty; he is about 45 years of age, very stout with rather a want of intelligence in his countenance. His three brothers were present, and three or four of his sons, of whom he told me he had 20 about 11 years of age and under. I explained the friendly nature of my visit to Monay, and begged him to consider the same sentiments towards himself existed with the Commissioner at Maulmain as I had been commissioned to communicate to the Monay Tsoboa, I solicited his protection and countenance to our traders who might come here, and promising the same to his people at Maulmain, gave him a musket, carpet, and three or four finger-glasses; apologised for the smallness of my present, as I had not anticipated seeing him, &c. &c. &c.; he has little to say, but was as friendly as I had reason to expect from the strong recommendation of the kind and gentlemanly old Tsoboa of Monay.

20th April (Thursday); 21st (Friday). Neaung Eue.—Visited the tsoboa's brother today, who seems a man of more intelligence and energy than the tsoboa. He was formerly exceedingly dissipated, a drunkard and opium smoker, but has for some years quite reformed. He gave some account of the feud between the Tsoboa and his uncle, who seized the throne on his father's death about 14 or 15 years ago. The war (for there were some pitched battles) lasted about two years, in which contest this brother was the principal supporter of the present tsoboa, but the principality has never recovered the waste and destruction, and though it was one of the four at one time embracing the whole of Cambosa-tyne, it is now said only to contain in all 500 houses in the district. They are so weak that the Kareans infest their marches all the dry weather, and carry off all unprotected persons into slavery, unless ransomed by their friends. This year they have been freer from their inroads than usual, which they attributed to my having passed through the Karean

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

country. A more legitimate cause may be found in the vicinity of the British possessions on the coast, where runaway slaves from the Shan countries are of course free, and finding their way thence, or remaining in Maulmain, are lost to their masters, this having gone on for seven or eight years. The Zimmay Shans, who are the chief purchasers, will only buy children, and that at a reduced rate, as cattle, when I first penetrated to Zimmay, which sold at two rupees and a-half, are now selling for 10 or 12 ; this rendering the slave trade much less certainly profitable, will probably ultimately put an end to it, thoughit is said there are still nearly 300 persons annually sold into the Siamese territory. Many of the people of this district have voluntarily gone to reside in the Karean territory, which at its nearest point is not more than 30 miles from this, to avoid the grinding oppression of the Burman Government. Since the troubles at the capital they have had a short respite, but there are generally from 80 to 100 Burmans here living on the natives.

22nd April (Saturday), 23rd (Sunday). Neaung Eue.—Called to-day on ChowShoe-nee (Lord Red Gold), the second brother of the tsoboa, and remained about an hour, being the market day here, which is held as at Monay once in five days; a crowd of 100 or 200 people followed me to his house, which was fortunately, however, at no great distance. My reception was friendly ; his whole family were present. Saw a good many of the Tavoyers to-day, who form the principal part of the inhabitants of En-lay, Enma, four villages of the lake (though they are not now confined to four) ; their dialect is so similar to that spoken at Tavoy at this day, that I could immediately detect a Tavoyer, though they must have been here about 662 years, if the tradition be correct that they accompanied Narapadi Say Thoo, or Shoo, King of Pagan, as he reigned there about the year 536 of the Burman, era (1175 A. D.) Many of the traditions of this town are connected with him; in Burman history he is said to have defeated an immense Chinese army which attacked the old city of Kau-tham-bee, formerly the capital of this valley, the extensive ruins of whose walls are still visible two or three miles north of this. It must at that time have stood just on the borders of the lake, and the wooden pillars of his palace are said still to be visible in a calm day at the bottom of the lake, with the chains and posts for fastening his elephants. Five days south-east of this is another considerable town, Thataung, inhabited by people from the old town of Thataung, one of the first capitals of the Pegu kingdom, situated about one day north-east of Martaban, and brought here by Norata meng tsoe, King of Pagan, at a still earlier period, viz., 379 of the Burman era. It is close on the borders of the Karean-nee country, to the chief of which people they are now tributary, as well as to Ava. A messenger from Ava yesterday states the town still to be surrounded by the Prince's army, the country dreadfully disturbed, all the Burman chiefs of the Shan country turned out, a new Bohmoo and Tsetkays appointed.

24th April (Monday); 25th (Tuesday). Neaung Eue.—Weather, for the last week, has been excessively hot. Yesterday, at noon, we had a heavy shower, which reduced the thermometer from 96°, at which it had been for many days at noon, to 76°, in half an hour. To-day it has not risen above 90°, and at six o'clock was only 60°. The atmosphere, which has been so hazy as to prevent any distinct view of the hills, is now so clear that they appear at their proper distance. About two miles east from my tent, which is in the middle of the town, is the Elephant Range, which would appear to be the highest range between this and the Salween, at least all the waters on the east of that range fall by that river into the sea, whilst those on the west fall by the Paung Laung or Setaung river, and west of us is the Four hill range, the western boundary of the valley about the same distance. By the boiling point of water (207°), I found this portion of the valley to be 2,556 feet above the sea, about 517 feet higher than Monay, but 254 feet lower than Namtso-ngan, the boundary between the Mein pon and Whopong districts. The cold seldom reaches the freezing point here, which the people attribute to the vicinity of the lake, but at Poehla, the next day to this, on the Ava road, and only 15 or 16 miles off, with only a low hill between them, ice is common, and last January was as thick on the shallow pools as common window-glass. The tsoboa's second brother sent to say he intended to call on me yesterday, but did not make his appearance; the rain, perhaps, is his excuse. I sent to intimate my intention to call on the youngest brother to-day, but he was not at home. Thermometer rose, 3 p.m., 94°.

26th April (Wednesday); 27th (Thursday).—The Tsoboa of Monay, on his return, reported to the tsetkay his having left me here with a probability of my waiting for his return on his way to Ava, and as that event is not now likely to take place, the Tsetkay (who appears not to have been aware of my having written to the Resident) wrote to me, through Meng-nay-myo, inviting me to return to Monay until I could proceed to Ava with safety, and sent a kind message by the bearer of the letter to the same effect, and advising me not to remain here, as the Neaung Eue people would not be so attentive to me as my old friends at Monay. The messenger had also instruction to dun the tsoboa (who appears to have several visitors on the same errand) for a sum of 2,000 tickals due to Meng nay myo, but on presenting the tsetkay's order to the tsoboa to furnish me with all necessaries, if I wished to return to Monay and the dun ; he said, I was going to Ava, and to the other communication, returned no answer, but left the house on an excursion for which he was in the act for preparing, and has not yet returned. I wrote to the tsetkay this evening, thanked him for his attention, but declining to return to Monay as I only waited an answer to my letter to the Resident, which I have every reason to expect by the 30th.

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

28th April (Friday); 29th (Saturday); 30th (Sunday). Neaung Eue.—Had been trying for the last three days to see the tsoboa, with a view to despatching a messenger to Ava, fearing my letter had not reached the Resident, and had just been put off again till to-morrow, when the Monay Tsoboa's amats (officers) returned from Ava with the expected letter, but which, to my surprise and disappointment, instead of a royal order to proceed to Ava, contained directions to wait here till the new king (the Resident's letter confirms the report we have had here for the last three days, that the Sarawattee Prince has assumed the reins of Government) had consulted his ministers, as he appears to think, and certainly says, that he is not bound by the treaties of the late Government. I have little communication with the people here; I have called on all the chiefs, that is, the tsoboa and his two brothers. Their children have returned my visits. Yesterday the tsoboa's only son by his first wife (his half sister), a nice little boy of about 10, came in for half an hour.

1st May (Monday); 2nd (Tuesday); 3rd (Wednesday). — This morning, first, the tsoboa again excused himself seeing me, saying he was going to mend the embankment of a tank which had burst, but on the second sent out to say he had put his house in order, if I would call to-day, and I went in for an hour or two; he told me he had not finished the bund; there was a great deal to be done, as it had been out of order for the last 100 years. From the abundance of water here, they are enabled in the first, fourth, or fifth months of the monsoon, to choose their seed-time, taking advantage of which, they have, at three different times in the year, what is called the first, middle, and good crop; they are put into the ground in the end of February, in the beginning of April, and in July; planted out in the end of March, the beginning of May, and in August; gathered in July, in September, in November, or December respectively; none of the land, however, yields two crops in the year; the average return is said to be only 26 fold, though the soil is very deep, appears and ought to be rich, being an alluvial deposit from the lake; the average price is about 65 tickals poe per 100 baskets. The hire of a field labourer for the whole season, from the first putting of one crop into the ground to the gathering in, threshing, and winnowing it, is 30 tickals of nga moogay, or 5 per cent. silver and his food; the duty is four, six, or 10 baskets per yoke of buffaloes, according to the goodness of the crop, or about four tickals poe per basket of seed. They cultivate besides a small quantity of chilum, Indian corn, sugar-cane, and near the villages a few yams, pumpkins, gourds, sweet potatoes, and a few varieties of pulse; all these last, however, in very limited quantities; one or two houses had little flower gardens in front, the first we have seen.

4th May (Thursday); 5th (Friday). Neaung Eue.—Have been some days in communication with Chow Kan leng (or Shoe nee), the tsoboa's second brother, about a boat for an excursion on the lake; sent this evening to beg I might have it to-morrow, but was put off on account of the Chandaporee nakan, or the first nakan of Monay, being here on his way to meet the new bo-keauk, the shoe hlanbo (officer of golden spears), who had been appointed by the new king in the place of his brother (Meng myat boo), and is expected to leave Ava after the king has taken possession of the palace (about the ninth or tenth). A Shan who left this place during the troubles between the present tsoboa and his uncle, and had lived some 14 years in the Karean country, came into the tent to-day; he told me that from this to Gnoe-daun is only four days, and may be done in six with elephants, the halting-places being Pong moo, Saga, Nam-tok, Mein-kain, Mobie and Gnoe-daun, from thence to Pha-phos village is only two days more. My informant fled a few months ago from Gnoe-daun. He was at Maulmain last year, and was said by the Kareans to have given some false information to Shoe-gheen myo-thooghee about a horse, for which some of the people about him had to refund payment, on which account he believed they wished to kill him. He reached this place in three days, one day to Tabek (about six or eight miles from Thataung) and thence in two days arrived here. He says he knows the Mobie river, or Nam may meyat, falls into the Salween by the Pon, and not into the Taung-ngoo river; it passes through the town of Mobic, then easterly to Sakoolay, within half a day of Gnoe-daun, where it is about a stone's throw wide; half a day beyond Soo-koolay, which is the landing-place for Gnoe-daun, it passes through a hill (Pontaung), about an hour's walk, and comes out about 150 yards from the Pon, which it joins one day and a half above Pha-phos village. It is navigable from Neaung Eue to Sakoolay; he asserts, contrary to some other information I have received, that there is no waterfall in that river. The distances between the following places are said to be the same, and may be travelled in one day by an unincumbered man: from the Salween to Pha-phos, thence to Tampheak, to Baneen, to Neaung Eue, giving five days from this place to the Salween. The Neaung Eue territory extends one day north and east, and less than half a day west and south from this place.

6th May (Saturday); 7th (Sunday); 8th (Monday). Neaung Eue.—The nakan-dau of Monay called at my tent this morning on his way to Yea ngan, where he awaits the arrival of the new bo-keauk. He says the country between Nat-tike and Ava is still impassable from the number of robbers, except by an armed force; I shall consequently probably not hear from the Resident till his (the bo-keauk) arrival. I yesterday succeeded in obtaining a boat, and went half a day down the lake; we started at six a.m., and in five minutes got into the boat on a watercourse cut from the Bora-that river to which it runs parallel at a short distance; in some places it was not much wider than the boat, and we were detained a short time in partially breaking down three or four dams across it for

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

raising the water into the paddy fields; in about one hour and 45 minutes we reached the beginning of the lake; the most of the country on the banks of the watercourse, which is recent acquisition from the lake, is a morass covered with strong reeds; near the town is a good deal of paddy, but the crop is unpromising; the whole is full of small shells, and the reedy portion will not be available for any useful purpose for some years to come; it is too soft and deep even for elephants to venture on any part of it, and near the lake it is evidently afloat; the lake almost immediately spreads out to the width of about a mile and a-half east and west, but for an hour and a quarter (9 a.m.) is full of floating islands (dyke), and not more than three feet and a-half deep, full of weeds which reach the surface, or within a few inches of it, and impede the progress of a boat, and in a few years will probably form a reedy bog like the present margin of the lake; from this, 9 a.m., it is free from weeds, the water beautifully clear, and about seven and a-half feet deep; the depth is nearly the same throughout, a foot or two deeper at south-west extremity, and would be clear of islands, but the inhabitants of the lake have anchored small floating ones of about 20 feet in circumference all across it, at a distance of 50 or 60 feet, for the facility of fishing; here it may be four miles across, which is the widest part of it; at 10.30, reached the place where the stumps of the posts of Narapadee Say Thoo's palace, and of the fence round it are to be seen; as the water was clear as a mirror and perfectly unruffled, we had no difficulty in seeing them; they are pretty numerous, some a foot and a-half in circumference, and reach within a foot or two of the surface; the posts of the fence are smaller, and in straight lines, they might be posts of a palace or any other house. I was warned by the tsoboa that the natts were very powerful, and he advised me not to allow any of the people to touch the posts, or we should certainly have a storm of wind and rain, and our faces would swell till our eyes closed for some days. I, however, told the boatmen that I would take the consequences, and try to break off a piece of one of them; it was too hard, and I only succeeded in separating a little of the moss with which it was covered, and we shoved off to see a place further south, where the water is said to escape through the bottom of the lake; unfortunately for the cause of philosophy, in less than five minutes a storm began to blow on the tops of the western hills, and we were caught in a squall with heavy rain, just as we reached the object of our search; the boatmen were somewhat alarmed, and pulled for the shore about half a mile off, which we reached just as the rain ceased, after we were completely wet, the boat having no cover; as the sun immediately burst out with a power that raised the thermometer to 130°, exposed to his rays in the bottom of the boat, by the time we regained our lost ground, we were nearly dry again. At the place they pointed out there is an extrication of gas which rises in bubbles to the surface, over a span of perhaps four or five feet square, but I am convinced there is no escape of water here, though the spot is somewhat deeper than the rest of the lake; from this we returned, and reached Neaung Eue at half-past four, and as my face was a good deal burned by the sun and reflection from the water, the tsoboa was quite satisfied that I had suffered the proper punishment for my rashness in interfering with the posts of the palace, and told me that the people of En-lay Enma, a year or two ago, fished up one of the elephants' chains of the old Pagan king, but that there was such a commotion in the lake for the several days they kept it that they were glad to return it. The whole extent of the lake, which is rapidly decreasing, is about three and a-half miles across from east to west at the widest part, and perhaps 12 or 14 miles long from north to south; the water may be said not to exceed seven and a-half feet in depth, and most beautifully clear and transparent; the bottom is soft sand and mud, about six or eight feet deep and easily perforated to that depth, when it seems to rest on a bed of rock or very hard till; the centre is clear of weeds and islands, but the sides, and particularly the north end (which is evidently filling up rapidly), is full of them; the islands are principally composed of the interlaced roots of the coarse grass with a small portion of soil, the roots of the grass shooting down to the bottom in the dry weather, but in the rains, many of them are lifted up and separated so as to be quite afloat; the inhabitants are very numerous on the banks of the lake, particularly on the western side; the posts of many of their houses are either in the water thrust through the soft mud down to the solid stratum, or on the floating islands, which they anchor to the bottom with a long post of bamboo; they undulate like a log at every step,* and it is said not to be uncommon for a man's house to change front half-a-dozen times from squalls during the rains; as the islands are small, there is seldom more than three or four houses on one island; all their communication with their neighbours is by means of boats; the inhabitants of the eastern side depend for their subsistence principally on fishing, in taking of which, however, they do not appear to be skilful; the lake was covered with canoes, in each of which was one man who stood at the head on his right foot, holding a long paddle in his left hand, round which he twisted the leg of the same side, so urging the boat forward; with the right hand he darted a small fin-pronged lister at random amongst the weeds. I did not, however, see above one or two fish taken. When tired standing they float lazily along, beating the bow of the canoe to frighten fish, striking in the lister when they see the weeds move. They also use nets and other means of taking the fish. From scarcity of salt they make very little gna-pie; what they consume comes principally from Rangoon and the coast; their boats are all bought

* A very fat old woman on an island where we landed for breakfast laughed heartily at some apprehension displayed by one of my people, who was about half her weight, that he might go through.

bought from the Red Kareans, there being no timber of any size in this part of the country. The hills on both sides of the lake are nearly destitute of trees of any description; the canoes are long and narrow, not being opened out as the Burman canoes are; they pay 150 tickals coarse silver for one that would not be worth 15 rupees at Maulmain; at the western side of the lake a succession of narrow villages straggle along, almost joining each other, nearly two-thirds the length of the lake; they are chiefly Ngoe-goon or royal domains, paying a tax in silver direct to the king, and many of them have only been separated from Neaung Eue, during the present tsoboa's time, after the broil between him and his uncle. The Shoe Meng dau Pagoda, about four miles down the lake, now forms his southern boundary; between the lake and the western hills is a strip of level ground from two to five miles in breadth, which is all cultivated and irrigated by the small streams from the hills. Me-ne-kong is the first large Ngoe goon village, and En-lay-enma, a large village, is situated at the south-western end of the lake; the inhabitants are principally Tavoyers, but few of them are aware of their forefathers ever having inhabited any place but this; they are ignorant and superstitious, their language scarcely intelligible, and little, or not at all, more civilised than the Kareans; they are called by the Shans, who are only one shade better, water Kareans. The Mobie is the only outlet to the lake; the Bora-that river which receives all the water from the hills in the northern part of the valley, is the principal source of supply.

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

9th May (Tuesday), 10th (Wednesday), 11th (Thursday).—At home, filling in some places in a map of the Shan country I have been attempting to make. A person, who came with me from Monay, told me seriously that at a debate, before our arrival, as to the course to be adopted towards us, it was proposed by the second, or King's Tsetkay, to intercept and cut us off.

12th May (Friday), 13th (Saturday), Neaung Eue.—Returned the visit of Chow Kam Leng (Shoe-nee, as it is rendered in Burmese), the tsoboa's brother; the first visit I have had from any of the chiefs here, and called on the tsoboa; the contingent of Neaung Eue is 1,565, but 500 is the utmost they can raise, and these they cannot keep in the field for any length of time; they were much pressed for subsistence, and suffered from want of provisions in the late war.

14th May (Sunday), 15th (Monday).—Was visited to-day by Chow Shoenee, the tsoboa's brother, who remained about an hour; he has for the last five years succeeded in getting rid of all the Government concerns of the principality, and lives by the trade and agriculture of his people. He proposes, if he can obtain permission, and everything is quiet, next year making a trading trip to Maulmain. He mentioned that a report has been current here for some days that three gun-boats had arrived at Ava, with a request on the part of the Governor General of India, to know who is to be King of Ava. I explained to him that our policy was in no ways to interfere with the internal affairs of this or any other friendly country, but continue our relations with the actual king, whoever he might be. I fear the rains have fairly set in; we have had rain every day for the last week, and heavy rain in the last two days; the town of Neaung Eue being situated in what was the bed of the lake, at a recent period, is very little above its present level; in the rains the whole is a swamp, and the people come in boats, over where my tent is now pitched, to the bazar. Though the tsoboa has sent several scouts for intelligence to the capital, with the exception of the above unauthenticated report, and another that the new king has put off taking possession of the palace till the 12th, we have not heard a word of what is going on in Ava for the last 15 days. I wrote to the Resident to-day by some Brahmins, who came under my protection from Monay, and are returning to Ava with the fruits of their summer's begging and fortune-telling in the Shan country; one of them was in his youth a great alchymist, and in search of roots and minerals has traversed the country from one end to the other, and was there connected by community of pursuits, with some of the influential men in the lower part of the country; as, however, he found he got nothing but sickness and labour for his pains, he took an oath at the Pagoda some years ago to renounce the pursuit.

16th May (Tuesday), Neaung Eue.—I, this evening, after an anxious detention here of one month, received the long expected order to proceed to Ava, of which I was not at all sorry to avail myself; I have had little intercourse with the chiefs, and little cordiality or friendship has been shown me here, though there is nothing positively to complain of. The tsoboa and his brothers have always received me perfectly civilly when I have called on them, but none of the warmth displayed I have met with from my friends on the Siamese side of the Salween, or by some very good friends in Monay. The uncertainty of the views of the Government towards us is, however, more than sufficient to account for this, and on considering the state of the kingdom, my reception in the Shan country has probably been as good as I had reason, though not quite coming up to what I did expect. The Resident's letters have by some means been sent on to head quarters, and I shall probably not receive them for some days. Received to-day, *viâ* Monay, letters from Lieutenant McLeod, announcing the success of his mission as far as Kien-hun-ghee, beyond which he was not allowed to proceed without permission from Pekin, but stating that the Zimmay chiefs had placed a ken (guard) five days in advance of that place, to stop all intercourse with the country to the north-eastward; should they persist in keeping it there, his mission will thereby be rendered vain, or a reference be necessary to Bankok, on the subject.

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

17th May (Wednesday).—Sent into the Tsoboa last evening, saying I should call at any time to-day he was disengaged, to take leave; he appointed this morning, but before breakfast sent a message to say he was busy with his fireworks, and should be glad to see me in the evening; he has unfortunately a taste for fireworks, and compels every householder to furnish one corresponding in dimension to his means, or pay a fine of five or six tickals. I called on his two brothers (the third excused himself on account of business) and his son: one of the former told me of three Poes, or festivals they have annually here, when they have music and dancing in the early part of the night, after which what the Welsh term bundling is performed till morning by the younger members of the community, in which the females are supposed to refuse only the last favour. In the evening, at dusk, called on the Tsoboa; he was as civil as usual, and told me the amount of the tribute required of him at the Kadau season, viz., the new year, and Watchoe, or end of the Monsoon, is 10 tickals of gold and two horses, which, with some other presents, makes his tribute about 30 tickals of gold, six horses and six pieces of China gold lace annually. I remained an hour, and we parted very good friends.

18th May (Thursday), Nay-gea, N. 45°, W. 6.30°; 18 miles.—We left Neaung Eue this morning at 7.15, the person who is to command our guard (which consists of 15 musqueteers) and point out the road for us, having started yesterday for Poehla; we were delayed an hour at a broken bridge, about two miles and a half from the town, by one of the elephants which is commencing to be "must," and hence rather unmanageable. Our course was nearly north till 9.15, thence to the foot of the hills west, across the perfectly level valley of Neaung Eue, passing within sight of eight or 10 villages, some cultivation and cattle; commenced ascending the hill, which is rather steep in some places, at 11, and continued our course sometimes a little to the southward of west till 12, when a descent of a few minutes brought us into a level bason 10 or 12 miles by five or six, with several large fields ready for the reception of seed, and some herds of cattle. Halting half an hour, we reach this village after a short abrupt ascent at 4 p.m. It consists of about 60 houses, is situated on the confines of Neaung Eue territory, which is here separated from the royal domains Mye-lat Ngoe-goon (middle land silver taxed) villages, by a narrow belt of tree jungle they have no water near the village, and are obliged to pay a tax to Neaung Eue for the privilege of drawing water in that district. I intended reaching Poehla to-day, but we were delayed in getting the elephants in the morning, and in crossing the Bora-that so long that I found it would have thrown us into the night. Met on the march to-day the ahmat-dau-yea, with whom I travelled from Ava to Munipore in 1831, on his way to administer the oath of allegiance to the Monay Tsoboa; six years had made little alteration in him, though he has had the honour, in that interval, to be sent as second ambassador to the court of China. At Poehla we are to overtake our guard and meet the Kientaung Tsetkay, who is proceeding to Ava with the royal elephants (8), the piebald one is said to be a leaper, and is consequently left at Monay. I found the boiling point of water here to be 204, giving an altitude of 4,131.

19th May (Friday), Poela, N. 50°, W. 2°; 57 miles.—Lost two of the horses last night, which we did not recover till after noon, the people having traced them back, by a different road from the one we came, six or seven miles. We left Nay-gea at 5.10 p.m., halted here at 7.15; we passed, about a mile west of the village Nay-gea, a much frequented path leading south-west through Ramay-then and Toung-ngoo to Rangoon. The road to this place gradually ascends all the way, amongst a succession of irregular hunmocks, perfectly bare of trees. The hills are all red ferruginous earth, and ready for seed in many places in large square patches. Poehla is a large village paying a duty in silver to the king and government, by a Ngoe-goon-hmoo; the inhabitants live almost entirely by trade or, my informant termed it, cheating each other and the public; little attention is consequently paid to agriculture. These villages are said to have some advantages over the proper Shan principalities; they have only one set of governors (there being no tsoboas), and the system of exaction is less minute and oppressive; this I had heard before, and the increased size and better appearance of their houses, which are the best I have seen since leaving Maulmain, confirms it. About half-a-mile from the town there are two little natural fountains, the only water between this and Nay-gea, to which a well-made road, with one or two neat bridges, leads. The Kien-taung people, viz., the Tsetkay, Panya Pan and Panya Kien Ham, with the elephants, tribute, and 120 men arrived here this morning; my party amounts to 30, and my escort to 16, making in all with the officers and myself about 200 people, besides perhaps 150 traders who have taken our protection; this being the re-opening of the communication with the country below the pass, which has been closed by the robbers since the beginning of the revolution. Though the man in charge of my guard arrived here yesterday, he had given himself no trouble about our accommodation, and arriving after dark we had some trouble in finding a place; the Kien-taung Tsetkay, however, shared his forage with us, much to our relief, as there was not a bit of standing forage for the elephants within sight of the place. It appears a pretty large village, but as we arrived after dark and started before daylight, we had little time for question or observation.

20th May (Saturday), Men-gea-dan, N. 70°, W. about four hours 12 miles, called four dains.

The first three-fourths of this day's march was through a country of the same character as

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

as yesterday, round-toped earth hills of a red and poor soil, with gentle declivities, bare of wood and destitute of water, a good deal of land prepared or preparing for paddy, and some large herds of cattle. Half-an-hour after leaving Poehla passed the much frequented road to Pendera, four or five miles north of that place, with only one small village near the road. The last fourth more rugged and rocky, with a good deal of wood and less cultivation. Pass a small stream, close to this village, which consists of about 100 houses, under the Ngoe-goon hmoo of Poehla, as are also the Ngoe-goon towns. South-east of this Paung-hmoo, Thataung, Tabet, and Ban-yen, all of which, as before stated, pay to the Kareans. One of the coolies, who went after the horses to Neaung Eue, left that place this morning at daylight and arrived here about 4 p.m. My watch stopped in this day's march, which makes the time and distance more uncertain from this time forward.

21st May (Sunday).—Lay Eue, N. 20°, W. about two hours six miles, called two dains. Country the same character as the last fourth of yesterday's march; pass one stream of water about a mile from this village; a ridge of rocky hills to the eastward, and some high hillsin the distance west; have passed no villages and little cultivation till close to this village. We expected to have found the Chandaporee nakan here, but he left this yesterday for Yea-ngan, which is distant six dains. The spring is well advanced here, though they have yet had no rain. This village is so called because it is the largest of four in this neighbourhood, which together have to furnish provisions, &c., &c., to Government officers travelling this road on duty; the other three are Yea-hla, Men-dain and Lay kam. Our present halting-place is believed by the Burmans to be higher than Men-gea-dan, but the thermometer gives the same height. The boiling point of water at both being 204.

22nd May (Monday), Yea-ngan, N. 32°, W. 18 miles, called six dains.

The character of the country the same to-day as yesterday, with abrupt hills. About six miles from Lay Eue we passed the large village of Myne, containing probably 80 or 90 houses on both sides of the road; about three miles further on that of Yea ngan, much smaller; and a few miles still nearer this place Pen-dzein, consisting of a few huts. Between Myne and Yea ngan, a small stream, called Yea-beaung-byean, from some strange idea that it runs up hill, is the only water on the march; immediately after passing which is an abrupt ascent, at the top of which, a mile or so east of the road, is an old silver mine, which 50 or 60 years ago fell in and killed 30 Chinese miners; since which it has been abandoned. This is a large village of about 200 houses, and the last in Mye-lat; we found here the nakan-ghee waiting the arrival of the Shoe-hlan-bo, the new governor, for whom a tay-dau or tan-man, as it is here called, has been built; he is expected here to-morrow, and as he is now the highest authority in the country we are to wait here one day to pay our respects. There is some scarcity of quarters here from the number of people collected; I have, however, been assigned a capital quarter in a new bamboo zeat, about half a mile west of the town. We had some heavy rain in the night, and everything looks beautifully green; the temperature is cool and delightfully invigorating; the pine, raspberry, and other European looking trees and shrubs, with the skylark springing from the short grass and soaring high over our heads, gives to this upland region all the pleasures of a climate much further north. The thermometer at 6 a.m. was 60 degrees for a few minutes, about half-past two it rose to 80 degrees, and is now, 8 p.m., about 70 degrees.

23rd May (Tuesday), Yea-ngan.—Halted here to-day, and some of my visitors from the village tell me it would have been impossible to proceed, as in many places in the pass between Nat-tike and Ken-lay the path is so narrow and precipitous that the elephants and horses could not pass each other. I sent in the morning to the nakan to inquire when would be the best time to call on the great man, and was told towards evening. I accordingly rode in, and was very civilly received. I explained the object of my mission, and said, as he was much respected by the Kareans (which I heard at Neaung Eue), that I hoped his appointment would ensure its success, &c., &c., &c. He does not appear more than 40 years of age, and had not a great deal to say; he, however, said he approved of the mission, and that it was good to live like brothers. The Keintaung officers were also present; they gave an account of their attempt last year to open a friendly communication with the Siamese, which was frustrated by their distrust of the Burmans. They showed him a plan of Zimmay and Laboung, and a map of the Zimmay country. He did not, however, seem very curious on the subject, and paid little atttention to a long speech of the tsetkay's. He told me he would send an officer with us for our protection, and that he had given orders for my reception at the military post of Ken-lay, on the frontiers of the Shan country. I stayed about an hour, received a present of a patsoe, and took my leave. He afterwards sent out requesting me to send the elephants for his inspection, which I did. I called in an old soldier who was loitering about my zeat; in the course of conversation he said he had heard of the good faith of the English, and the even hand with which justice was administered, and to instance the contrary in the Burmans he told me he had been employed during the war, near the close of which he had received 95 tickals of the coarsest silver bounty, and at the peace he was ordered to refund, as peace had been settled by treaty, not by his fighting. When he offered to return the same silver it was refused, and he was obliged to make it up to the dine standard, fit to be received into the royal treasury. Some who had received

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

33 tickals had to return about 50, and many families are still in slavery on that account; or to pay off the debts contracted at that time, they may take service at five tickals monthly, and before the month is out have Government demands for ten, which they are obliged to borrow from their masters, and are consequently hopeless of ever redeeming themselves and families. The bo-keauk sent for me at dark. I rode over to his tay, and found he wanted to buy the elephants; he has received a royal order for 40—that is, he is allowed to buy and use that number, and he has as yet only got three! It was impossible to sell them at this distance from Ava. I, however, at his particular request, sold one of them at 350 tickals, and in case the king does not want them, he is to take the other four at a price to be fixed by the Resident, myself, and a person on his part, the whole price to be paid in Ava, and furnish carriage to Ava for the load of the one I leave with him. As the Resident will leave eight or ten days after my arrival in Ava, I was glad to find a purchaser.

24th May (Wednesday), Ken-lay, 50° N., 6° 30′ W., 12 miles.—Left Yea-ngan about 4 a.m., and, passing through a country of the same character as the last two days for about two hours, arrived at the top of the Nat-tike Pass, which has the reputation of being the longest, roughest, and most laborious, if not dangerous descent in the Burman dominions, or any of the neighbouring countries, and we found it worthy of this character in every respect, except that there appears little danger in any part of it. We reached Ken-lay about 11.30 hours and a half, about 12 miles, without having passed a single village, only three small streams of water. Ken-lay is the military post dividing the proper Burman from the Shan (Myelat) territory, where a duty of a quarter of a tickal is levied on each bullock, and two annas on each man with a load passing from one to the other. It must be rather productive; we have met about 700 bullock loads of salt and gna-pie in the last two days. As the communication has for some time been stopped, this cannot be taken as a fair average. We here enter the troubled districts, and it is evident there is some little apprehension on the part of my Shan companions, in fact they say so, and it is with difficulty I can get them to consent to start before daylight, which is a matter of less consequence to them, as the royal elephants have nothing to carry but the mahout. I have not the least doubt our numbers will keep off all attempts upon us, though we are more formidable in appearance than in reality, for except the ammunition in the muskets of the guard (if they be loaded), I do not know where we have any. Even in the most quiet times this was a bad neighbourhood for travellers who had anything to lose. I have heard of one or two instances coming within the knowledge of my informant, and many others he had heard of where a party of two or three, having hired a guard from the post here to the next village, were invariably robbed, and no doubt left on the minds of the sufferers that the companions of their escort from this station were the robbers. There is close to the northward of the post a small projection of table-land about 400 feet high, about a mile and a half long and half a mile broad, of rich paddy soil, well watered, the site of an old town, Beloo-myo (Cannibal's town), to which there are said to be only two passes up, all the rest being nearly perpendicular.

25th May (Thursday), Yakine, 45° N., 5.30′ W.; 12 miles, 5 dains.—After a short descent, reached the large plain of the Irrawaddee called Lay-dwen ko karyne (or Nine Districts in the Fields); the whole of the march was a dead level, and the soil full of shells, and altogether the appearance of being a deposit from water; the road excellent; but as we are now in the most disturbed part of the country we did not wish to leave the elephants, and marched in what was called order; we were detained longer than usual on the road, crossed the Paung-laung little more than knee-deep, which rises near Pendera six or eight miles from Poehla, passes Toung-ngoo Shoe-Gheen and Setaung, receiving the name of the latter place, falls into the sea between the Salween and Irrawaddee; passed the villages Ken-dan and Dine, situated on this river, Noboo-nyo and Men enma, and halted a little after noon at Yakine, a large village, the inhabitants of which were formerly brought from Arracan here, hence its name; the change in the climate is most distressing to the elephants and coolies, the thermometer rising to 100° in the shade, and the nights are as hot nearly as the day.

26th May (Friday), En-ben-bo, 20° N., 5° W.; 14 miles, 5 dains.—The whole march to-day was through a country of the same character as that of the last part of yesterday's march; the whole country perfectly level, but the hills visible in all directions but to the southward; to the eastward are the Shan Hills we left yesterday, which stretch away south, trending a little east, as far as the eye can reach, and are said to form a continuous range as far south as the sea, running a little to the eastward of Maulmain and Martaban; from the Nat tike Pass to the northward they trend away westerly, and crossing the valley north of the city of Ava some distance, join the Tsetkyne or Sagine Hills, which run down south on the opposite side of the Irrawaddee. The whole of the plain between, as far as we can see to-day, is divided into paddy fields, part preparing for the seed, part with water turned into them, and some with the crops some inches above the ground; here and there are little knots of jungle, with numerous palm trees, tarra and taliput, betel and cocoa-nut. The country is also more populous; we have passed five or six villages, the largest of which were Theret Gong, Toung-ghe-goe, on the stream of Toung-ghe-bouk, by which small boats came up from Ava in five days, Lat-thee-ma, Yea-won, Yakine-gong, and En-ben-bo, the large village at which we halt.

27th May

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

27th May (Saturday).—Oaen-ghe, N. 25 W.; 12 miles, called 5 dains.—Route continues across the plain of the Lay-dwen ko karyne, palm trees less scattered over the country, a greater variety of other trees; a great part of the country during the last part of the march under water, preparing either to receive the seed, or with the early crop of paddy of a month or six weeks' growth; cross the Panlaung and Jogie rivers, each a little more than knee-deep at the fords at this, the driest season. They run in a north-westerly direction, join and fall into the Meyat ngay, thence into the Irrawaddee. The city of Keauktsay is situated on the banks of the latter river, and at the foot of an abrupt and rocky part of the hills, though of much less elevation than they are further south. The country has been more populous to-day; many villages and detached houses; the houses are still, however, smaller than those occupied by the same class of people in the lower parts of the kingdom; it has been better inclosed, a greater number of water courses, and altogether giving indications of the approach to, certainly, not the capital of an extensive kingdom, but a large country town. We met here an officer of the Court, on his way to Thience, to administer the oath of allegiance to the Tsoboa.

28th May (Sunday), Ava, N. 30 W.; 5 hours; 16 miles.—March as yesterday; some fields of sugar-cane, cotton, sessamon, safflower, Indian corn, and some wheat land, was pointed out in addition to the unchanging paddy to-day; passing several large villages and crossing Panlaung, up to the horses' saddle-flaps, and the Meyat-thee with no water at this season, by the late Men-tha-ghee's (now Moung O's) bridge, which is one of the finest public works in the kingdom; reached the Residency at 11.30 a.m.; find the alarm subsiding, and quietness returning at the capital. The ministers of the late Government in jail, and the new king at Tsetkyne.

29th May (Monday).—Cross the river to-day with the British Resident and his assistant, and had an audience of the king. As no business was transacted, we were very graciously received, promised every facility henceforth in traversing his dominion in all directions, and I was invited to come again next fine weather and to the Chinese frontier; the king was in good humour, and friendly in his conversation; he gave us each a small ruby ring, the first he had received since his usurpation, and we took our leave.

30th May (Tuesday).—I fear the king, when it comes to the point, will retract his promise of leave to traverse his kingdom. The Resident's writer was sent over to-day to Tsetkyne, where the Court is still held, and, amongst other business, was instructed to ask the king's permission for me to return to Maulmain by the Ramay-then and Toungngoo road, on account of the public elephants. He, however, refused his consent, on plea of the road being impassable at this season, and said the Woonghee of Toung-ngoo, who leaves this in a day or two for his government, will be obliged to go by Rangoon. As I made an unsuccessful attempt to obtain the permission of the late Government, in 1831, to return by that route, which was said to be the most populous and fertile part of the kingdom, I was certainly disappointed after his majesty's promise of yesterday. That part of the country has, however, been for some years in great disorder, overrun by bands of robbers, for whose suppression little or no exertion has apparently been made by the Government; and the eastern frontier, continually ravaged by the Karens, that there is probably a great falling-off both in the number of the population and the industry and resources of those who remain.

31st May (Wednesday), Ava.—Called to-day, with the assistant to the Resident, on the Prince of Mekara, the king's uncle. He has applied with considerable success to the cultivation of European sciences under the late Dr. Price, American Baptist Missionary, with assistance lately from Mr. Lane, a British merchant here, and is by far the best informed, and one of the most intelligent men in the kingdom. He has been appointed, since the revolution, one (I believe the president) of the Hloat-dau with Teik-ten-ghee, one of the present king's sons, and the Woondauk-gyan, or rough, coarse Woon-dauk. He is, however, unfortunately, timid and un-energetic. He took no share in the Government under the late king, and many people suppose he is now not particularly anxious for the honour. His mild and more civilized policy has but little influence with his colleagues. We asked and obtained leave to go over the palace, from which the old king has been removed some days. The prince made some inquiries about my route, and requested a copy of the latitudes I had taken.

1st June (Thursday).—Went over the palace to-day, and was a good deal disappointed; it covers an immense space of ground, but the rooms are small and filled with pillars, which, though large and handsome posts of teak timber and splendidly gilt, take up much too large a portion of the rooms; they are very lofty, many of them richly gilt throughout. The inferior ladies' apartments, of which there are several ranges, are small, dark, and dirty. The king's, queen's, and young princes' apartments are everywhere covered with gilding, except the floor. There are nine thrones in different parts of the palace, all apparently ascended, by small and insignificant steps, from behind. The whole is delightfully cool from the length of the passages and extent of the roofs. Saw also the royal stud of 10 horses, none of them remarkable for their beauty; they have, however, been looted, of course, since the revolution. There are said to be about 300 guns, of all calibres, in the palace, not one of which was fired in the late revolution; indeed, from all accounts, it is difficult to imagine a scene of more despicable cowardice and stupidity than the whole affair, more particularly on the part of the late Government.

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

4th June (Sunday); 5th (Monday); 6th (Tuesday); Ava.—Employed these three days in unsuccessfully endeavouring to obtain boats. Rode through the town, to the small river, to look at one; but found the bottom had been destroyed by worms, so as to be unsafe. An officer of the old Government was killed to-day, apparently from no other fault than having done his duty to his late master.

7th June (Wednesday).—Crossed to Tset-kyne, and had an interview with the king, who refuses, most positively and unconditionally, to acknowledge the Treaty of Yandaboo, or to treat with the Governor General, who, he says, must write to the Woonghee of Rangoon, who is of his own rank. He wishes the late reign to be sunk in oblivion; says the war was a mistake, and wishes our intercourse to be on the same footing as before it took place, when there had been nothing but friendship between the two States. He will not ask the Resident to stay, nor will he order him away; he would rather send for more (English); and, if he wants their services, he will make use of them (Seetsa); that we conquered the late Government, and frightened them into signing whatever we pleased; that he had never been conquered, and was not like the old Government; if it should come to war, he never would ask for peace; says he does not wish for war; but knows that our officers would be glad of it. All this, and much more, was said in consequence of the Resident's wishing to impress upon him that the old treaty was in force till a new one was concluded. He refused to send anyone to Bengal. If he sends, he will send to the King of England, not to the Governor General, who is hired at a monthly salary. He has no objection to talk with the present Resident, his assistant, or myself, or people whom he knows; but let any "green man," who does not know the language and customs of the Burmese, and assumes a higher tone, be sent here, he will look to it as a warning to prepare his troops; if Mr. Crawford were here now, it would be war directly. The whole of the foregoing remarks were made with firmness and decision, but without any appearance of rage or irritation. On my mentioning, near the end of our interview, that I had sold my elephants to the Bo-keauk of the Shan Tsoboas, he said he would take them, and send people to take charge of them.

8th June (Thursday).—The king sent for the elephants to-day, but as I had been obliged, from scarcity of forage, to send them some way from the town, they did not come in time, and the people sent over in the morning to take charge of them, went away without them, promising to return to-morrow; the king repeated the substance of yesterday's conversation to-day before Mr. Kincaid, the American missionary, and, in addition, told the writer to tell Colonel Burney, that he would kill the prisoners, if an accusation which had been brought against them of secreting arms was proved. Three unfortunate officers were killed to-day for having done their duty to the late king.

9th June (Friday), Ava.—Crossed to Tset-kyne to take leave of the king, who starts for Keauk-meaung to-morrow, where he proposes to reside one year, and then remove to Mouktsobo, where the capital is to be fixed; his manner was as affable as usual, and during the whole time of our stay, scarcely a word was spoken either to or by any of his own officers; he still firmly refuses to acknowledge the treaty, or to allow the Governor General to correspond with him; he invited the assistant to the Resident to remain with him; told him he should have a place to live with the merchants in the Kala dan, and if he wanted his services, he would employ him; that he might have sepoys if he liked, but that he must not presume on a right to bring them there by the treaty; said he knew the English had people in all countries to prevent disputes between their merchants and the people of the country; said the Rangoon Woonghee (to which topic he constantly refers) was a greater man than the Governor General, for he was his representative, had the power of life and death, was responsible to him alone, and had a state not allowed even to members of the royal family.

10th June (Saturday).—Confined at home all day with head-ache; went in the morning to see the State prisoners, but found they had been removed to the other side of the river; much less bustle and confusion in the town than might have been expected from the king's orders to move; indeed, I only saw one or two cartloads of things coming out of one of the gates, and a few Muniporees pulling down their mat houses on the river side. The king started this morning.

11th June (Sunday); 12th (Monday).—So many boats have gone up the river with the Court, it is scarcely possible to hear of one, and the prices exorbitant; a good deal of robbery in the town last night.

13th June.—The king has left the Pagee-woon in military charge of the town, with a nominal force of 3,000 men; there are, however, fortunately, only about 200, as he has always been a noted robber. The Myo-woon has privately advised the foreign merchants to leave the town, as he professes himself unable to protect them, or make restitution should they be robbed; some extensive robberies have been committed on the Tset-kyne side, and also several in the town of Ava already, and the people are looking forward with some anxiety to the dark nights; all those who can afford it will leave Ava; the principal part of the people will follow the king to Keauk meaung. Seeing no prospect of procuring a boat here, and having no assistance from the authorities, I have sent my servant to-day to endeavour to procure one lower down the river.

15th June

Dr. Richardson's Journal.

15th ... (Thursday). Ava.—Have been fortunate enough to obtain (for 32 rupees) a ... a village a little way ... a boat with ... ging. We hear that the State prisoners are still alive, though the ... are ... above Ka-un-l ... that a pretext will not be wanting for putting them to death, and ... sion seems gone ... capricious cruelty are told of the king: he had them brought before ... several instances to eat Tsat-kyne in shabby old dresses, each carrying a sort of long ... just the day before ... which the Burmans stir up their rice, and had a number of the ... that wooden spoon, with ... their boat, a device of his own, emblematic of the way in which ... some spoons stuck round ... they had cleared up the ... separating boats, and getting the baggage and horses on ...

... June (Friday).—... received an order from the Hloat for men at the villages by ... the Resident must ... way.

... day I left Ava with the British residents; the American ... 17th June (Saturday).—... prohibited by the king from continuing their labour, ... deaneries, who had been 250 people. The river Irrawaddee has been so often ... which we ... making our party ... it appears unnecessary for me to continue the form of ... described by abler observers, ... that, as this is the worst season for coming down the ... ... ahead further. I may merely ... steadily up, our passage was tedious, and we did not ... ing, a strong monsoon setting ... From Rangoon the Resident wrote to the king, and ... Rangoon till the 7th of July. ... might render it necessary to send me to ... It was anticipated that the answer ... that letter ... of August, when the king's answer ... Calcutta. I was detained in Rangoon till the 21st ... provided in it, my mission to Cal... was received; but as all public business was ... my passage in the "Brilliant," of ... ... was unnecessary, and on the following day I ... It may, perhaps, be thought ... 40 tons, and reached Maulmain on the 25th of ... ... ed by my mission had ... ... duction now to state what would have been the ... vantages ... as they stood at the ... our relations with Ava remained at its conclusion on the same ... affairs cannot long ... ... I was ... mistaken; but as we may hope that the present state of ... ... little infor... ... ... briefly ... that, in the first place, we have acquired ... ... ness, and ... ... countries hitherto totally unknown ... of the fertility, populousness, ... resources. ... to say, too high an estimate had been formed. ... In the second ... ... we have opened a direct route to the Burman Shan States through the wild tribes ... Karens, ... of the neighbouring native states would have ventured to ... ... by which ... ... for the advance of civilisation, and incalculable benefits ... ... promised to some ... of human beings degraded by superstition and barbarism. And, ... the ... a road has been opened, and protection insured, for those engaged in ... ... with the Shan States, where a taste and demand for our manufactures, which will, ... under favourable circumstances, annually increase, has already been exerted by their ... introduction ... ... will penetrate by the circuitous route of Ava, where all our finer cotton ... come into ... ready market, and whence a return can be made in horses, gold, ... and various articles consumed by our native population here, at a profit of from 50 ... 75 per cent.

(signed) *D. Richardson, Surgeon.*

EAST
(McLEOD' ANI
JOUR
'S

COPY of
Captain g to the Route of
Fron , from *Moulmein* to the
Dr and to the Route of
S n his Fourth Mission to the
s of *Burma*, or Extracts from

(*Mr. Somerset Beaumont*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*
10 August 1869.

[*Price* 2 *s.* 6 *d.*]

420. *Under* 16 *o.*

EAST INDIA (DESPATCH No. 30).—EAST INDIA (TREATIES, &c.).—EAST INDIA (NAWAB NAZIM).

RETURN to Three Addresses of The Honourable the House of Commons, dated 11 April, 3 May, and 9 May 1870;—*for*,

(ADDRESS, 11 April 1870)

"COPY of DESPATCH, No. 30, of the 17th day of June 1864, from the Secretary of State for *India* in Council to the Viceroy and Governor General of *India* in Council."

(*Mr. Bagwell.*)

(ADDRESS, 3 May 1870.)

"COPIES of TRANSLATION of the TREATY made with Admiral *Watson*, Colonel *Clive*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Watts*, Major *Kilpatrick*, and Mr. *Beecher*, and signed by Meer Jaffir Ali Khan, dated June 1757;"

"Of TREATY between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Sujah-ul-Mulk, Hossain-o-Dowlah, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahadur, Mahabut Jung, dated the 10th day of July 1763;"

"Of DEMANDS made on the part of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Kawn to the Governor and Council at the time of signing the above Treaty, dated the 10th day of July 1763;"

"Of Nawab Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ally Khan's Note for the Expenses of the Army, dated the 16th day of September 1764;"

"Of TREATY concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowlah, dated the 20th and 25th days of February 1765;"

"Of AGREEMENT between the Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowlah and the English East India Company, dated the 30th day of September 1765;"

"Of TREATY between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Syef-ul-Dowlah;"

"And, of TREATY between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the East India Company, and Nawab Mobarruk-ul-Dowlah, dated the 21st day of March 1770."

(*Mr. Eykyn.*)

(ADDRESS, 9 May 1870.)

"COPIES or EXTRACTS from the DESPATCH forwarded by the Court of Directors of the late East India Company to the Governor of *Calcutta*, Mr. *Cartier*, dated the 10th day of April 1771, so far as the same Despatch relates to the Family or Affairs of the NAWAB NAZIM;"

"And, of Mr. *Cartier's* Letter to which such Despatch was a Reply."

(*Mr. Haviland Burke.*)

India Office,
12 May 1870.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political and Secret Departments.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
21 *July* 1870.

CONTENTS.

EAST INDIA (DESPATCH No. 30).

PAGE.

Despatch, No. 30, of the 17th day of June 1864, from the Secretary of State for India in Council to the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council - - - 3

EAST INDIA (TREATIES, &c.).

Translation of the Treaty made with Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, Mr. Drake, Mr. Watts, Major Kilpatrick, and Mr. Beecher, and signed by Meer Jaffir Ali Khan, dated June 1757 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 7

Treaty between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Sujah-ul-Mulk, Hossain-o-Dowlah, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahadur, Mahabut Jung, dated the 10th day of July 1763 - - - 8

Demands made on the part of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Kawn to the Governor and Council at the time of signing the above Treaty, dated the 10th day of July 1763 - 10

Nawab Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ally Khan's Note for the Expenses of the Army, dated the 16th day of September 1764 - - - - - - - - - - - - - 11

Treaty concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowlah, dated the 20th and 25th days of February 1765 - - - - - - - - - - - - - - 11

Agreement between the Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowlah and the English East India Company, dated the 30th day of September 1765 - - - - - - - - - - - 13

Treaty between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Syef-ul-Dowlah - - - - - - - - 14

Treaty between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the East India Company, and Nawab Mobarruk-ul-Dowlah, dated the 21st day of March 1770 - - 15

EAST INDIA (NAWAB NAZIM).

Extracts from the Despatch forwarded by the Court of Directors of the late East India Company to the Governor of Calcutta, Mr. Cartier, dated the 10th day of April 1771, so far as the same Despatch relates to the family or affairs of the Nawab Nazim; and of Mr. Cartier's Letter to which such Despatch was a reply - - - - - - - 17

EAST INDIA (DESPATCH No. 30).

COPY of DESPATCH, No. 30, of the 17th day of June 1864, from the Secretary of State for *India* in Council to the Viceroy and Governor General of *India* in Council.

(Political, No. 30.)

To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of *India* in Council.

India Office, 17 June 1864.

1. THE Letters of the late Governor General and Viceroy, dated 24th September, No. 66A and 66B, 1863,* terminate a long series of official papers, received from your Government during the last two years, relating to the affairs of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal.

* Also Foreign Letters,—
8th May (No. 40) 1861.
22nd January (No. 19) 1862.
22nd February (No. 29) 1862.

2. All the correspondence necessary to the formation of a correct opinion with respect to the several questions which they illustrate having now been received, I proceed to communicate to you the views of Her Majesty's Government.

3. The Nawab Nazim having addressed to me more than one memorial, in which he claims the recognition by the British Government of certain rights, powers, and privileges, which he alleges to belong to him and to his family under treaty or other engagements, it is necessary that I should review all the circumstances of his Highness's position.

4. The present Nawab, Munsoor Ali Khan, styled the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, is admitted to be a decendent of Meer Jaffier Ali, who when the East India Company were first invested with the Dewanee of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, was at the head of the Nizamut of those Provinces, which he had attained through the influence and assistance of the British Government. A firman of the Emperor of Delhi made it one of the conditions of the grant of the Dewanee that provision should be made "for the expenses of the Nizamut," that is, that a part of the revenues of those provinces should be appropriated to the payment of the department of the administration distinguished by that official name. But subsequently, by special arrangements, the Company undertook to perform the duties of the Nizamut, and made provision for its expenses by paying their own servants to do the work which had before been done by the servants of the Nazim. The office of the Nizamut being thus practically abolished, and its duties merged into the general administration of the country, the stipulation of the Imperial Firman ceased with the objects for which it was intended to provide. I am of opinion, therefore, that the family of the Nawab Nazim of Bengal have, under the Firman of Shah Allum, no claim upon the British Government.

5. But the administrative duties of the Nizamut having been transferred to the Company, a personal provision was made for the family of the Nazim. It was right that every consideration should be shown to the sons of Meer Jaffier Ali, though they were not called upon, after the death of the eldest Nujum-ood-Dowlah, to discharge the high official duties of the Soobadar or Viceroy of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Accordingly, treaties were entered into with the younger princes, Syef-ul-Dowlah and Moobaruk-ul-Dowlah successively, by which the Company undertook to secure to them the Soobardaree of the Provinces of Bengal, &c., and to pay them a certain "annual stipend." In each of

these treaties,* the Nawab expressly indicated himself as the person to whom these advantages are to accrue, and I cannot perceive that, in either case, the Nawab who was party to the treaty had any regard to other interests than his own. It is true that, at the end of the Treaty of 1766, the Nawab Syef-ul-Dowlah says, "this agreement (by the blessing of God) I hope will be inviolably observed as long as the English factories continue in Bengal;" and that the Nawab Moobarak-ul-Dowlah says, "that this agreement (by the blessing of God) shall be inviolably observed." But as the agreement in both cases was of a specifically personal character, it appears to me that the intention was to secure the strict observance of the treaties during the lives of the persons interested, that is to say, that they should last as long as the objects for which they were intended to provide. The treaty obligations, therefore, of the British Government ceased in both instances with the life of the other party to the treaty; and that this was practically acknowledged at the time is evident from the fact that the amount of stipend payable to the Nawab was revised upon the death of Syef-ul-Dowlah, with the full consent of his successor, a proof that the previous treaty was not considered to confer any hereditary rights. And if the Treaty of 1766 was not an hereditary treaty, that character cannot be claimed for the Treaty of 1770, which was couched in the same general terms. I concur, therefore, in opinion with your Excelleney's Government, that under these treaties, the Nawab Nazim of Bengal has no acquired rights.

* Treaty of 1766. To me, Syef-ul-Dowlah, the annual stipend, &c. Treaty of 1770. To me, Moobaruk-ul-Dowlah, the annual stipend, &c.

6. In 1772, by an order of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, passed on a review of the proceedings of the Bengal Government upon the accession of Moobaruk-ul-Dowlah, and of the treaty concluded with him by the Indian Government, the stipend of the Nawab Nazim was fixed at the annual amount of 16 lacs of rupees. No treaties of a later date than 1770 were entered into with the descendants of Meer Jaffier, but, on the occasion of each succession, the member of the house entitled to succeed by Mahomedan Law has been recognised by the British Government as Nawab Nazim, and the stipend of 16 lacs of rupees has continued to be appropriated to the benefit of the Nazim and other members of the family. By whatsoever terms, strictly defined, the Nawab Nazim may hold the titles and privileges which he now enjoys, it is obvious to me that they could not be interfered with or altered, during good conduct, without a violation of the spirit, at least, of the assurances which have been given to him by our Government, and a departure from the whole tenure of our transactions with him during a long course of years. I perceive with satisfaction, therefore, that your Government have no intention of disturbing subsisting arrangements for the pecuniary provision of the Nawab Nazim and his family, and the maintenance of the titular dignity of his Highness.

7. It appears that the personal allowance of the Nawab Nazim himself is about seven lacs of rupees, that, from the remaining nine lacs, provision is made for other members of the family, and that the balance goes to the formation of an accumulating fund, known as the "Nizomut Deposit Fund." It is unnecessary to trace further the history of this fund. Its accumulations, representing, as they do, the unappropriated portions from year to year of the 16 lacs stipend, unquestionably belong to the Nazim and his family, and can properly be expended only for their benefit. But this does not confer upon the Nazim himself any right to dispose, or to superintend the disposal, of these balances. This right belongs to the Government, under the conditions upon which the fund was constituted. It was assumed, in the first instance, mainly for the benefit and protection of the Nazim and his family; and I am of opinion that it is to the advantage of his Highness and his family that this system should be maintained. At the same time, it would seem to be desirable, and I believe, that, to some extent, it has been the practice, in past time, for your Government, through the Agent at Moorshedabad, occasionally to consult the Nazim with respect to any extraordinary expenditure from the Nizamut Fund.

8. It has always been the desire of Her Majesty's Government that a liberal view should be taken of the claims of the family of the Nazim, in respect to the appropriation of the accumulations in the Deposit Fund to objects calculated to advance their happiness and to support their dignity. To this end, in my Despatch of the 7th of July 1859, I authorised an advance of four lacs of rupees from

from the Deposit Fund for the payment of the Nawab Nazim's debts, leaving it to the discretion of the Government whether this sum should be a loan, to be repaid by instalments, or a substantive grant for the above purpose. In the same Despatch I requested that the decision upon this point might be communicated to Her Majesty's Government at the earliest convenience of the Governor General in Council, and that the money might be paid to the Nawab Nazim without any further delay. But I regret that I have not received from your Government any communication whatsoever on the subject, and I cannot ascertain that the money has ever been advanced in any shape; I desire, therefore, to be informed whether anything was done in consequence of these instructions.

9. In connection with this question of the administration of the Nizamut Funds, I may here consider the object of the claim advanced by the Nawab Nazim to appoint and dismiss his Dewan at pleasure. If the Dewan, over whom this absolute authority has been claimed, were charged with the administration only of his Highness's own share of the stipend, or if the Nawab Nizam had established his right to exercise control over the Deposit Fund, his claim with respect to the appointment and dismissal of the Dewan might be tenable. But the Dewan has hitherto administered both his Highness's personal stipend and the general financial affairs of the Nizamut, including both the distribution of the separate stipends of other members of the family and the management of the Deposit Fund, which has been ruled to be under Government control. It was necessary, therefore, that the Government which was responsible for the administration of the Fund, and was bound to maintain the rights and interests of those in whose favour it had deemed it necessary to interfere, should have authority over the appointment of the minister charged with the executive details. Practically, it appears to have been the custom for the Government and the Nawab Nazim, in communication with each other, to appoint or dismiss a Dewan, and as the official salary was paid from his Highness's stipend, it was doubtless right that he should be consulted. But inconvenience has resulted from this arrangement. The Nawab, presuming upon the fact that the Dewan has been officially styled the "Dewan of the Nawab Nazim," took upon himself summarily to dismiss the Dewan, Rajah Prosunno Narain Deb, and to place the financial administration in the hands of his own sons. In consequence of this act, you have appointed the Rajah Dewan of the Nizamut, and charged the Deposit Fund with the payment of his salary, and you have communicated to the Nazim that the Government have no desire to interfere between him and his servants, or with his manner of expending his own personal share of the Nizamut allowances, and that he may appoint a Dewan for the management of his own personal affairs. This very obvious arrangement is well calculated to meet the existing difficulty, and to prevent the recurrence of similar conflicts; but it is worthy of the consideration of your Excellency's Government whether, for the more effectual prevention of future misunderstanding, it might not be desirable to confer upon the officer acting upon the part of the Government a wholly different official designation.

10. But although the Nawab Nazim, apparently influenced by evil advisers, both European and Native, has, in summarily dismissing his Dewan, acted in a disrespectful manner towards your Government, I am not without hope that, by the exertions of your present Agent at Moorshedabad, he may yet be brought to a better state of mind, and express regret for his past conduct. It is not to be forgotten that, during the period of the mutiny of the Bengal Army, the conduct of his Highness was marked by loyalty and fidelity to the British Government, and that, as far as lay in his power, he rendered assistance to the authorities of the district. I would not, therefore, on account of what I hope may be regarded as an exceptional departure from his ordinary behaviour towards your Government, deprive him of any of the dignities or privileges of his position, among the most highly prized of which is the appointment of a British officer of rank to be the channel of his communications with your Government.

11. But whilst Her Majesty's Government are desirous that, unless the future conduct of the Nawab Nazim should call for such a measure upon your part, his Highness should not be deprived of any of the honours and privileges of

which he is now in the enjoyment, they are, at the same time, of opinion that it would be inexpedient to restore to him those of which he was deprived in 1854, by a special legislative enactment, in consequence of an outrage which was considered at the time by the Government, both in India and in England, to have been attended with a large amonnt of culpability on the part of the Nazim. Her Majesty's Government cannot consent to the restoration of exclusive privileges of this description, the existence of which has been found, from experience, to be inconvenient and liable to abuse. His Highness's salute, which was at the same time reduced, has now been again replaced on its original footing, in consequence of his loyalty and good conduct during the mutiny; but he must be informed that Act No. XXVII. of 1854 can on no account be repealed.

12. It appears to have been the intention of your Government to leave the adjustment of future relations with the family of the Nawab Nazim until the necessity shall actually arise. But I am of opinion that it is advisable that the future position of the Nawab Nazim's sons should be fixed and defined with as little delay as possible, in order that the young men may be made acquainted with the status which they are to hold after the death of the present Nawab whilst they are yet sufficiently young to form habits adapted to the circumstances in which they may be placed. With reference to this consideration, Her Majesty's Government desire to be put in possession of the views of your Excellency in Council with respect to the future provision to be made for the Nazim's family. Your Excellency is aware that this Government are fully sensible of the inconvenience of perpetuating, in this or in any other family, a line of titled stipendaries, without power and responsibility, and without salutary employment conducive to their happiness and their respectability. It would seem to be the desire of the Nazim that his sons should be trained to useful occupations, and I should be glad, therefore, to learn from your Excellency's Government whether, in your opinion, any arrangements can be made to place these young noblemen in an honourable position, enabling them to become useful members of society, before they are so moulded to habits of idleness as to render it difficult, if not impossible, to make a favourable impression upon them. It is possible that the accumulations in the Deposit Fund may, in some manner, be so employed as to form, to a certain extent, a permanent endowment for some members of the family, and, at the same time, to supply those incentives to exertion which cannot exist in the case of mere Government stipendaries.

13. In conclusion, I have only to observe that I concur in opinion with your Excellency's Government, that the extent of this correspondence is out of all proportion to the magnitude of the interests involved. Much of it relates to matters of a vexatious, and in some respects frivolous, character, and I cannot but regret that so much of the time of the Government, both of India and Bengal, has been expended in such unprofitable discussions. I trust, however, that your Excellency, by endeavouring to remove, as far as can be done consistently with the public interests, all causes of irritation, especially in connection with small matters, from the mind of the Nawab Nazim, will soon be able to place your relations with his Highness on a more satisfactory footing.

14. I cannot close this Despatch without referring to the terms in which the Nawab Nazim has adverted to the circumstances under which the arrears, accumulated during his minority, were dissipated upon his becoming of age. The statement of those circumstances in the Despatch of the Government of India, dated 5th May 1854, has not satisfied me that his Highness had not good ground of complaint against the Agent, by whose proceedings so large a sum was placed in jeopardy and ultimately lost. Had those circumstances been more early known to your Government, they would, as observed in the Despatch referred to, have called for a strict and searching inquiry, but the decease of Mr. Torrens, the Agent in question, having precluded such an inquiry at the time, I am reluctantly driven to the conclusion at which you have arrived, that no benefit will arise from reopening the consideration of that subject.

I have, &c.
(signed) *C. Wood.*

EAST INDIA (TREATIES, &c.)

COPIES of TRANSLATION of the TREATY made with Admiral *Watson*, Colonel *Clive*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Watts*, Major *Kilpatrick*, and Mr. *Beecher*, and signed by Meer Jaffir Ali Khan, dated June 1757; of TREATY between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Sujah-ul-Mulk, Hossain-o-Dowlah, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Bahadur, Mahabut Jung, dated the 10th day of July 1763; of DEMANDS made on the part of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Cawn to the Governor and Council at the time of signing the above Treaty, dated the 10th day of July 1763; of Nawab Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ally Khan's Note for the Expenses of the Army, dated the 16th day of September 1764; of TREATY concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowlah, dated the 20th and 25th days of February 1765; of AGREEMENT between the Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowlah and the English East India Company, dated the 30th day of September 1765; of TREATY between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company, and the Nabob Syef-ul-Dowlah; and, of TREATY between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the East India Company, and Nawab Mobarruk-ul-Dowlah, dated the 21st day of March 1770.

TREATY with JAFFIER ALLY KHAN.

* *I swear by God, and the Prophet of God, to abide by the Terms of this Treaty whilst I have life.*

Meer Mahomed
Jaffier Khan Behauder,
servant of
King Aalum Geer.

TREATY made with the Admiral and Colonel *Clive* (Sabut Jung Behauder), Governor *Drake*, and Mr. *Watts*.

Article 1. Whatever articles were agreed upon in the time of peace with the Nabob Serajah Dowla Moonsoor-ul-Mulck Shah Kuly Khan Behauder, Hybut Jung, I agree to comply with.

Article 2. The enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

Article 3. All the effects and factories belonging to the French, in the provinces of Bengal (the paradise of nations), Behar and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three Provinces.

Article 4.

* These words were written in his own hand.

Article 4. In consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta, by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by the maintenance of the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.

Article 5. For the effects plundered from the English inhabitants of Calcutta, I agree to give 50 lakhs of rupees.

Article 6. For the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Mussulmans, and other subjects of Calcutta, 20 lakhs of rupees shall be given.

Article 7. For the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven lakhs of rupees. The distribution of the sums allotted the natives, English inhabitants, Gentoos, and Mussulmans, shall be left to the Admiral, and Colonel Clive (Sabut Jung Behauder), and the rest of the council, to be disposed of by them to whom they think proper.

Article 8. Within the ditch, which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to several zemindars; besides this I will grant the English company 600 yards without the ditch.

Article 9. All the land lying to the south of Calcutta, as far as Culpee, shall be under the zemindary of the English company; and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by them (the company) in the same manner with other zemindars.

Article 10. Whenever I demand the English assistance, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of them.

Article 11. I will not erect any new fortifications below the Hooghly, near the River Ganges.

Article 12. As soon as I am established in the Government of the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

Dated the 15th Ramzan, in the fourth year of the reign.

ADDITIONAL ARTICLE.

Article 13. On condition that Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder shall solemnly ratify, confirm by oath, and execute all the above Articles, which the underwritten, on behalf of the honourable East India Company, do, declaring on the Holy Gospels and before God, that we will assist Meer Jaffier Khan Behauder with all our force, to obtain the Soubahship of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and further, that we will assist him to the utmost against all his enemies whatever, as soon as he calls upon us for that end; provided that he, on his coming to be Nabob, shall fulfil the aforesaid Articles.*

ARTICLES of a TREATY and AGREEMENT between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company and the Nabob Sujah-ul-Mulck, Hossam-ô-Dowla, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Behauder, Mahabut Jung, 1763.

Company's large Seal.	The Seal of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Behauder, Mahabut Jung, &c.

On the part of the Company.

We engage to reinstate the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Behauder in the

* This article was not transmitted from India to the Company, but is to be found in the 12th page of the Appendix to the Dutch Memoria, and as there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of it, it is subjoined to the Treaty with the Nabob Meer Jaffier.

the Soubahdarry of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, by the disposal of Meer Mahomed Kossim Khan; and the effects, treasure, and jewels, &c. belonging to Meer Mahomed Kossim Khan, which shall fall into our hands, shall be delivered up to the Nabob aforenamed.

On the part of the Nabob.

Article 1. The Treaty which I formerly concluded with the Company upon my accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company, their Governor and Council, as my own, granting perwannahs for the currency of the Company's business; the same treaty I now confirm and ratify.

Article 2. I do grant and confirm to the Company for defraying the expenses of their troops, the Chucklas of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, which were before ceded for the same purpose.

Article 3. I do ratify and confirm to the English the privilege granted them by their Firmaund and several Husbulhookums, of carrying on their trade by the means of their own dustuck, free from all duties, taxes, or impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which a duty of 2½ per cent. is to be levied on the rowana, or Hooghly market price.

Article 4. I give to the Company half the saltpetre which is produced in the country of Purnea, which their Gomastahs shall send to Calcutta. The other half shall be collected by my Fouzdar, for the use of my offices; and I will suffer no other person to make purchases of this article in that country.

Article 5. In the Chuckla of Sylhet, for the space of five years, commencing with the Bengal year 1170, my Fouzdar and the Company's Gomastah shall jointly prepare chunam, of which each shall defray half the expenses; and half the chunam so made shall be given to the Company, and the other half shall be for my use.

Article 6. I will maintain 12,000 horse and 12,000 foot in the three Provinces. If there should be occasion for any more, the number shall be increased by consent of the Governor and Council, proportionably to the emergency: besides these, the force of the English Company shall always attend me when they are wanted.

Article 7. Wherever I shall fix my court, either at Moorshedabad or elsewhere, I will advise the Governor and Council; and what number of English forces I may have occasion for in the management of my affairs, I will demand them, and they shall be allowed me, and an English gentleman shall reside with me, to transact all affiairs between me and the Company, and a person shall also reside on my part at Calcutta to negotiate with the Governor and Council.

Article 8. The late Perwannahs issued by Kossim Ally Khan, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

Article 9. I will cause the rupees coined in Calcutta to pass in every respect equal to the siccas of Moorshedabad, without any deduction of batta; and whosoever shall demand batta shall be punished.

Article 10. I will give 30 lakhs of rupees to defray all the expenses and loss accruing to the Company from the war and stoppage of their investment; and I will reimburse to all private persons the amount of such losses, proved before the Governor and Council, as they may sustain in their trade in the country. If I should not be able to discharge this in ready money, I will give assignments of land for the amount.

Article 11. I will confirm and renew the treaty which I formerly made with the Dutch.

Article 12. If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to

erect any fortifications, maintain forces, hold lands, zemindarries, &c., but they shall pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times.

Article 13. Some regulations shall be hereafter settled between us for deciding all disputes which may arise between the English agents and Gomastahs, in the different parts of the country, and my officers.

In testimony whereof, we, the said Governor and Council, have set our hands and affixed the seal of the Company to one part hereof; and the Nabob aforenamed hath set his hand and seal to another part hereof; which were mutually done and interchanged at Fort William, the 10th day of July 1763.

(signed) *Henry Vansittart.*
John Carnac.
William Billers.
Warren Hastings.
Randolph Marriott.
Hugh Watts.

DEMANDS made on the part of the Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan, and agreed to by the Council, at the time of signing the Treaty.

Article 1. I formely acquainted the Company with the particulars of my own affairs, and received from them repeated letters of encouragement and kindness, with presents; I now make this request, that you will write in a proper manner to the Company, and also to the King of England, the particulars of our friendship and union, and procure for me writings and encouragement, that my mind may be assured from that quarter, that no breach may ever happen between me and the English, and that every Governor, Counsellor, and Chiefs of the English that are here, or may hereafter come, may be well disposed and attached to me.

Article 2. Since all the English gentlemen, assured of my friendly disposition to the Company, confirm me in the Nizamut, I request that to whatever I may at any time write, they will give their credit and assent, nor regard the stories of designing men to my prejudice, that all my affairs may go on with success, and no occasion may arise for jealousy or ill-will between us.

Article 3. Let no protection be given by any of the English gentlemen to any of my dependents, who may fly for shelter to Calcutta, or other of your districts, but let them be delivered up to me on demand. I shall strictly enjoin all my Fouzdars and Aumils, on all accounts to afford assistance and countenance to such of the Gomastahs of the Company as attend to the lawful trade of their factories; and if any of the said Gomastahs shall act otherwise, let them be checked in such a manner as may be an example to others.

Article 4. From the neighbourhood of Calcutta to Hooghly, and many of their Pergunnahs bordering upon each other, it happens, that, on complaints being made, people go against the talookdars, ryots, and tenants of my town, to the prejudice of the business of the Circar; wherefore let strict orders be given that no peons be sent from Calcutta, on the complaints of any one, upon my talookdars or tenants; but on such occasions let application be made to me, or to the Naibs of the Fouzdarry of Hooghly, that the country may be subject to no loss or devastations; and if any of the traders, which belong to the Bucksbunder and Azimgunge, and have settled in Calcutta, should be desirous of returning to Hooghly, and carrying on their business there as formerly, let no one molest them. Changernagore and the French factory were presented to me by Colonel Clive, and given by me in charge to Ameer Beg Khan; for this reason let strict orders be given that no English gentleman exercise any authority therein, but that it remain, as formerly, under the jurisdiction of my people.

Article 5.

Article 5. Whenever I may demand any forces from the Governor and Council for my assistance, let them be immediately sent to me, and no demand made on me for their expenses.

The demands of Nabob Shujah-ul-Mulck, Hossam-ô-Dowla, Meer Mahomed Jaffier Khan Behauder, Mahabut Jung, written in five Articles, We, the President and Council of the English Company, do agree and set our hands to, in Fort William, the 10th of July 1763.

(signed) *Henry Vansittart.*
William Billers.
John Cartier.
Warren Hastings.
Randolph Marriott.
Hugh Watts.

Nabob Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ally Khan's Note for Five Lakhs of Rupees per month, for the expenses of the Army, 1764.

Account of money settled for the expenses of the Europeans and Sepoys, the Artillery, and raising of the Cavalry, which shall be paid a month sooner or later, according to the particulars undermentioned, from the beginning of the month Sophar (31st of July 1764) of the 5th year of the reign, till the removal of the troubles with the Vizier, viz :

In the Province of Bengal, at Moorshedabad -	3,00,000
In the Province of Behar, at Patna - - -	2,00,000
Total, *Rs.* - -	5,00,000

Written the 19th of Rabbi-ul-Awul, the 5th Year of the Jaloos, 16th September 1764.

N.B.—I will include in the aforesaid sum whatever balance may be due from me on account of my former agreement with the Company.

Articles of a Treaty and Agreement concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company and the Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowla.

On the part of the Company.

We, the Governor and Council, do engage to secure to the Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowla, the Soubahdarry of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and to support him therein in the Company's forces against all his enemies. We will also, at all times, keep up such force as may be necessary effectually to assist and support him in the defence of the Provinces; and as our troops will be more to be depended on than any the Nabob can have, and less expensive to him, he need therefore entertain none but such as are requisite for the support of the civil officers of his government, and the business of his collections through the different districts.

We do further promise, that in consideration the Nabob shall continue to assist in defraying the extraordinary expenses of the war, now carrying on against Shujah-ul-Dowla, with five lakhs of rupees per month, which was agreed to by his father; whatever sums may be hereafter received of the King, on account of our assistance afforded him in the war, shall be repaid to the Nabob.

On the part of the Nabob.

In consideration of the assistance the Governor and Council have agreed to afford, in securing to me the succession in the Soubahdarry of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, heretofore held by my father, the late Nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khan,

and supporting me in it against all my enemies, I do agree and bind myself to the faithful performance of the following Articles:

Article 1. The Treaty which my father formerly concluded with the Company upon his first accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company and of their Governor and Council as his own, and granting perwannahs for the currency of the Company's trade, the same Treaty, as far as is consistent with the Articles hereafter agreed to, I do hereby ratify and confirm.

Article 2. Considering the weighty charge of Government, and how essential it is for myself, for the welfare of the country, and for the Company's business, that I should have a person who has had experience therein to advise and assist me, I do agree to have one fixed with me, with the advice of the Governor and Council, in the station of Naib Soubah, who shall accordingly have immediately under me the chief management of all affairs: and as Mahomed Reza Khan, the Naib of Dacca, has in every respect my approbation and that of the Governor and Council, I do further agree that this trust shall be conferred on him, and I will not displace him without the acquiescence of those gentlemen; and in case any alteration in this appointment should hereafter appear advisable, that Mahomed Reza Khan, provided he has acquitted himself with fidelity in his administration, shall in such case be reinstated in the Naibship of Dacca, with the same authority as heretofore.

Article 3. The business of the collection of the revenues shall, under the Naib Soubah, be divided into two or more branches, as may appear proper; and as I have the fullest dependence and confidence on the attachment of the English and their regard to my interest and dignity, and am desirous of giving them every testimony thereof, I do further consent, with the appointment and dismission of the Muttaseddees of those branches, and the allotment of their several districts, shall be with the approbation of the Governor and Council; and, considering how much men of my rank and station are obliged to trust to the eyes and recommendations of the servants about them, and how liable to be deceived, it is my further will that the Governor and Council shall be at liberty to object and point out to me when improper people are entrusted, or where my officers and subjects are oppressed, and I will pay proper regard to such representations, that my affairs may be conducted with honour, my people every where be happy, and their grievances be redressed.

Atrticle 4. I do confirm to the Company, as a fixed resource, for defraying the ordinary expenses of their troops, the Chucklas of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong, in as full a manner as heretofore ceded by my father. The sum of five lakhs of sicca rupees per month for their maintenance was further agreed to be paid by my father; I agree to pay the same out of my treasury, while the exigency for keeping up so large an army continues. When the Company's occasions will admit of a diminution of the expenses they are put to on account of those troops, the Governor and Council will then relieve me from such a proportion of this assignment, as the increased expenses incurred by keeping up the whole force necessary for the defence of the Provinces will admit of; and as I esteem the Company's troops entirely equal thereto and as my own, I will only maintain such as are immediately necessary for the dignity of my person and government, and the business of my collections throughout the Provinces.

Article 5. I do ratify and confirm to the English the privilege granted to them by their Firmaund and several Husbulhookums of carrying on their trade by means of their own dustuck, free from all duties, taxes, or impositions, in all parts of the country, excepting in the article of salt, on which a duty of 2½ per cent. is to be levied on the rowana or Hooghly market price.

Article 6. I give to the Company the liberty of perchasing half the saltpetre produced in the country of Purnea, which their Gomastahs shall send to Calcutta; the other half shall be collected by my Fouzdar for the use of my offices; and I will suffer no other persons to make purchases of this article in that country.

Article 7. In the Chuckla of Sylhet, for the space of five years, commencing with

with the Bengal year 1171, my Fouzdar and a Gomastah on the part of the Company shall jointly provide chunam, of which each shall defray half the expense, and half the chunam so made shall be given to the Company.

Article 8. Although I should occasionally remove to other places in the Provinces, I agree that the books of the Circar shall be always kept, and the business conducted at Moorshedabad, and that shall, as heretofore, be the seat of my government; and wherever I am, I consent that an English gentleman shall reside with me to transact all affairs between me and the Company, and that a person of high rank shall also reside on my part at Calcutta to negotiate with the Governor and Council.

Article 9. I will cause the rupees coined in Calcutta to pass in every respect equal to the siccas of Moorshedabad, without any deduction of batta; and whosoever shall demand batta shall be punished. The annual loss on coinage, by the fall of batta on the issuing of the new siccas, is a very heavy grievance to the country; and, after mature consideration, I will, in concert with the Governor and Council, pursue whatever may appear the best method for remedying it.

Article 10. I will allow no Europeans whatever to be entertained in my service, and if there already be any, they shall be immediately dismissed.

Article 11. The kistbundee for payment of the restitution to the sufferers in the late troubles, as executed by my father, I will see faithfully paid. No delays shall be made in this business.

Article 12. I confirm and will abide by the Treaty which my father formerly made with the Dutch.

Article 13. If the French come into the country, I will not allow them to erect any fortifications, maintain forces, or hold lands, zemindarries, &c., but they shall pay tribute, and carry on their trade as in former times.

Article 14. Some regulations shall be hereafter settled between us for deciding all disputes which may arise between the English Gomastahs and my officers, in the different parts of the country.

In testimony whereof, we, the said Governor and Council, have set our hands, and affixed the seal of the Company to one part hereof; and the Nabob before-named hath set his hand and seal to another part.

(A true copy).

(signed) *W. Majendie*, Secretary.

Mem.—This Treaty was executed by the President and Council of Fort William, on the 20th February 1765, and by the Nabob, on the 25th of the same month.

AGREEMENT between the Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowlah and the Company.

THE King having been graciously pleased to grant to the English Company the Dewanny of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, with the revenues thereof, as a free gift for ever, on certain conditions, whereof one is, that there shall be a sufficient allowance out of the said revenues for supporting the expenses of the Nizamut; be it known to all whom it may concern, that I do agree to accept of the annual sum of sicca *Rs.* 53,86,131. 9, as an adequate allowance for the support of the Nizamut, which is to be regularly paid as follows; viz., the sum of *Rs.* 17,78,854. 1, for all my household expenses, servants, &c., and the remaining sum of *Rs.* 36,07,277. 8, for the maintenance of such horse, Sepoys, peons, bercandauzes, &c., as may be thought necessary for my suwarry and the support

of my dignity only, should such an expense hereafter be found necessary to be kept up, but on no account ever to exceed that amount: and having a perfect reliance on ul-Mean-Dowla, I desire he may have the disbursing of the above sum of *Rs.* 36,07,277. 8, for the purposes before mentioned. This Agreement, (by the blessing of God) I hope will be inviolably observed, as long as the English Company's factories continue in Bengal.

Fort William, 30th September 1765.

(A true copy).

(signed) *Alexander Campbell*, s.s.c.

ARTICLES of a TREATY and AGREEMENT concluded between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company and the Nabob Syef-ul-Dowla.

On the part of the Company.

We, the Governor and Council, do engage to secure to the Nabob Syef-ul-Dowla, the Soubahdarry of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and to support him therein with the Company's forces against all his enemies.

On the part of the Nabob.

Article 1. The Treaty which my father formerly concluded with the Company upon his first accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company and of the Governor and Council as his own, and that entered into with my brother, Nabob Nazim-ul-Dowla, the same Treaties, as far as is consistent with the true spirit, intent, and meaning, thereof, I do hereby ratify and confirm.

Article 2. The King has been graciously pleased to grant unto the English East India Company the Dewannyship of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, as a free gift for ever; and I, having an entire confidence in them, and in their servants settled in this country, that nothing whatever be proposed or carried into execution by them, derogating from my honour, dignity, interest, and the good of my country, do therefore, for the better conducting the affairs of the Soubahdarry, and promoting my honour and interest, and that of the Company, in the best manner, agree that the protecting the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and the force sufficient for that purpose, be entirely left to their discretion and good management, in consideration of their paying the King Shah Aalum, by monthly payments, as by treaty agreed on, the sum of *Rs.* 2,16,666. 10. 9.; and to me, Syef-ul-Dowla the annual stipend of *Rs.* 41,86,131. 9, viz., the sum of *Rs.* 17,78,854. 1., for my house, servants, and other expenses indispensably necessary; and the remaining sum of *Rs.* 24,07,277. 8. for the support of such sepoys, peons, and bercundauzes as may be thought proper for my suwarry only; but on no account ever to exceed that amount.

Article 3. The Nabob Minauh Dowla, who was, at the instance of the Governor and Gentlemen of the Council, appointed Naib of the Provinces, and invested with the management of affairs, in conjuction with Maha Rajah Doolubram, and Juggat Seat, shall continue in the same post and with the same authority; and having a perfect confidence in him, I moreover agree to let

let him have the disbursing of the above sum of *Rs.* 24,07,277. 8. for the purposes above mentioned.

This agreement (by the blessing of God) I hope will be inviolably observed, as long as the English Company's factories continue in Bengal.

Dated this 19th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1766.

(signed)	*W. B. Sumner.*	*Claud Russell.*
	H. Verelst.	*W. Aldersey.*
	Randolph Marriott.	*Thomas Kelsall.*
	H. Watts.	*Charles Floyer.*

TREATY with MOBAREK-UL-DOWLA.

The Company's Seal.

(Signed) *E. Baber*, Secretary.

ARTICLES of a TREATY and AGREEMENT between the Governor and Council of Fort William, on the part of the English East India Company and the Nabob Mobarek-ul-Dowla, dated 21st March 1770.

On the part of the Company.

We, the Governor and Council, do engage to secure to the Nabob Mobarek-ul-Dowla the Soubahdarry of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and to support him therein with the Company's forces against all his enemies.

On the part of the Nabob.

Article 1. The Treaty which my father formerly concluded with the Company upon his first accession to the Nizamut, engaging to regard the honour and reputation of the Company, and of the Governor and Council as his own, and that entered into with my brothers, the Nabobs Nazim-ul-Dowla and Syef-ul-Dowla, the same Treaties, as far as is consistent with the true spirit, intent, and meaning thereof, I do hereby ratify and confirm.

Article 2. The King has been graciously pleased to grant unto the English East India Company the Dewannyship of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, as a free gift for ever; and I, having an entire confidence in them and in their servants settled in this country, that nothing whatever be proposed or carried into execution by them derogating from my honour, interest, and the good of my country, do therefore, for the better conducting the affairs of the Soubahdarry, and promoting my honour and interest and that of the Company, in the best manner, agree that the protecting the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and the force sufficient for that purpose, be entirely left to their discretion and good management, in consideration of their paying the King Shah Aalum, by monthly payments, as by treaty agreed on, the sum of two lakhs, sixteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six rupees, ten annas, and nine pice (*Rs.* 2,16,666. 10. 9.); and to me, Mobarek-ul-Dowla, the annual stipend of thirty-one lakhs, eighty-one thousand, nine hundred and ninety-one rupees, nine annas (*Rs.* 31,81,991. 9.), viz., the sum of fifteen lakhs, eighty-one thousand nine hundred and ninety-one rupees, nine annas (*Rs.* 15,81,991. 9.), for my house, servants, and other expenses, indispensably necessary; and the remaining sum of sixteen lakhs rupees (16,00,000 rupees), for the support of such sepoys, peons,

and bercundauzes as may be thought proper for my suwarry only; but on no account ever to exceed that amount.

Article 3. The Nabob Minauh Dowla, who was, at the instance of the Governor and Gentlemen of the Council, appointed Naib of the Provinces, and invested with the management of affairs, in conjunction with Maha Rajah Doolubram and Juggat Seat, shall continue in the same post, and with the same authority; and, having a perfect confidence in him, I moreover agree to to let him have the disbursing of the above sum of 16 lakhs rupees, for the purposes above mentioned.

This agreement (by the blessing of God) shall be inviolably observed for ever.

Dated this 21st day of March, in the year of our Lord 1770.

(signed) *John Cartier.* *John Reed.*
Richard Becher. *Francis Hare.*
William Aldersey. *Joseph Jekyll.*
Claud Russell. *Thomas Lane.*
Charles Floyer. *Richard Barwell.*

(A true copy).

(signed) *W. Wynne*, Secretary.

EAST INDIA (NAWAB NAZIM).

COPY or EXTRACTS from the DESPATCH forwarded by the Court of Directors of the late East India Company to the Governor of *Calcutta*, Mr. *Cartier*, dated the 10th day of April 1771, so far as the same Despatch relates to the Family or Affairs of the NAWAB NAZIM; and, of Mr. *Cartier's* Letter to which such Despatch was a Reply.

EXTRACT of DESPATCH from the Directors of the East India Company to the Governor of Bengal, dated 16th March 1868.

10. WE heard with concern the death of the Nabob Nudjum-ul-Dowlah, and direct you to tender our compliments of condolence to the present Nabob, Syf-a-Dowlah, and our congratulations on his accession and on his confirmation by the King, with assurance of our approbation of the Treaty entered into with him, and of our inviolable attachment to him and his family.

11. You should have been more minute in the detail of the circumstances attending the Nabob's death, it having been publicly asserted here that he was poisoned. You should also have informed us what family he left, and all the facts relative to his death or the succession of his brother should have been on your records. All the forms of proclamation, and the acknowledgment of his successor should also be recorded, as examples to future times, the observance of such forms being very essential to the stability of Government.

12. As the reduction of the stipend to the Nabob arises from striking off the pay of an unnecessary number of his sepoys, and does not affect the allowance for support of his dignity in the Government, we approve what you have done in it, but we direct you never to reduce the stipend lower, being extremely desirous that he should have sufficient to support his public character, and appear respectable to his subjects and to foreigners.

13. We approve the agreement you made jointly with the Nabob to discharge the debt due from the Government to the Seats. That family, who have suffered so much in our cause, are peculiarly entitled to our protection.

EXTRACT of LETTER from the Select Committee to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company, dated 18th March 1770.

THE sudden demise of the Nabob Syful Dowla, which happened a few days ago, is an event we deem our duty to communicate by the earliest conveyance. A malignant small-pox, which has raged and continues to rage with great violence at Moorshedabad, was the occasion of his death, and the grossness of his habit, joined to the exercise of some intemperence, gave double force to the disorder, and hastened his fate. Mobarek-ul-Dowlah, his younger brother, who is in about the tenth year of his age, being the next in the line of succession, has, by the President and Council, been recognised, and orders have been transmitted to the Resident at the Durbar to assist the Ministers in seating him with the usual formalities on the musnud, which is a measure we hope will

prove the most consistent with your intentions, as well as with the meaning of the 10th paragraph of your general letter of the 16th March 1768, and is also a popular election in the eyes of the Natives.

We are, &c.
(signed) *John Cartier.*
Claud Russell.
Charles Floyer.

EXTRACT of LETTER from the Governor and Council of Bengal to the Directors of the East India Company, dated 25th August 1770.

47. THE Nabob Syful Dowla was, after a few days' illness, carried off by the malignant small-pox, on the 10th March last, about 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

48. The Resident at the durbar immediately informed us of it, and we ordered minute guns to be fired, and every other ceremony to be solemnised, usual on such occasions.

49. As the right of succession had been established by you in the present line of the family, we sent immediate directions for setting the late Nabob's brother, Mobaruk-ul-Dowla, on the musnud. We proclaimed him in Calcutta, and we directed Messrs. Bedur and Aldersey to attend the ceremony at the city, and to assure his Excellency of our support and attachment.

50. The allowances received by his brother were, according to your orders of 16th March 1768, continued to the new Nabob.

51. We likewise drew out a new Treaty to the same purport as that entered into by the late Nabob, and after it was executed, we delivered one copy to his Excellency, another was put into the hands of the Ministers, a third is deposited amongst our archives, and the fourth we send you in this packet.

I have, &c.
(signed) *John Cartier*, &c. &c.

EXTRACT of DESPATCH from the Directors of the East India Company to the Governor and Council of Bengal, dated 10th April 1771.

36. WHEN we advert to the encomiums you have passed on your own abilities and prudence, and on your attention to the Company's interest (in the expostulations you have thought proper to make on our appointment of Commissioners to superintend our general affairs in India), we cannot but observe with astonishment that an event of so much importance as the death of the Nabob Syful Dowlah, and the establishment of a successor in so great a degree of nonage, should not have been attended with those advantages for the Company which such a circumstance offered to your view.

37. We mean not here to disapprove the preserving the succession in the family of Meer Jaffier; on the contrary, both justice and policy recommend a measure which at once corresponds with the customs and inclinations of the people of Bengal; but when we consider the state of the new Soubah, we know not on what grounds it could have been thought necessary to continue to him the stipend allotted to his adult predecessor.

38. Convinced as we are, that an allowance of 16 lacs per annum will be sufficient for the support of the Nabob's state and rank, while yet a minor, we must consider every addition thereto as so much to be wasted on a herd of parasites and sycophants who will continually surround him, or at least to be hoarded up, a consequence still more pernicious to the Company. You are, therefore, during the nonage of the Nabob, to reduce his annual stipend to 16 lacs of rupees; and this we have the greater reason to require, as we find ourselves subjected to the payment of large sums, due from the revenues of the Dewanny

Dewanny before the Company became possessed thereof, on account of the Navy donation, and the arrears of that to the Army; the balance due for restitution to Europeans; Colonel Munro's demand of two lacs, the debt due to Bolackidass; and the annual sum of one lac, for 10 years, which we have agreed to pay to Juggat Seat, all which press on us with such united force that our Treasury will be unable to satisfy these several demands without wounding our commercial interests, and endangering our possessions in Bengal. Being once relieved from this load of incumbrances, the savings we may expect from this reduction will properly become a fund for military exigencies; which fund being solely applicable to the defence of the Provinces, will contribute no less to the Nabob's future benefit than to that of the Company.

39. At a time when every justifiable measure should be adopted for availing the public and the Company of all the advantage we had in prospect from our possession of the Dewanny, we cannot but reflect on the dissipation of a considerable part thereof by the allowances to the Nabob's Ministers.

40. And here we must observe that, how great soever the application of Mahomet Reza Cawn, and his adherence to the Company's interest may have been, his rewards have been more than adequate thereto, and as the business of the collections of our revenues, when they shall have been thoroughly investigated by the supervisors appointed for that purpose, will require little or no assistance from that Minister, we must deem the continuance of his present salary as a waste of those resourses which are become so essentially necessary both for the security of our possessions, and the extension of your investments. It is, therefore, our pleasure that the annual allowance of nine lacs which he has hitherto enjoyed, be no longer continued to him; but as the minority of the Nabob will make it requisite for you to appoint as his guardian a person of experience in the affairs of Government, and of approved attachment to the Company's interests, your choice must rest on Mahomed Reza Cawn; and you are to allow him whilst in that station, a salary of five lacs per annum, which we consider not only as suitable to such station, but as a munificent reward for the services he may render the Company in the execution of his office.

41. The annual allowance to Juggat Seat as assistant to Mahomed Reza Cawn has been a drain on our revenues without the least benefit from his administration, for we are well assured that he has never afforded us a single instance of service. His allowance, therefore, must be immediately struck off. But with regard to Roydoolub, although we cannot expect from him any services equal to his present appointment, yet in consideration of the part he has long held in the affairs of Government, and to his advanced age, we are disposed to continue the salary he now enjoys, but on his death this allowance is not to be given to any person whatever.

42. As the reduction of the Nabob's stipend is adventitious and temporary, we by no means intend, that the commission of 2½ per cent. granted to our servants on our nett territorial revenues should be increased by this alteration, and therefore the former stipend of 36 lacs must still be deducted from the gross amount of those revenues. In like manner, no commission must be drawn on the sums which may be retrenched from the appointments to the Nabob's Ministers.

43. Having already apprised you of the purposes to which we mean to appropriate the savings above mentioned, we have only to direct that when the Navy and Army donations, the debt due to Bolackidass and the stipulated payment to Juggat Seat, shall have been wholly satisfied and reimbursed to us out of the aggregate reductions before mentioned, such further sums as shall arise therefrom are to be applied from time to time to clear the balance unpaid to the claimants of the restitution fund, and the donation of two lacs to Colonel Munro, in such proportions as the respective claims may bear to each other, until the whole shall be discharged, but you are to take notice that the principal only of the sums due from the Circar are to be considered and allowed in the payments here ordered.

EAST INDIA (DESPATCH No. 30).
EAST INDIA (TREATIES, &c.).
EAST INDIA (NAWAB NAZIM).

COPY of DESPATCH, No. 30, of 17 June 1864, from the Secretary of State for *India* in Council to the Viceroy and Governor General of *India* in Council.

(*Mr. Bagwell.*)

COPIES of the TRANSLATION of the TREATY made with Admiral *Watson*, Colonel *Clive*, Mr. *Drake*, Mr. *Watts*, Major *Kilpatrick*, and Mr. *Beecher*, and signed by Meer Jaffir Ali Khan, dated June 1757; &c.

(*Mr. Eykyn.*)

COPIES or EXTRACTS from the DESPATCH forwarded by the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor of *Calcutta*, Mr. *Cartier*, dated 10 April 1771, so far as the same Despatch relates to the Family or Affairs of the NAWAB NAZIM; &c.

(*Mr. Haviland Burke.*)

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic
Society.
CLASS

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
21 *July* 1870.

371.

Under 2 *oz.*

YARKAND (FORSYTH'S MISSION).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons. dated 24 February 1871;—*for,*

"COPY or EXTRACTS of CORRESPONDENCE relating to the MISSION of Mr. *Douglas Forsyth* to *Yarkand*."

India Office,
27 February 1871.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political and Secret Departments.

(No. 6 of 1871.)

Government of India—Foreign Department—Political.

To His Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, K.T., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Duke, Fort William, 11 January 1871

WE have the honour to forward, for the information of Her Majesty's Government, [illegible] papers noted in the margin, (1.) Mr. Forsyth's Report, dated [illegible] Report of his visit to (2.) From Punjab, dated 2nd December 1870, No. 418-1870. (3.) To Punjab, dated 6th January [illegible] Yarkand.

We have, &c.

(signed) *Mayo*
John Strachey.
R. Temple.
A. F. Stephen.
B. H. Ellis.
H. W. Norman.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., on Special Duty, to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab, dated 2nd December 1870.

Sir,

WHEN Mirza Mohamad Shadee, Envoy from the Atalik Ghazee, Ruler of Kashgar and the country known as Eastern Turkestan, had an interview with the Viceroy of India at Calcutta, on the 28th March 1870, he preferred a request, on behalf of his master, that a British Officer might be sent back with him, on a friendly visit to the Court of the Atalik Ghazee, as an evidence of the friendship existing between the two Governments, and with a view to strengthen and cement it.

2. Accordingly, the Foreign Secretary, Mr. C. U. Aitchison, C.S.I., in his No. 5 AP, dated 22nd April 1870, informed you that his Excellency the Viceroy had been pleased to agree to this request, and to appoint me to be employed on the proposed visit, and in accordance with the instructions forwarded for my guidance, I have now the honour to submit a report of my proceedings.

3. My instructions were to go to Yarkund merely on a friendly visit to the Atalik Ghazee, and for the purpose of opening up and giving impulse to the trade with that country. The visit was not in any sense a mission, and had no political objects. I was ordered so to arrange my stay in the country that I should run no risk of finding the passes closed by the winter's snows, and thus of being detained in Yarkund till next year. I was, however, to endeavour to obtain the fullest and most reliable information possible regarding the prospects of trade, the Indian staples that are most in demand, the nature and resources of Yarkund and neighbouring countries, their past and present history, and generally any information of any kind which might be considered of interest.

4. To assist in collecting and recording such information, a staff of officers and native subordinates was placed at my disposal, and a sum of 17,500 rupees was allowed for the general expenses of the expedition, the distribution of which was left to my discretion, a detailed and classified account being submitted by me, on my return, for the information and sanction of Government.

5. The following persons formed the expedition to Yarkund :—

Mr. R. B. Shaw, the first Englishman who ever went to Yarkund, and who may be called the pioneer of Central Asian trade with India.

Dr. Henderson, medical and scientific officer, subordinate to whom were—

Native Doctor Mohamad Yasseen.

One bird collector.

One plant collector.

Mir Akbar Ali Khan Bahadoor, C.S.I., of Abyssinian celebrity, who acted as native secretary.

Tara Singh, an enterprising and intelligent Punjab merchant, who having been to Yarkund, and being well acquainted with the country and people, offered the services of himself and two brothers, and was appointed by me in charge of the toshakhana and treasure chest.

Mullik Kutubud-din, appointed by the Maharaja of Cashmere to the charge of my camp as it passed through his territory.

Ibrahim Khan, deputy inspector of police, in charge of eight policemen, of whom, however, only four went with the camp beyond Cashmere.

Dewan Buksh, native writer, formerly a Moonshee in Mr. Shaw's service during his visit to Yarkund.

Major Montgomerie, R.E., deputy superintendent, Great Trigonometrical Survey, very kindly placed at my disposal the services of his chief pundit, who was to join our party at the Pangong Lake. He also gave us useful maps and instruments.

Huree Chund, son of Thakoor Tara Chund, the head-man of Lahoul, joined my camp in Ladakh; and Faiz Buksh Moonshee went round by way of Afghanistan, Budakhshan, and over the Pamir to meet me in Yarkund.

6. My instructions were to join the Envoy at Leh, in Ladakh, at the end of June; and as Mr. Shaw, who was in England till the 20th May, could not join us before the beginning of July, the expedition could not be considered to be fairly started till we reached Leh. Up to this point, also, the road has been so frequently traversed and so fully described, that only a very cursory account of the journey so far need be given here.

7. Leaving Jullundur on the 26th April, I proceeded to Jummoo, and there formed my camp. The Maharaja having undertaken to furnish carriage, provisions, &c., on payment, Mullik Kutubud-din was appointed by his Highness to accompany me in charge of the camp. He took from me, from time to time, a list of requirements, and made out an indent on the local officials for the amount. Knowing the difficult and inhospitable character of the country beyond Leh, I sent early intimation to the Wuzeer of Ladakh to lay out supplies of grain, grass, and fuel along the road beyond the Changchenmo Valley, and also at a point on the old or Karakorum route, and to have good baggage ponies ready for the camp. To this indent I received the Wuzeer's reply that everything should be ready as desired.

8. From Jummoo my camp took the route over the Bunihál Pass to Cashmere, and reached Sreenuggur on the 28th May, where I remained some days awaiting the approach of the Yarkund Envoy, who, instead of preceding me to Leh,

Leh, as he intended, lingered at Lahore for the receipt of some muskets which he ad purchased in Calcutta for his master.

9. During my halt at Sreenuggur, I received a copy of the Foreign Secretary's letter, dated 7th June, alluding to rumours of disturbances having broken out in the territories of the Atalik Ghazee, and directing me immediately to make every exertion, both at Leh and elsewhere, to find out from the travellers from Yarkund, whom I should certainly meet on the road, from letters, and from other sources of information, the exact position of affairs in that country. I then received the following peremptory instructions: first, that unless I were satisfied that a general state of peace similar to that which was said to have prevailed in Yarkund up to the date of my departure still existed, I was to abandon at once my intended journey; and, second, that I should, in that case, make preparations for my immediate return to India.

10. In accordance with these instructions, I took the following steps to gain information :—

11. There are three routes to Yarkund from India; one, through Afghanistan and Budakhshan; another, from Cashmere, through Gilghit, Yasseen, and over the Pamir; the third, through Ladakh, and over the Karakorum Mountains. By the first route Faiz-Buksh had already gone; and any information that he could pick up on the road, he would, I knew, transmit to me. I despatched Ibrahim Khan by the Gilghit route, with instructions to proceed rapidly to Yarkund, and thence, round by Sanju and Shadulla, to join my camp, which I calculated he ought to do by the time I reached the Yarkund frontier. I was fortunate in falling in with Mr. Hayward, the Central Asian explorer, and from him picked up much valuable information, and sent another man with him, who was to make his way across from Yasseen. This man was, however, murdered with Mr. Hayward. I also had the advantage of conversing with Colonel Gardiner, to whom I was indebted for sound counsel based on unrivalled experience and knowledge of Asiatic character. Lastly, Tara Singh volunteered to go ahead to Leh, and thence, in company of Huree Chund, to proceed to Shadulla, where he expected to meet the caravans on their way to India from Hindostan, and to learn from them and from the Kirghiz tribes, who wander about the valley of the Karakash, the truth of the rumours which had reached the Government of India. And as Leh was evidently the point to make for at once, as being the town where the first authentic news from the countries beyond the mountains could be obtained, I determined not to wait for the loitering envoy any longer, but to start at once. Mir Akbar Ali Khan Bahadoor was despatched on the road to Jummoo to bring up Mirza Shadee as fast as possible, and on the 14th June Dr. Henderson and I left Sreenuggur for Leh.

12. Our march was enlivened by the company of two men, one of whom was destined to take an important part in our future proceedings in Yarkund. Kazee Syad Mahamad Yakoob, nephew of the Atalik Ghazee, went some years ago from Kokand to Constantinople to lay the state of affairs in his native country before the Head of the Faithful.

13. But on arrival at Constantinople he heard that his country was disturbed, and he resolved to remain quietly there for about four years, and then, having heard of the success of his uncle in Eastern Turkestan, took the route of India and Cashmere to join his fortunes with Yakoob Beg in Kashgar.

14. Mahamad Yakoob, being a Syud, and having performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, had, of course, a high reputation for sanctity, and being otherwise a man of character, had acquired great respect from all good Mahammadans. I found him at Sreenugger a guest of the Maharaja, as he had been a guest of the British Government, and lodged in the house of one Khwaja Ghuffoor Shah Nuksh-bundee, a person of note in Cashmere, of whom more may perhaps be said hereafter. Mahamad Yakoob, besides considering himself a very holy man, prided himself on being an accomplished author; and as we sat down together on a carpet under some wide-spreading plane trees to escape a shower of rain; he ordered his servants to produce two well-bound and neatly-written volumes, which he said he had composed whilst halting at Sreenugger. In his

train was an Arab priest, who had come from Medina on a visit to Yarkund. This man, named Khuleel, could scarcely speak a word of Persian, and knew nothing of any languages current in Hindostan, yet had made his way by steamer up the Indus, and by way of Lahore, to Sreenuggur, where he placed himself under the charge of Kazee Mahamad Yakoob. From his companions I learnt that this Arab had been attracted to Kashgar by the fame of the Atalik's liberality to all good Mahamadans, that ruler having made himself known at Mecca by establishing and endowing a caravanserai there. Khuleel, in the hope of obtaining a good sum of money, and possibly the endowment of a school at Medina, brought some wonderful specimens of Arab books, Korans, &c.; but, unfortunately for human plans, in an evil moment the pony which carried the precious load stumbled in crossing a ricketty bridge over the Dras river on the road to Ladakh, and was precipitated into the torrent below. We saw Khuleel standing on the bank, a perfect picture of despair at the loss of his books and the ruin of his hopes.

15. Our march to Leh was accomplished with comfort and expedition, the Cashmere officials being particularly attentive and active on this part of the road. We reached the capital of Ladakh on the 2nd July, having been overtaken on the road by the envoy, Mirza Shadee.

16. This man, like his master, is a native of Piskat, in Kokund, and has followed the fortunes of Yakoob Beg during his contests with the Russians, and in his conquest of Eastern Turkestan. His office is that of moonshee or secretary, and in this capacity was sent as the bearer of a letter to the Russian General at Tashkend two years ago, and afterwards he went on to St. Petersburgh, and immediately on his return to Kashgar was deputed to Calcutta. One of the objects of his journey to India was to purchase arms, the delay in procuring which apparently caused him to loiter, and was productive of trouble to this expedition, as will be seen hereafter. He also brought with him 15 skilled artificers from the Punjab, to whom he promised employment on liberal terms under the Atalik Ghazee.

17. Arrived at Leh, my first care was to make every inquiry into the truth of the rumours of disturbances in Yarkund. During the winter months, or from January till June, it is next to impossible for traders or travellers to cross the snowy passes between Leh and Yarkund, and communication is therefore quite at a standstill. Two or three messengers had been sent off from Cashmere in May and June; but the only arrival in Leh from Turkestan was that of one Moolla Baki, a messenger sent by the Dadkhwah of Yarkund, with a letter to Dr. Cayley. This man had left Yarkund in March or April, but had been obliged to wait two months in Sanju till the passes were opened. Moolla Baki was closely questioned, and reported everything perfectly quiet in Turkestan. He totally denied the existence of any disturbance anywhere within the Atalik Ghazee's dominions, and the merchants in Leh, who were preparing their goods for despatch across the mountains, joined in declaring their belief that the story of disturbance was a fabrication. Dr. Cayley, who had come to Leh from the Punjab by Kullu and Lahoul, had arrived at the same conclusion.

18. In order to impress upon the envoy, to the fullest extent, the responsibility which devolved upon him in taking British officers into his country, I addressed him a letter in Persian, in the terms of the one I had received from the Government of India, and said that unless he could assure me that perfect peace prevailed in the Atalik's territories, I could not proceed on my journey. I added that it would be also necessary for him to assure me that in my movements in Yarkund, and also as regards the date of my return, I should be left wholly unfettered. I found it necessary to make this stipulation, because I knew that Messrs. Shaw and Hayward had been kept close prisoners within their house the whole time of their sojourn in the country. Mirza Shadee ridiculed the idea of our being subjected to the same treatment, pointing out the difference between solitary adventurers and invited guests from a great power. As regards our return, he frequently expressed the readiness of his master to let us come and go just as we liked. At my request he sent a letter to the Foreign Secretary, giving the most ample assurance on these points.

19. Mr.

19. Mr. R. B. Shaw joined the expedition at Leh on the 3rd July, having left England only on the 20th May; and our party being thus complete, and we being already somewhat late in making our start, if we hoped to return the same season, I did not think it wise to remain at Leh till Tara Singh and Huree Chund should return from Shadulla with the latest news from Yarkund, as I knew we should meet them on the road.

20. The preparations for our onward march required great care. The road from Leh to Yarkund by the new or Chang-chenmo route passes for 27 marches over completely uninhabited country, and for seven of these not a stick of fuel or a blade of green grass is to be found. Provisions, therefore, for ourselves, our followers, and baggage animals had to be taken, or laid out on the road. Our party numbered altogether about 60 souls, including camp followers, &c., and 130 baggage animals. Then there was the envoy's party, with his train of 400 muskets and ammunition, packed in wooden boxes containing four or five apiece; they were found to be too long and too heavy to be carried on the backs of ponies; porters, therefore, had to be employed, and two men were told off to each box. The number of mouths to be fed was thus increased to a great extent. But due notice of our requirements was given to Wuzeer Ali Akbar, the Maharaja's chief officer in Ladakh, and we were assured by him that every arrangement had been made, evidence of which was visible in the troops of ponies and yaks laden with grain, &c., which accompanied our camp.

21. When the baggage ponies intended for our own and the envoy's camp were brought out to be laden, their very lean and weak condition excited our attention. I was assured by the Wuzeer that he had collected all the best animals, and as he had assembled many more than we actually required, and there was no time for us to delay till other arrangements could be made, I determined to start with them, weeding out day by day such as showed signs of distress. The custom with traders in these parts is to engage with a carrier for the transport of his goods at an uniform rate of *Rs.* 32. 10 = about 3 *l.* 5 *s.*, for a load of three maunds, or 240 pounds from Leh to Shadulla, a distance of 20 marches.

22. As a strong Yarkundee pony carries with ease three maunds' weight, and can be purchased for about 40 rupees or 50 rupees, *i. e.*, 4 *l.* or 5 *l.*, the rate of hire thus paid is profitable to the carrier, who for this sum undertakes all risks; and it is an understood thing that, for his own sake, as well as to secure the merchant from delay or loss in transit, for every three or four laden animals one spare poney is to be taken.

23. This arrangement I also entered into with the Wuzeer; but as his animals were so very inferior, I agreed to make no load more than two maunds' weight, and in most instances they rarely exceeded one and a-half maunds.

24. Having completed our preparations, on the 7th July the expedition started from Leh. For the first two marches, our road lay along the right bank of the Indus, till we came to the village of Chimrí, with its picturesque Buddhist monastery. Here I was joined by Major Montgomerie's pundit, whose stay in our camp was destined to be of brief duration. However desirous the Atalik might be for the friendship of the British Government, and however enlightened he individually might be, the Yarkund Government is as yet not sufficiently imbued with European ideas to view without alarm the presence of "a chield among them takin' notes," or to believe that surveys and inquiries, conducted with the object of adding to general science, are not also intended to be the precursor of invading armies. When, therefore, Pundit ———'s arrival in my camp was heralded by one of his followers, wearing a Government badge, and announcing that a Government official was coming to survey the whole country of Eastern Turkestan. the utmost alarm was created in the envoy's camp, to allay which I was reluctantly obliged to abandon my hopes of solving many interesting geographical problems put before us by Marco Polo, and to postpone the pundit's visit till a more convenient season.

25. Leaving the bed of the Indus at Chimrí we took a day's journey up a valley tolerably well supplied with wood in the shape of willow and poplar trees and with plenty of grass for 12 miles to the foot of the Chang La or North Pass. The ascent to the summit, 17,600 feet, is very easy, and the road having been

lately repaired, all our baggage animals passed over without any difficulty. The height was ascertained by observing the temperature of boiling water and of the air, and the following comparison of beats of the human pulse may be considered of sufficient general interest to be given here :—

Dr. Henderson, who had walked to top of Pass - -	80	per minute.
Mr. Shaw, who rode - - - - - - - -	94	„
Mine, who rode - - - - - - - -	100	„
Mullik Kutubud-din, a native of Punjab, who rode -	92	„
A Bhot servant, native of Ladakh, who walked - -	78	„

26. On the north side of the pass the road was somewhat more rugged; but care had been taken to remove the larger boulders, and to fill up the rough parts with clods of earth, so that not the slightest difficulty was experienced in the whole passage, and I may here notice that, on our return, we found the road still more improved, and saw laden camels crossing the pass with perfect ease. As this, though not quite that highest, is the most difficult pass between Ladakh and Shadulla, I have given all these details.

27. An easy descent of 14 miles brought us to the village of Durgoh, on the branch of the Shyok river, where grass, water, and fuel were to be had in abundance. Here I commenced the process of weeding out inefficient baggage cattle, and 40 ponies were ordered to be got rid of. From Durgoh the road lies along a well-grassed valley past the village of Tanksè to Muglib. Tanksè is the last village deserving that name between Ladakh and Yarkund. For one or two marches we saw stones put together to form walls of roofless huts, and then for the next three weeks all was desert waste.

28. About 10 miles beyond Muglib we reached the Pangong Lake, of which Dr. Henderson took a photograph. From the west end of this lake, the new road to Yarkund by the Chang-chenmo Valley branches off to the north, and for a distance of about eight miles passes along a succession of valleys well covered with grass, and abundance of wild lavender and tamarisk for fuel is to be found. On the morning of the 15th July we commenced our ascent of the Marsimik Pass, marked by Mr. Hayward on his map as 18,457 feet high, though Dr. Henderson, on our return journey, by observing the temperature of boiling water, and by the aneroid barometer, made the height much lower. The ascent from the south side is gradual and easy, and was accomplished on horseback without the slightest fatigue. But the difficulty of breathing, as we approached within 2,000 feet of the summit, was felt by all.

29. The Schlagentweit Brothers have thus recorded the result of their experience of high altitudes.

The influence which height exercises upon man, varies with the individual; a man in good health having the chance of less suffering. The difference of race has apparently no appreciable importance. Our Hindu servants suffered far more from the cold than our Tibetan companions, though not more from the diminished pressure. For the generality of people the influence of height begins at 16,500 feet, a height nearly coinciding with that of the highest pasture grounds visited by shepherds.

The complaints produced by diminished pressure are, headache, difficulty of respiration, and affection of the lungs, the latter even proceeding so far as to occasion blood-spitting, want of appetite and even sickness, muscular weakness, and a general depression and lowness of spirits. Bleeding of the nose we experienced ourselves, though very rarely, the loss of blood on such occasions being insignificant; but bleeding of the ears and lips we neither experienced personally, nor observed in others during our travels in High Asia. Humbolt, however, states, that on the Antisana, at a height of 18,141 feet, his companion, Don Carlos Montufar, bleeded heavily from the lips, and that during the ascent of the Chimborazo every one suffered from bleeding of the lips and even the gums.

The effects here mentioned, which disappear in a healthy man almost simultaneously with his return to lower regions, are not sensibly increased by cold, but the wind has a most decided influence for the worse upon the feelings. As this was a phenomenon we had not hitherto found mentioned by former observers, we directed our particular attention to it, and remarked instances where fatigue had absolutely nothing to do with it. In the plateaux of the Karakorum, it was a common occurrence, even for the sleepers in the tents, where they might be considered as somewhat protected, to be waked up in the night with a heavy feeling of oppression, the entire, disturbance being traceable to a breeze which had sprung up during the hours of rest.

The effects of diminished atmospheric pressure are considerably aggravated by fatigue. It is surprising to what a degree it is possible for exhaustion to supervene; even the act of speaking is felt to be a labour, and one gets as careless of comfort as of danger.

30. I observe

30. I observe in an extract from Baron Osten Sacken's account of his expedition to the Trans-Naryn country, published by the Royal Geographical Society, that the Cossacks and Kirghizes, who accompanied Captain Chaldeyeff to the Suuk Pass on the Kashgardaban Chain, suffered much inconvenience from the rarity of the atmosphere, at an elevation of only 12,740 feet.

31. My own experience was that, at any height above 16,000 feet, a good breath, even when the body was in a state of rest, was a luxury seldom enjoyed; but below that elevation I only felt distressed when I exerted myself. In the great heights a feeling of exhaustion and severe nausea were continuous, and did not leave me for the 10 or 12 days that we remained at elevations above 16,000 feet. On the return trip, however, this unpleasant feeling wore off to a great extent.

32. Not a particle of snow was to be seen on our path, and the whole mountain side presented a curious brown barren appearance. As little or no rain ever falls in these regions, the hills are not cut up into deep ravines, but are rounded into large gravelly slopes, off which the melted snow trickles down into rivulets. Here and there, in the course of what had been these snow-fed rivulets, small yellow patches of coarse grass were to be seen, but generally, the scene presented a singularly arid, desert appearance. Behind us, and across the large gorge which contained the Pangong Lake, a splendid wall of mountains rose to our view, with snow-clad peaks, and glaciers in every ravine. Descending on the north side by very gradual slopes across wide barren valleys, and entering a stony ravine, we came to the wide Chang-chenmo Valley, 16,000 feet above the level of the sea.

33. This Chang-chenmo, or "Great Northern," is a long, broad valley, perfectly bare and gravelly, with plateaux ranging tier above tier, betokening, perhaps, the gradual subsidence, at some distant period, of a huge lake; or, judging from the present appearance of a smaller but similar valley in the upper Karakash, I incline to the opinion that these plateaux were at one time enormous ice-fields which gradually melted away. The turbid river flows through many deep and rapid channels, rendering the passage of animals at this season of the year a matter of some difficulty. Above, and on all sides, the mountains rise to a height of 19,000 feet, here and there capped with snow, but generally presenting a remarkable sameness of round disintegrated rock. The eye wanders in vain search for some grand distinguishing peaks, and longs to find relief in some soft vegetation, or some forest tract. Except a few tamarisk bushes on the banks of the river, no sign of vegetable life is visible, and a sense of weariness comes over the whole frame from the dull monotony of these desert hills.

34. This is the farthest point to which the Maharaja of Cashmere has extended any sign of his authority, as he has erected small storehouses for grain at the different marches as far as Gogra, at the head of this valley. All traces of the Buddhist religion, in the erections of marus or heaps of stones, with the mystical words "Om mani padmi hun" carved on them by Llamas, ceased on the south side of the Marsimik Pass.

35. Here we made a halt to overhaul all our camp arrangements, and prepare for crossing the plain, which literally is on the top of the world, and separates Central Asia from Hindostan.

36. When the muster of baggage animals was taken, our first impulse was to reject every one as unfit to stand the severe journey before us. A more sorry lot it would be difficult to collect.

37. But as it was impossible to supply their places, and had we halted till fresh animals could be procured from Leh, a delay of more than a fortnight would have occurred, and our stores of provisions would have been exhausted, we only rejected the worst, and these amounted to 70. We learnt some time afterwards, that a process of weeding had been secretly carried on by the subordinate Ladakh officials, by which their pockets were filled, and we were deprived of the services of some of the best animals.

38. All superfluous followers and Cashmere guards were here dispensed with, and having calculated the exact quantity of grain and provisions requisite for the

camp, the Wuzeer was informed by me of our wants, and declared that every kind of supply was ready. He also announced his intention of remaining in the Chang-chenmo Valley, till he should hear of our reaching the Karakash river, so as to be at hand to send us help if required.

39. On the 19th July, we parted company with Wuzeer Ali Akbar, and commenced the most difficult part of our march. The grain required for our baggage animals was laden on some 60 yaks, and placed in charge of the Wuzeer's subordinates, who were to deal it out to our and the Yarkundee's camp day by day. Our road lay up a red clayey ravine for eight miles to some remarkable hot soda springs, jutting out of the river bed. Large cones of a kind of soda are formed, from the top and sides of which the hot spring emits its jets.

40. Dr. Cayley, who had accompanied our camp from Leh, preceded us from the Chang-chenmo, and guided our steps to an easier pass than the one marked out for us by the Cashmere officials. In fact, though the Chang Leng La is not less than 19,000 feet above the level of the sea, the ascent was so gradual as to be scarcely noticed. From thence, on the north side, the high table-land which connects the Karakorum and Kuen Luen Ranges may be said to commence. The Pamir has hitherto been called the Bam-i-dunya, or roof of the world, being an extensive plateau 15,000 feet or more above the sea. But it is covered with grass, and is frequented during the summer months by shepherds with their flocks. But the Aksai Chin, as it is sometimes called, or White Chinese Plain, of which the Linzi Thung, Dipsi Kol, and Thaldat are only different parts, ranges from 16,000 feet to 19,000 feet, and being destitute of anything deserving the name of vegetation, is, as compared to the Pamir, very much what the outside of the dome is to the roof of St. Paul's.

41. Though we were fortunate in finding so easy a pass as I have described, still both man and beast were fairly exhausted when we reached our halting-place at Nischu. Here very scanty roots of the Boortse plant were all that could be got for fuel, and not a blade of grass was to be had for the animals, and we looked anxiously for the arrival of the grain which we had seen being carried on yaks the day before. It was a remarkable and significant fact, that though every other particle of baggage arrived safe and punctually, not a single load of grain made its appearance. Urgent messages and letters were sent back to the Wuzeer to forward the missing grain, but only five loads were brought up the next day, and no answer came from the Wuzeer. As the misconduct of this official has formed the subject of separate correspondence, and he has been dismissed for his offences, I need only remark here, that it has been satisfactorily proved that Wuzeer Ali Akbar knew that the whole of our grain was kept back, and instead of sending assistance on receipt of our urgent applications, he hurried away from the Chang-chenmo towards Leh, and then excused himself from giving aid because he was too far off.

42. Meanwhile we, in our lofty encampment at Nischu, were placed in a dilemma. If we wished to do so, we could not halt there, for there was no fuel and no fodder. If we went back to the Chang-chenmo it was very doubtful whether our animals, weak and starved, could cross and re-cross the Chang Leng La three times; and if we halted at Gogra, either to recruit our ponies, or to get fresh animals from Leh, the season would slip away, and the expedition must fail. If we went on, we should have one more march without grass, and at the end of the third day, we hoped to find a grazing ground. The decision, therefore, was manifestly in favour of an advance.

43. The road from Nischu to the commencement of the Linzi Thung Plain follows the course of the stream for about six miles, and then crosses a high plateau for three more miles, at the end of which we came to an abrupt descent of about 500 feet. From the brink of this descent a very grand and extraordinary view presented itself. On the extreme left, or west, a row of jagged peaks shooting up into the sky marked the line of the Karakorum Range; thence along our left, and losing themselves in a high range to the north, round knolls, sharp peaks, and undulating walls of mountains bounded the Linzi Thung Plain. Far away to the north, and forming a barrier wall across the horizon, spread the Kuen Luen Range, whose snowy peaks rivalled in height and grandeur the highest points of the Karakorum. Beneath us lay a vast barren desert, extending

ing from the Karakorum Range to the far east. The breadth of this plain was apparently but a few miles, though in reality not less than 25 miles, and was bounded to the north by a range of comparatively low fantastic-shaped hills, which formed themselves into domes, towers, and minaret-shaped craggs. Wherever the eye roamed, nought but desolation met the view, a dreary desert filled with gloom.

44. We descended to the plain, and after about two hours' hard march reached our encampment, in the dry bed of a stream. Fuel was procured by plucking up the roots of the Boortse plant; but there was no fodder for horses, and water of a muddy kind could only be obtained by digging holes in the ground.

45. Our next day's march brought us, past the dome-shaped hills, into the Lok Zang valley, where we found a small quantity of coarse grass. This our animals, who had been now for three days without any sustenance, eagerly devoured. Many had died on the road, and all the survivors were in a most exhausted state. It will be easily understood that at this point our position was most critical. All hope of further aid from the Wuzeer was out of the question. We were quite 100 miles from human help, and were perched, as it were, on the top of the world. It was impossible to halt beyond a day or two, for delay would have proved fatal to the whole camp, for which we had only a certain number of days' supply. We determined, therefore, to select as many animals as seemed fit, after a day or two's rest and grazing, and to take just as much of our camp as could be carried by them, and the porters we had. The rest of the camp was left in charge of Mir Akbar Ali Khan and Mullik Kutubuddin, who were supplied with provisions and told to wait till fresh carriage could be procured from Ladakh. They followed us to Shadulla, in the course of a week after.

46. Mirza Shadee and Kazee Mahamad Yakoob, leaving the chief portion of their camp, with their ladies behind, started off by double marches for Shadulla, whence they promised to send help of all kinds.

47. Whilst halting at Lok Zang we were met by Tara Singh and Huree Chund on their return from Shadulla, where they had fallen in with the Kirghiz shepherds, from whom, as well as from the Yarkund soldiers who guarded the Fort of Kinghan, they heard that perfect peace reigned throughout the Atalik's dominions. This appeard such a complete corroboration of the news brought by Moolla Baki to us at Leh, that we were all the more encouraged and anxious to push on our way.

48. On the 25th July we prepared to resume our march; but found to our dismay that, out of the small number of serviceable ponies which we had selected and made over to the Bhot captain in charge of our camp, 26 had been made away with during the night. After some delay and trouble, we were once more on the road, and reached Thaldat plain (26th), where we encamped near some ice-beds. The heat during the day on these plains was intense, the rarity of the air causing the sun's rays to strike with great force, whilst at night the thermometer fell to 7°. Close by the ice-beds on the undulating plain we found quantities of a kind of topaz, which glittered like diamonds in the sun, and attracted our attention from a long distance.

49. From Thaldat we took a north-western direction, and crossing a low pass in the hollows, finding a very scanty supply of coarse, withered grass, which was eagerly devoured by the animals, we came to the large soda plain. This plain is the dry bed of three salt or soda lakes, the waters of which subsiding have left a thick deposit of crystals of salt and soda, and the whole place is one vast bed of Glauber's salt. The crust is from six inches to a foot thick, and the ponies' feet sank in with a crackling sound, as if they were going over ice.

50. The glare from this soda is just as bad as from the snow, and the fine particles which fly up fill the eyes, nostrils, and mouth, and give a most unpleasant taste. Fortunately we crossed this inhospitable plain before noon, though we did not escape entirely without the loss of some baggage animals. Later in the day, when the wind usually blows with great violence, a thick

cloud or soda dust is raised, which would be fatal to animal life. We saw the remains of a portion of some former kafila, which must have been overtaken and suffocated by the storm. We encamped at the north end of this valley (27th), where we found coarse grass in abundance. Water of the usual brackish, muddy description was procured here, as elsewhere on the plain, only by digging holes in the ground.

51. We had now crossed the great high desert, and were within one march of the Karakash river. In front of us rose the snowy wall of the Kuen Luen, along the south of which the Karakash river flows. A march of 10 miles brought us to this water, which, though brackish, was clear and abundant, and afforded an agreeable change from the muddy liquid we had subsisted on for the last week. Following the course of this river for about 15 miles further, and through as bleak and desolate a valley as any part of the desert we had just left, we came to a good supply of tamarisk bushes and abundant grass.

52. I must mention an incident here, which shows the contrast between the ponies of Ladakh and of Yarkund, and perhaps something else. Just as we arrived at our encamping ground, our animals completely wearied and worn out with the long march, we disturbed a herd of wild horses, which were quietly grazing, ignorant of our approach. Immediately the ladies, whom Kazee Mahamad Yakoob had left behind in our camp, as I have already mentioned, mounted their Yarkund ponies and started off in pursuit, and soon the whole Yarkundee camp was flying all over the plain; whilst we with only worn out, weak Ladakh ponies had to content ourselves with looking on. At this point we were joined by Dr. Cayley, who had taken the route across the Linzi Thung plain, westward to the upper Karakash river, whose waters he followed till they joined the main stream, and brought him to our camp.

53. We then marched together down the Karakash valley. High snowy peaks tower above the valley on both sides, and from countless ravines rivulets of water pour down to swell the main stream, the waters of which were rising rapidly every day, rendering it difficult at times to find a ford. Patches of grass were to be found after long stretches of completely barren ground. The sky was filled with a very fine dust, which appeared more like haze than palpable substance, and the heat by day was intense. A more uninteresting journey than that down the Karakash for five days it would be difficult to find.

54. On our third day's journey, we received a letter from Mirza Shadee and Kazee Mahamad Yakoob, written from Shadulla, and telling us that some 200 yaks, horses, sheep, besides fruits, melons, and other good things, were on their way to us. Moreover, he added, that the Atalik Ghazee was at Kashgar awaiting our arrival with the utmost pleasure. Soon after 40 yaks, some of them laden with grain, made their welcome appearance. Not a day too soon did they arrive, for we were then reduced to great straits, as our limited stock of provisions had been heavily indented upon, not merely by our own camp, but by the parties who ought to have brought their own food, but whose provisions ran short many days before. Not content with the small allowance which was doled out with an equal hand to all our followers, these Bhots took to stealing flour from the bags as they were carried on the road.

55. At Goolbashar, the fourth march down the Karakash river, we came to the celebrated jade quarries, which supplied the Chinese in former days with this precious stone; but, since their expulsion from Turkestan, the quarries have been closed. There is one other quarry in the Yurangásh Valley, from which jade to a small extent was taken out. Nowhere else, I believe, is jade to be found. The Chinese never claimed any property in this Karakash Valley, though they are supposed to have first discovered the quarries; and as they took possession of Yarkund and Khoten only as late as A.D. 1740, the existence of this precious stone would appear to have been known for little more than a century and a quarter. I merely give this information as I have received it, and doubt not that any one who cares to pursue the inquiry may be able to throw more light than I can on the subject. I understand that large quantities of serpentine and another kind of jade come from the hills north of Burmah.

56. Here

56. Here we made our first acquaintance with the Kirghiz, of whom the chief, or akskal (whitebeard), Islam Beg, came to pay his respects. These Kirghiz are a branch of the great nomad tribe which inhabit or wander over the chain of mountains extending from the Alai and Tian Shan range to the Pamir. This particular branch used to graze their flocks and herds on the Pamir and around Sirikul, but migrated eastward about 70 years ago. At present they occupy the mountain slopes above Sanju, and during the summer months frequent the Karakash valley. A branch of the Wakhi tribe, who, as their name denotes, came originally from Wakhan, have for the present settled on the Kilian Passes and hills west of the Sanju Pass. The akskal of this tribe also made his appearance with his followers and their yaks in our camp. There was a marked difference in the features of these two tribes. The Kirghiz had the broad flat face belonging to the Mongolian type, whilst the high-bridged nose and sharp features of the Wakhis told their connection with the Aryan family of the human race. The difference in features was not more marked than the difference in the manners of the two tribes.

57. In the good-humoured, open faces of the Kirghiz we could read the friendly hospitality and hearty sociability of their character, and in spite of the difficulty in communicating with a people who could speak nothing but a Turki patois, our servants and camp-followers soon became fast friends with the Kirghiz, who seemed to delight in giving every help to the guests of their master, the Atalik Ghazee. On the other hand, the surly, ill-tempered countenances of the Wakhi Chief and his followers did not belie their dispositions, quick to take offence and slow to render any service; and we came to the unanimous conclusion that, should difficulty arise regarding our return, it would be better to trust to the tender mercies of the Kirghiz than to fall into the cruel hands of the Wakhis.

58. It was pleasing to see the evident delight with which the Kirghiz welcomed Mr. Shaw's re-appearance amongst them, and the first day or two was spent in perpetual tea-drinking and stroking of beards in his tent.

59. One day's journey from Goolbashar brought us to Balakchi, near the fort of Shadulla, where the envoy, Mirza Shadee, and Kazee Mahamad Yakoob were encamped ready as hosts to receive us. The river had risen greatly during the last few days, and we had some difficulty in crossing. On arrival at Balakchi, the envoy sent a tent for us to rest in till our own camp arrived, and soon after came to receive us, bringing melons, Russian sugarcandy, rasins, &c. He bid us welcome to Yarkund territory, and declared that the Atalik Ghazee was all impatience to see us. He then disclosed the news, which he professed only to have heard the day before, that the Atalik Ghazee had been absent for seven months on an expedition as far as Oorumtsi, where he had experienced much fighting and had completely conquered all the country between Kuldja and Oorumtsi. He had appointed a Turra Khoja to be ruler of Kuldja and Kalmakistan and was now returning to Kashgar with 1,000 prisoners and much treasure. The envoy assured us that perfect peace prevailed throughout the territories of the Atalik.

60. This news caused us considerable anxiety, for though, if true, it accounted satisfactorily for the rumours of disturbance which had reached the Viceroy's ears, still it was difficult to believe that Molla Baki, whom we had seen at Leh, knew nothing about the king's absence; and it was remarkable that neither Tara Sing nor Huree Chand should have gleaned intelligence of the truth when they came to Shadulla. It was impossible, however, to test the truth of the envoy's statement, as no traders had yet met us from Yarkund, and it was out of our power to halt till we could get further information, for we were wholly dependent on the Yarkund envoy for supplies which were limited. Shadulla being the point where the old or Karakorum route joins the new road, and being the boundary of the Yarkund territory, we discharged all our Ladakh carriers and porters, to whom Mirza Shadee gave from his stores enough provisions to take them back to their homes. Dr. Cayley also arranged to leave us here, and to take a new route back to the Chang-chenmo, so as to explore the country thoroughly. Being still seven days' journey from Sanju, the nearest village in Yarkund, it was difficult for the envoy to meet all these demands on his store of provisions, and he urged upon me the necessity for our pushing on into more civilized parts.

61. On the 7th August we commenced our march as guests of the Atalik Ghazee in Yarkund territory. Our course still lay down the Karakash river, which we had to cross twice in one day, a matter of difficulty and danger in consequence of the height of the water.

62. Passing on the left bank the Fort of Shadulla, a small inclosure built of stone some years ago and manned by Cashmere soldiers, but now entirely deserted, we halted for the night by the side of a hill torrent called the Toghra-su, which was impassable except at an early hour, before the melting snows on the hill above had swelled the stream below. The scenery in this part of the valley is wild in the extreme, the overhanging precipices and bold rocks giving a weird appearance to the valley. Our passage of the Toghra-su was effected with safety, but not without great difficulty, owing to the rapidity of the torrent, and the rocky nature of the river bed. Here again the Yarkund ladies distinguished themselves as skilful and plucky horsewomen.

63. In this and the next day's journey we met some traders coming from Yarkund. They gave the same story regarding the Atalik's movements as had been told by the envoy, but subsequently we fell in with a Punjabee trader from whom we learnt that affairs in Yarkund were not quite as Mirza Shadee had described; for though perfect peace reigned in Kashgar and Yarkund, the Atalik was supposed to be still absent at the seat of war. The merchants bound for India had not been allowed to leave Yarkund until news arrived of our approach to Shadulla, and the strictest orders were given prohibiting the communication of any news likely to induce us to abandon our visit.

64. Leaving the valley of the Karakash river at Mazar Abu Bekr, we took a day's march up a narrow rocky ravine, and crossed the Grim Pass, 16,612 feet high. The assent was stiff and tedious, and had to be performed on yaks. On reaching the top, we expected to have a fine panorama of the Yarkund plains, but the thick haze which filled the atmosphere prevented all view, and we afterwards found that for four more marches no sign of the plain could be seen. The descent on the north side was exceedingly precipitous and tedious, rendering the pass, as is well known to all traders, impracticable for laden horses or camels, and thus placing merchants and travellers in the hands of the Kirghis, who derive a thriving trade by hiring out their yaks for the transport of goods over the pass. Their charges vary from one to two rupees per yak for each trip, and the traders have often to await the convenience or excite the cupidity of these nomad carriers.

65. After a descent of two hours from the summit of the pass, we came to Kichik Yilak, or, as its name implies, the summer encampment of the Kirghiz. Here for the first time I saw the Yoort or Akooee, *i.e.*, white round tents which form the home of these people. The tent is constructed of lattice work, round which felt pieces are wrapped. The top is rounded into the form of a dome, with a large hole in the centre, to allow of the smoke to escape, and also to give light. There is one small door. No poles or ropes are required, and the lattice frame is so constructed that it easily folds up when the tent has to be struck for a move. The floor of the tent is covered with felt rugs, and looking into one, I saw a screen put up to make an inner apartment for the women, the rest of the tent being shared by children, men, sheep, dogs, and any visitors who may choose to enter and sit round the fire, on which the never-failing teapot stands. Twenty of these Yoorts form the Aoul or encampment at Kichik Tilak, and from them a yearly tribute of three Yambu or silver ingots, each worth 170 rupees is taken by the Atalik Ghazee.

66. Here we met more Indian traders who fully corroborated the story given on the other side of the pass; and as there was no longer doubt of the absence of the Atalik, and very great doubt as to the date of his return, I had no option left me but to act on the instructions received from the Government of India, and to defer the prosecution of the expedition till another season. When, however, I announced to Mirza Shadee my intention of returning, he pointed out the impossibility of my doing so without going as far as Yarkund to refit my camp for the journey. It was of course as impossible to traverse the high desert we had just left without proper baggage, animals, and provisions, as it would be to cross the ocean without ships and stores; and as Mirza Shadee assured me

(very

(very correctly as I found by experience) that neither carriage nor supplies could be got without the orders of the Dadkhwah, and not in fact without our going into Yarkund itself to make our arrangement in person, it was agreed that I should delay my return for 25 days, within which time the Envoy promised to furnish me with everything necessary to take me back to Leh. Letters were written at once to the Dadkhwah in Yarkund, and Mirza Shadee dispatched a messenger with letters to the Atalik Ghazee.

67. Our march down the Sanju river to Tam was over grassy meadows or hillside. The banks of the river all the way down are fringed with wood. Below Tam the valley contracts into a narrow defile, across which the Chinese in former days had thrown a wall to protect themselves from the invasions of Kirghiz and other mountain robbers. The stream below this being too deep for our horses to ford, we had to take a circuitous route across the Chuchu Pass, 11,000 feet, and descended the Arpalak river. In the valleys we found an abundance of partridge and chikor, and the snow pheasant, of which we saw countless coveys on the higher Sanju Pass, was seen and shot on the Chuchu Pass. There too flocks of ibex and burrul wandered close by our path, and showed no alarm at our approach.

68. The mountain sides were bare and covered with a thick coat of dust, the white clayey surface having been pulverised by the action of the atmosphere; but as no rain ever falls in those parts, the dust is only disturbed by traveller's feet, and then suffocating clouds are raised, such as I have never seen elsewhere. On the banks of the Arpalak river, it was a relief to find good grass, and a profusion of bushes covered with the yellow China rose.

69. We halted for several days at a pleasant spot on the valley to await the reply from the Dadkhwah. Here we were introduced to the Asiatic custom of the dusterkhan, literally table cloth. Kasim Akhoond Begi, of Zungia, a town about 20 miles on the road between Gooma and Khoten, arrived in camp with fruits, &c., and presented himself before us. Having received him at the door of my tent, we seated ourselves on the ground, *more Usbeco*, and then a coloured table cloth was spread before us, and melons, pears, grapes, apricots, nectarines, sugared almonds, and biscuits were displayed. The custom is for the guest to break a piece of bread or biscuit, and then invite his host and companions to join in the feast. He also offers them cups of green tea, of which, unmixed with milk or sugar, a true Yarkundee or Andijani will drink a considerable number. Conversation on the part of the host at the first meal is not considered polite. After a little while the fruit is removed, any crumbs of bread which may have fallen are carefully placed on the table cloth, which is taken away, beards are stroked, and every one says Allah Akbar, and then the host suddenly gets up and runs out of the tent. The reason of this being, as I am told, that he is supposed to be anxious to get away without putting his guest to the trouble of getting up to bid him good-bye.

70. Mirza Shadee grew very impatient at our halting; but I did not feel justified in making any advance until I had some reliable information to go upon. It was evident that Mirza Shadee had either been deceived himself, or had wilfully deceived us as to the movements of the Atalik Ghazee, and therefore I had to seek more trustworthy intelligence. Kazee Mahamad Yakoob here left our camp for Yarkund. We had found him a pleasant and valuable companion; his near relationship to the Atalik, his evident influence, and his intelligence and experience rendering his advice to, and control over, the somewhat impetuous envoy a matter of importance to the expedition. Mirza Shadee also took his departure, hoping thereby to force me to change my determination, but I remained firm. At last on the 15th August a letter came from the Dadkhwah informing me that the Atalik Ghazee had completed the subjugation of the provinces which he had gone to conquer, and there was hope that he would return speedily to the capital. I was further informed that every preparation had been made for our proper reception, and that an officer of rank had been sent to Sanjee to meet and escort us in.

71. So far as regarded the probability of the Atalik returning soon to Kashgar, I might be excused for having considerable doubts whether the wish might not be father to the Dadkhwah's hopes; and as my instructions were peremptory, I could

could make no pledge, nor hold out any hope of our remaining in the country a day beyond the time agreed upon for the supply of carriage and provisions. But peace being known to prevail in Yarkund itself, and there being a manifest necessity for visiting that place in order to get the requisites for our return journey, I determined to accept the Dadkhwah's urgent invitation, and go on to Yarkund.

72. At Kizil Lungur, about 15 miles from Sanju, we came to a pretty cultivated and wooded spot, a small oasis in a long desert, such as we subsequently became accustomed to look for with avidity. Here leaving the Arpalak valley, we crossed a low sandy ridge and descended to the plains of Yarkund. A few miles from Sanju we were met by Tash Khoja Yuzbashee or centurion, who had been sent by the Dadkhwah to act as our Mihmandar or host. Tash Khoja is a Tajik, and speaks Persian with a broad, rough accent. He has a peculiarly frank, pleasant face and manner, and like most of the Kohkundi, or, as they prefer calling themselves, the Andijani officers, is of a very jovial turn of mind. He was mounted on a handsome black Andijani horse, and followed by soldiers well mounted, and carrying matchlocks, to which are attached pronged supports on which to rest the gun when taking aim. Soon after noon we dropped, as it were, from the desert upon a richly wooded green ravine, along which lay a succession of hamlets, gardens, and groves, all which put together constitutes Sanju. We passed through fields of wheat, wild oats, hemp, Indian corn, and skirted gardens full of apples, pears, peaches, and walnuts, and found ourselves suddenly in front of Mirza Shadee's tent, pitched on an earthen platform in front of a wide meadow, through which canals of water flowed. The sight of so much green turf and large shady trees, giving the appearance of an English village to the scene, was indeed a refreshing relief after the weeks we had endured of rocks and desert desolation.

73. Mirza Shadee received us in a tent spread with Khoten carpets and felt rugs. The usual dusterkhan was spread, and fruits of all kinds put before us. After we had taken what might be considered a substantial lunch, to our surprise dishes of meat began to arrive, and this we were told was the correct Andijani custom, first fruit and sweets, then meat, and last of all soup. The *entreé* consisted of minced meat very delicately seasoned, done up in paste and cooked in steam. Then followed the ash or pillau of well boiled mutton and rice with shredded carrots;* the whole wound up with a basin of thick mutton broth with rice or barley and flavoured with a slight acid. In front of us stood a boy with teapot in hand, from which he supplied perpetual cups of weak green tea to the guests. The cuisine of a Yarkund host would commend itself to the most fastidious Englishman's palate. Everything in the kitchen is kept most scrupulously clean. The cooks wear neat aprons and are particular in using clean vessels. They cook with good butter and by steam, and can serve up a variety of *entrées* and *entrêmets* that would render a dinner à la Yarkundee popular even in London.

74. Following the custom of the country, we bestowed Khillats or dresses of honour on Kasim Akhoond and Roza Beg, who had thus far discharged the duty of hosts to us; as well as on Tash Khoja, who was to assume this office for the future. For Tash Khoja, as highest in rank, I had prepared a green satin robe, made after the fashion of Yarkund Chogas; for Kasim Akhoond a white shawl, and for Roza Beg a valuable turban were selected. When, however, I came to bestow these on them, Tash Khoja made a show of refusal which lasted for a long time. This, however, is nothing more than the Yarkund custom of enhancing as it were the value of the present, and Mr. Shaw informed me that he has known a man go through this form for more than an hour, nothing being in reality further from their intention than that they should be taken at their word, and I subsequently found that nothing offended an official more than to send him empty-handed away. On one occasion, when, owing to the baggage having gone on ahead, I had no garment to bestow, Mirza Shadee took off his own robe and lent it for the occasion, rather than that the custom should be infringed.

75. In

* Monsieur Vambery describes this dish in his interesting Book of Travels in Central Asia, and alludes to the many dishes peculiar to Yarkund cookery.

75. In the evening we saw what constitutes a village bazaar in Yarkund. The peasants collected in the meadow, bringing cattle, fowls, or articles of clothing for sale. Then the greybeards slowly joined the scene, and seating themselves on the ground, began probably to discuss the late stranger's arrival, or passed an opinion on the animals for sale. When an official mingled in the throng, he was received with respectful salutation, but there was an easy freedom in their manner, and an absence of all Hindostani cringing, which was pleasant to observe. Our hosts and almost all the officers of the Atalik's Government are quite alien to the country, having only lately come from Kokhund, and I found them often ignorant of the names and situations of the different villages; but being all of one religion, the conqueror and conquered mix together in terms of friendly equality. They eat and drink together, and with Englishmen likewise, affording a striking contrast to the relations which exist between ourselves and the people of India.

76. On the morning of the 17th August we took our departure from Sanju for Yarkund. For a mile or two the road lay, as it had done the day before, through orchards and cornfields, under shady trees and over meadows. Then crossing the main stream of the river, whose waters spread over the valley had converted a waste into this glorious garden, we ascended a sandy hill and plunged into the great desert, which stretches from the foot of the Kuen Luen range far away to the north, where it is known as the Great Desert of Gobi. For the first five or six miles our road lay over hillocks and through ravines, and then we came upon the broad expanse of waste. Here and there a stream finds its way from the mountains for a little distance, fringing the sides in its course with grass and shrubs. Sometimes a larger river forces its way across the plain and cuts a deep valley for itself, in which a string of hamlets with richly cultivated fields is generally to be found.

77. All these oases in the great desert form convenient halting places for travellers, as we found to our comfort day by day; and it is difficult to conceive a more grateful relief to the weary voyager, parched with the heat and scorching sandstorms of the plains, than to come suddenly upon one of these sylvan valleys, and find himself seated under the shade of a large mulberry tree, and ministered to by a Yarkundee Mihmandar with a plentiful supply of melons, grapes, nectarines, and peaches.

78. The houses in these villages resemble the mud huts to be seen in any village in Upper India. The walls are built of sun-dried bricks with flat roofs. The gardens are generally surrounded with mud walls, or fenced in by stout hedges, which are also frequently put round the cornfields. As we passed along we found maize, wheat, barley, millet, turnips, carrots, and French beans, all ripening at the same time. There is but one harvest season in the year, and all the crops are dependent on irrigation. The willow and poplar trees grow to a large size on the banks of canals.

79. The costume of the villagers is extremely simple, consisting generally of a neatly-worked skull cap, or perhaps a white cap trimmed with sheepskin on the head, a long white choga or robe, which justifies the remark made by Vambery, that Central Asiatics appear to be always going about in their night clothes. Sometimes this white robe is fastened at the waist by a string or rope, giving a monkish appearance to the wearer. Long felt stockings, and top-boots of untanned brown leather complete their attire. In winter warmer clothes and more gaudy colours are adopted, but at the season when we entered Yarkund all the population seemed to have just got out of bed.

80. The more well-to-do classes, the Kazees, Moollahs, and all Government servants, wear chogas or cloaks of variegated colour, and of superior material, either of silk or cloth, or more generally, of mushroo, a mixture of silk and cotton dyed with bright colours intermingled, after the pattern of marble-stained papers on our walls at home. The women are dressed in a kind of white night-gown, with a high round cap, which looks at a distance like a white China bowl. Their hair gathered into two large plaits, to increase and add beauty to which Yarkundee ladies are not behind European fashions, falls down the back. No sign of ornament is to be seen on man or woman, and the only weapon carried is a knife hanging from the girdle, and is made to serve for every purpose.

81. The language spoken by these villagers is Toorkee, and scarcely any of the more educated agriculturists know Persian. Fortunately for us, several members of our party, especially Mr. Shaw, knew this language, so that we had free communication with the people, and were not under the necessity of calling in an interpreter. All the higher Government officers spoke Persian, in which language I carried on all my conversations.

82. One misses with satisfaction in Yarkund the high humped cattle of India, instead of which, cows and bullocks, more resembling the English type, are to be seen. But the cattle are not so large or fine looking as the superior kind to be seen in India. Bullocks are used not only as beasts of burden, but also as riding animals, and are taught the 'yulga' or ambling pace. The sheep are of good size, and have the broad fat tail considered in Central Asia such a luxury. Amongst other uses to which this tail is turned, the fat of it is converted into tallow candles. Fowls in Yarkund differ little from fowls elsewhere, except that like their owners, they seem to feed better than their brethren in India, and consequently make a more palatable dish on the table.

83. Being anxious to introduce to the Yarkundees the advantage of European medical science, Dr. Henderson persuaded the Kazee of Gumah, who visited our camp at Kostâk, to submit to treatment for goitre, which afflicts the people, I might almost say universally. The example set by this man was followed by a few others, but our hopes of extending this medical practice were soon after checked. Fevers and dysenteric or choleraic diseases were pronounced to be unknown. Smallpox, however, was declared to be a scourge, and produced the utmost alarm in the minds of some Bhot porters, whom we had brought with us.

84. No vaccine matter having been brought they could not be vaccinated, but one of their number proposed that the body of a Bhot, who had died a short time before and was buried in a village near, should be exhumed and vaccine matter should be taken from the corpse!

85. At Boora we entered the jurisdiction of the Dadkhwah, and found ourselves treated even more hospitably than before. The heat now was excessive, the thermometer inside our tents under shade being near 90° during the day and 65° at night. From Boora we took our fourth and last march across the desert, starting at 2 a.m. to escape the great heat of the day. At daybreak our devout companions dismounted like good Mahomedans to say their prayers, when their horses took the opportunity of scampering off over the plain, some of them refusing to be caught till we reached Besharik, 20 miles off. I had heard much before I entered Yarkund of the severe ritualism enforced by the Atalik, but with this single exception I saw nothing of it.

86. Besharik is another of the oases skirting the desert. Here we halted for the inevitable dusterkhan of fruit and soup, brought by the Begi of Karghalik, a large village five miles further on. As we crossed the last strip of stony desert we saw in front a long low white building inclosed on all sides by fine poplar trees. This on nearer approach proved to be an old Chinese fort which since the expulsion of that people had been allowed to fall to ruin. It is built of sun-dried bricks with parapets loopholed for musketry, and with square bastions at each corner. It had all the appearance of a dilapidated Punjab jail. Soon after passing this, we entered Karghalik, and rode through the main street. This is about 15 feet wide, and in many parts covered over. On the roofs of the houses, overhanging the street, small gardens of flowers, China aster, balsam, &c., were to be seen. We passed bakers', butchers', shops, now and then finding a small tobacconist and greengrocer's stall. All the other shops were closed, and the inhabitants evidently had made holiday to see the first importation of European officials into their country. On our left, half-way through the town, we saw the entrance to a college, and a little further on a school. At the end of the street we came to the gallows, fitted up with pulleys to accommodate two criminals at once. The punishment of hanging is reserved for thieves, whilst political offenders are entitled to the honour of having their throats cut.

87. Leaving

87. Leaving the gallows we turned sharp to the right up a lane shaded by willow and poplar trees, and were brought into a garden where everything had been prepared for our reception. A large earthen platform raised under some magnificent walnut trees was covered with felt rugs and Khoten carpets, and at one end three chairs were placed in front of a long table covered with a kind of Persian carpet. These chairs were a curious specimen of Yarkundeé carpentry, and the first that had ever been made in the country. Of course the usual dusterkhan was laid out, and all the population of Karghalik collected to see how Europeans ate and drank.

88. From Karghalik to Yarkund, a distance of 35 miles, we passed through an entirely different kind of country. Instead of the dreary desert and sandy hills over which we had travelled for the last four days, we found ourselves in the midst of luxuriant cultivation and rode along well-made roads lined with fine shady trees.

89. The rich verdure of the meadows and the thick vegetation on the slopes, with here and there well-wooded copses, and the constant streams of water, now running freely in meandering brooks, and now restrained in carefully preserved canals, imparted a civilised and English look which reminded one of scenes at home. Farmsteads, too, scattered in pleasing irregularity over the plain, with cattle, commending themselves to English eyes by the absence of the Indian hump, flocks of fine sheep with thick white fleece, and well-fattened poultry, added greatly to the scene.

90. The road from Karghalik is a continuation of the highway from Khoten to Yarkund, along which mile posts, or more correctly posts at each tâsh, or fifth mile, are erected, with the distance written legibly in Persian. The canals and streams are well bridged with wooden beams and planks, and on the low marshy ground some engineering skill has been displayed in raising the road. In all directions the signs of a progressive vigorous government are observable, in the construction of new canals, and in the care bestowed on the roads. If we might judge from this portion of the country, or in fact from any of the inhabited parts which we saw, the impression I received was that the Yarkund territory is to a very great degree flourishing. The houses, though built of mud or of sun-dried bricks, look fresh and tidy, and the mosques and serais, or places of public resort, are kept clean and in good order. The dry-earth system of conservancy is carried out in the houses of the upper classes. Rows of poplars and willows are planted by the side of watercourses and along all lanes, and the surface of the country presented a variegated mass of green or yellow colour, according as the crops were fresh springing up or just ripening to the harvest. The cotton plant was to be seen in abundauce. The plant is small, but the bolls are plentiful, and the staple is longer than that found in Northern India. Flax too is grown for the oil; the plant is too small for using the fibre. Wheat of the finest quality is produced, and Yarkund is justly famous for its beautiful white bread. Barley, rice, maize, millet, and vegetables are to be seen. But we noticed that the cereal crops were excessively dirty; weeding seems to be quite unknown, and rank vegetation too often chokes the more valuable crop.

91. Leaving Karghalik some hours before daylight, we rode at a quick pace till we reached the river Tisnaf, whose waters were sufficiently low to enable us to ford it. From thence a ride of five miles brought us to the village of Ek Shumba Bazaar, where, as its name imports, a market is held once a week; and as we happened to arrive on the proper day, we witnessed the novel sight of a Yarkundee market. We were met about a mile outside the town by the village elders, who insisted on our partaking of their hospitality, so we had to go through all the courses from melons to soup at the early hour of 7 a.m. As we continued our march towards Pushgam, our halting place for the day, we met on the road the countrymen and women flocking to market. Donkeys weighed down with pannier loads of melons, fowls, sheep driven by rosy-faced but rather dirty boys passed in succession. Then some country cobbler offered as he passed us boots for sale, and immediately a pantomime scene was got up between one of our Hindostani followers and the cobbler, who held up three fingers to express that the price was three, something which the foreigner could not understand, and the bargain was off. Then came a man mounted on a neat-looking pony, driving before him half-a-dozen other ponies, which he intended to sell;

then two or three donkey loads of leather, of foreign importation. Presently a party of farmer-looking men came jogging along, chatting together pleasantly till they approached our party, when one and all dismounted quickly, and bent in respectful salutation till our party passed. Their salute and this act of respect in dismounting, so common in the East towards superiors, was evidently intended for our Mihmandar Tashkhoja, though on our return journey, as will be seen, it was offered freely to us. More cosmopolitan, or it may be with a keener eye to their own profit, was the hearty salutation we received from three high-capped religious mendicants, who fell on their knees, and stroking their beards, shouted out their "Huk Allah," &c., and looked wistfully for a return in the shape of a shower of coppers. According to custom, or as we saw in reluctant obedience to the orders of their husbands, all the women at the sight of our party turned out of the road to escape observation, but having satisfied the wishes of their masters, they usually took care to satisfy their curiosity also by having a sly look at the strange passers-by. In watching this curious and interesting procession, we beguiled the time till we reached Pushgam, the last usual halting place to Yarkund.

92. Here we were housed in rooms set apart for us in the travellers' resting place, a large court-yard, on three sides of which were little rooms. In the garden adjoining vines trellissed on frames were laden with bunches of long white grapes of delicious flavour. In the evening a messenger or Mahrambashee arrived from the Dadkhwah, with a present of dresses, and a request that we would honour him by wearing the Yarkundee costume as we entered the town. These garments consisted of a suit of under clothes of plain chintz, over which a gown of fine China silk was to be worn. Broad trousers of silk padded with cotton were added, and a pair of long black leather boots. Over all, a large choga or cloak with sleeves of Kokund silk, very gorgeous in colour, was to be thrown. The question of wearing Mahomedan costume had been debated amongst us, the argument against abandoning our national garb being very strong, but fortunately it had been decided for us by the Yarkundee tailor, who had made the clothes without taking our measure; so we compromised the matter by merely wearing the choga.

93. Next morning, finding the river at the point where the high road crosses it too deep to be forded, we followed its right bank till we reached Yungi Bazaar, and there halted for the day, so as to send part of our baggage across the stream in a boat, we following the next day. Yungi Bazaar is an instance of the progressive character of the present rule. A few years ago the country round was a swampy wilderness. But last year the Dadkhwah cut a canal through the tract, and draining the swamp, brought the whole under cultivation. Agriculturists were induced to settle by liberal grants of land, and a large bazaar was built in which weekly markets are now held. Thus peaceful industry thrives in Yarkund.

94. On Tuesday, the 23rd August, we made our entry into the city of Yarkund. Leaving Yungi Bazaar at 6 a.m., we rode for about a mile to the bank of the Yarkund River, which at that time of the year was about the size of the River Ravee with a more rapid stream. Three boats of rude construction, like long punts, plied at the ferry. They were large enough to take 15 horses with their loads at a time, but the passage was much delayed by the want of skill on the part of the boatmen, who frequently missed the proper current and were swept far down the river. We sat on the bank for some time till our turn came, and occupied ourselves with reading English newspapers just received. This was the first post which had ever been sent from England to Yarkund, and all things, distance and difficult roads, being considered, it is worthy of record that in the heart of Yarkund, where not only no Englishman had ever entered till Messrs. Shaw and Hayward made their venturesome journey last year, but the very idea of such a visit was pronounced to be madness, we in 1870 were quietly seated on the river bank, surrounded by listening and understanding Yarkundees, whilst we read out and translated articles from the "Mail" and "Saturday Review," which had been penned in London only two months before.

95. Having crossed the river, we were met by Munsoor Khoja, the Sirkar or Superintendent of Yarkund, with a small retinue followed by parties of citizens, who

who fell in and helped to swell the procession. In this way we continued to increase our ranks, till, as we approached the city, our numbers presented the appearance of a respectable body of cavalry.

96. For about five miles our road lay along the marshes of the river and richly-clothed meadows. Suddenly, as we rounded a point in the road, we saw before us the object of our weary four months' journey. A long white line, here and there partially hid by tall trees, showed us the walls of the city of Yarkund.

97. As we drew near we found the sides of the road lined with eager spectators, and our entrance to the gates of the town was through a thick row of men. A few rose up to salute the Mirza and officials who rode on ahead, but the majority sat down in proper Yarkund fashion and eyed with evident curiosity the features and appearance of the first European officials who had ever entered their city. Cashmerees, Chinese, Kalmaks, Tajiks, and Hindostanees were discernible by their distinctive features in the citizen throng, and more than once we exclaimed to each other, "Surely this or that man must be a European," from the fair Aryan features which the owner had.

98. Passing through spacious melon gardens, which reached quite close to the very foot of the low white mud walls of the town, we reached the western gate of the city. From the crenellated battlements women, neither fair nor young, looked down upon the gay passing scene, but no nearer were any females allowed by custom to approach the crowd of men. Crossing by a wooden bridge over a very narrow ditch, we entered the gateway, nominally guarded by a dozen or two of villagers, who in the absence of the regular army, which had gone forth to fight under the Atalik Ghazee, did duty as soldiers with a collection of sticks, pikes, and old axes, which might have been taken from some Chinese museum, and made them look for all the world like the rows of janissaries one sees in the museum at Stamboul. We rode through a portion of the chief bazaar, which differs little in appearance from other bazaars, whether in India, Cairo, or Constantinople, except that here no minarets or lofty buildings are to be found to give an imposing effect to the scene, or to break the low level line of single-storied houses. The passage through the street was too rapid, and the crowd was too great to permit our examining the bazaar minutely. After threading bye-streets and passing sundry colleges or large schools, we emerged from the city, and at a distance of 500 yards came to the gate of the Yungi Shahr, or new city as it is called, which was built by the Chinese to overawe the larger city close by. The passage between the two towns was marked by ruins of houses formerly devoted to the pursuit of unlawful pleasure, and destroyed with their inmates by order of the Atalik Ghazee. On a small eminence on our left, a human head fixed on the top of a long pole told its own tale of the character of the present rule.

99. To our right the wall of the Yungi Shahr extended till it joined a bastion, the scene of a bloody struggle between the Kokund troops, under the Atalik Ghazee and the Chinese garrison, the commander of which, finding all hope of further defence in vain, sprang a mine and blew himself and followers into the air. This Yungi Shahr is now kept as the cantonment of the dominant Kokundee army, and is the abode of the Dadkhwah and chief officers. As we entered the gateway, we were saluted by a guard a little more military in appearance than that we had seen in Yarkund proper, but still very far from having the warlike look which should belong to a body of men who in a few years have conquered a country twice the size of Great Britain. Some of them wore red chogas, fastened at the waist by a leather belt from which hung pouches, a bullet mould, a knife, &c. They wore swords, and a few had pistols, but this latter weapon, I found, was not much prized by these soldiers. On showing my own revolver to Mirza Shadee one day, and asking him if he had brought many with him from Calcutta, he replied, "No, I don't care for these weapons. When fighting comes to such close quarters as that, it is time to give up!"

100. The matchlocks used by these soldiers have very thick barrels with small four-groved bore, the bullets for which are cast in neatly cut slate moulds. Each gun has a two-pronged rest, which, when the gun is slung over the shoulder, gives it the appearance of having a double bayonet.

101. Passing by this guard and penetrating the streets of the town for about 200 yards, we arrived at the residence set apart for us. Entering a narrow passage, we passed through a gateway on the right of which was a courtyard, on all sides of which were small rooms. This court was intended for our followers; on the opposite side was a yard, leading to a stable, fitted up with rocks and posts for tying up the horses, and other arrangements, betokening a care for horses which would not be surpassed even in an English stable. This is quite in keeping with the Yarkund, or rather the Turkee custom everywhere. Dependent as these people are on their horses for locomotion, these animals receive from them as much care and attention as any member of their family would have.

102. Passing by this stable-yard we came to a small garden, in the centre of which was a tank filled with water from one of the numerous canals, and lined with young poplar trees. On the left were rooms newly built, and well carpeted with woollen carpets and felt rugs, and on the right a door let us into a small court, where we found a suite of three rooms which had been built expressly for our use. In the centre of this building was an open kind of hall, in which queer fashioned but richly covered chairs and painted tables told of a successful attempt to introduce English habits into Yarkund. A high wall surrounded the whole courtyard, and the only view we could obtain was of the battlements, from the top of which a sentry pacing up and down could command a view of our movements.

103. The usual dusterkhan of fruits, food, &c., was brought, and then we were left to rest ourselves after our long journey.

104. Mr. Shaw had found on his first visit to this country that it was considered correct for the visitor to hasten to present himself before the authorities, and this custom quite accorded with our views, for we were desirous to lose no time in seeing the Dadkhwah and arrange for our return journey, unless indeed we could be assured that the Atalik's speedy return justified our departing from the instruction I had received. When, however, we proposed to pay our respects to the Dadkhwah, various excuses were made, and I learned that it was the wish and intention of the authorities to do all in their power to induce us to remain till the pleasure of the Atalik regarding our disposal should be known. Amongst these Asiatic nations, an ambassador, when once he arrives in the country to which he is accredited, becomes the guest of the ruler of that country, and is supposed to submit himself completely to that ruler's wishes. The idea of an ambassador exercising any volition of his own regarding his movements or his departure is one which they cannot comprehend. When, therefore, I found myself compelled, in the circumstances stated, to return to India at once, I perceived that my doing so might give great offence, and that I could only get away by assuming a very firm demeanour, at the same time giving no handle for just offence, which might be turned into an excuse for detaining us.

105. On the morning after our arrival, hearing that Ibrahim Khan, whom I had sent through Yasseen and over the Pamir Steppes to Yarkund, had arrived, and was kept in confinement by the Dadkhwah. I sent a message requesting that he might be sent to me. In a short time Mirza Shadee brought Ibrahim Khan, and apologised for his having been kept in confinement. I had instructed Ibrahim Khan to maintain his concealed character only until he reached the confines of the Atalik's territory, and then at once to make himself known. This he did, and thus any suspicion which his appearance by another route might have caused was dispelled. Ibrahim Khan's account of a very interesting journey over a line of country almost entirely unknown, except, I believe, through the writings of Fa Hian, a traveller of the fourth century, of which I pretend to no knowledge, but regarding which we may hope to be enlightened by our greatest living Oriental authority, Sir H. Rawlinson, will be given hereafter.

106. Our first interview with the Dadkhwah took place on the afternoon of the 24th August. At the hour appointed, Mirza Shadee came to escort us to the palace. According to the agreement made with him at Leh, we all three wore our proper costume, and not Yarkundee garments. He asked us to walk to the palace, which was only about 300 yards distant. But knowing that with these

these people to go on foot is a marked sign of degradation, Hindoos and all "infidels" being prohibited from riding or wearing a turban in Yarkund, I insisted on riding, and having selected suitable presents of guns, gunpowder, English clocks, velvets, brocades, &c., we started off in procession through a crowded street, and passed a small park of artillery, if a few old guns of curious shape deserve to be dignified with such a title, till we reached the palace. Dismounting at the gateway, we entered a large inclosure in which soldiers dressed in red, yellow, and other gay colours, were seated on the ground in no regular order, and quite at their ease. Then turning to the right we passed under a second gateway, and entered a courtyard in which were larger empty halls. From this we passed into an inner courtyard, at the entrance to which soldiers armed with matchlocks were drawn up, At the further end, we ascended two steps, and were ushered by a side door into a spacious hall, at the threshold of which we were met by a little man, plainly dressed in a white turban, and the usual parti-coloured choga. This was the Dadkhwah Mahomed Yoonus, Governor of Yarkund, and second in rank to the Atalik Ghazee. He, like his master, is a native of Kokund, and, unlike him, has risen to distinction by the use of his pen, rather than by the use of the sword, After the usual salutations, he led us to a doorway towards the end of the room, and seated us on cushioned carpets. With the exception of Mirza Shadee and my Moonshee Dewan Buksh, no other person was allowed to enter the hall. The Dadkhwah commenced conversation by asking after our health, &c., and expressed his distress at hearing of the fatigues and troubles we had undergone. The conversation was altogether of a friendly and mutually complimentary character, for which the Persian language is specially suited. On asking him what news he had of the Atalik Ghazee, he merely replied with "Alhumdullila," "Praise be to God," which was a signal for us to offer our congratulations on the victories he had gained. Shortly afterwards, at a sign given by the Dadkhwah, 16 mahrum bashees or pages entered the room, bearing trays of fruit, sweetmeats, &c., and, as a matter of course, the teapot made its appearance. I then displayed my presents, and the ceremony ended by robes of honour being thrown across the shoulders of each of us, after which we went back to our quarters.

107. The next day or two was spent by us in anxious deliberation what course we should pursue for it was very evident that nothing was further from the Dadkhwah's wish than that we should leave the country without seeing the Atalik. In fact he was bound to obey the orders of his master, and disobedience of the Atalik's orders might lead to the forfeiture of his life. We were given therefore to understand that until the Atalik sent orders for our disposal, he could do nothing. At first the mode in which this endeavour to detain us was made, was such as would probably be adopted by all Oriental despots. The Dadkhwah ridiculed the idea of our going away, and some of his actions were doubtless intended to intimidate us into acquiescence. Finding this fail, he had recourse to earnest and incessant supplication, sending deputation after deputation, with letters and presents to coax us into remaining. At this juncture we had recourse to the good offices of Kazee Mahomed Yakoob, who having left us near Sanjû, as I have already mentioned, had come to Yarkund and taken up his abode near the Dadkhwah's palace. Visits and friendly messages and presents had been interchanged between us, and I observed that the Dadkhwah paid the utmost outward respect to this nephew of the Atalik. The Kazee has shown in his frequent conversations with us a degree of liberality and enlightenment which was the result of his long residence at Constantinople, and his contact with European civilisation. He could understand what was palpably beyond the comprehension of a man like the Dadkhwah, wholly unacquainted with any but his own despotic customs, the importance of offering no hindrance to the execution by me of the orders given by my own Goverment, and in this light I addressed myself to the Kazee, and found that I had not made a mistake. He at once told the truth that the Atalik was engaged upon a campaign which would probably last for a long time, and it would be in vain for us to expect to see him for some time. He expatiated on the frequent victories of his uncle, and gave the reins to his imagination by describing the slaughter in one battle as so great that it took a man two days and a night to walk over the dead bodies of the enemy. This tone of exaggeration regarding the prowess of the Atalik is adopted with favour by his followers, and Mirza

Shadee one day gravely assured us that the Atalik's strength was so great that one day, being angry with one of his courtiers, he gave him a box on the ear, and the force of the blow was such that the man made six sommersaults and then fell dead.

108. The Kazee then told me that the Dadkhwah wished by every means in his power short of violence or ill-treatment to induce us to remain till the orders of the king arrived, when we should either be asked to go to his camp at Turfan, a distance of some 300 miles, or should be kept at Yarkund or Kashgar till the king returned from his campaign. The opportunity thus held out of being the first Europeans who had ever visited the countries north of Yarkund, and of opening out a tract so little known to geographers, was indeed most tempting, but my orders were peremptory and must be obeyed, and this the Kazee fully understood and helped me to carry out, thus affording a pleasant contrast to Mirza Shadee, who, for some reason or other, had quite changed his demeanour from the moment of our entering Yarkund territory, one possible solution of which may be that Mirza Shadee, being ambitious and vain-glorious, had built sundry castles in the air for his own advancement, in consequence of his success in bringing an embassy from a great European power to his master. When, therefore, he found us determined to carry out our orders, and to return to India without seeing the Atalik, his hopes were at once dashed to the ground, and this caused him to give vent to ill-humour, which a more astute politician would have concealed.

109. Previous to leaving Ladakh or Yarkund I stipulated, as I have stated, with Mirza Shadee that we should be left completely unfettered in our movements in Yarkund, and that no confinement of our person should be attempted. This stipulation I strictly enforced, and we were enabled to see something of the surrounding country.

110. A quiet ride on a summer afternoon in the suburbs of Yarkund was a novel sensation and full of interest. Leaving the gate of the Yungi Shahr, we passed through gardens of melons and vegetables, in which small arbours, truly answering to the lodge in a garden of cucumbers, gave shelter to the owners from the heat of the sun. During the whole time of our visit to Yarkund, we found the air filled with a dusty mist, which somewhat veiled the rays of the sun; but the temperature in daytime was warm, considering the elevation of Yarkund, 4,000 feet above the level of the sea. Passing these gardens which encircle the city, we rode along a broad well-defined road, on each side of which fields of millet and wheat were ripening for the harvest. Our Hindostanee followers were astonished to see the spring and autumn crops of their own country growing here side by side and ripening at the same time. Canals of water crossed our path perpetually. Along this road, which led to the north, one might see every day couriers hastening with despatches to or from the Atalik's camp. These men have to ride right through the journey, changing their horses at each stage of 15 or 20 miles. They travel at a steady yulga or amble of six miles an hour, and seem to know no fatigue. Just before our arrival a band of 100 captive Tunganis, old men, boys, and some women amongst them, was brought from Turfan to be exhibited in Yarkund before their final fate should be determined. I fear the chances of their escaping the scaffold were but small.

111. On the south, and in fact almost all round Yarkund, suburban villages, and detached houses with orchards and gardens, present a pleasing view. The traveller rides along pretty lanes well shaded with large poplar trees, or follows the course of a canal or branch of the river, whose banks are covered with the weeping willow. Here and there wooden bridges of rude construction have to be crossed. Everywhere there were signs of peaceful active industry, and the peasants would look up from their work with pleased inquisitive eyes at the strange appearance we must have presented to them. The Yarkund fashion for the higher classes of ladies is to leave their houses during the day and spend some hours in the gardens outside the walls. The lower class of women occupy their time in embroidery, at which they are skilful hands, and wander about with perfect freedom. Though it is said that women are not allowed to go about unveiled in Yarkund, and a very thick leather strap was shown me as the instrument used for enforcing obedience, I cannot say that I found the ladies of Yarkund

Yarkund less curious than ladies elsewhere, and ruddy faces, with eyebrows well blackened by some dye to add to their beauty, peered at us from all sides as we rode through the streets.

112. Owing to the tortuous conduct of Mirza Shadee some difficulties arose for a time, which however we got over. But I thought it advisable to avoid the possibility of offence being taken where none was intended to be given, so that when the Dadkhwah sent subsequent invitations to us to visit the gardens and other places of public resort, we excused ourselves and remained in our quarters till the day came for our departure.

113. When the Dadkhwah, who was in a very difficult position as regards us in the absence of the Atalik, found that all hope of our remaining was at an end, he with true Oriental politeness sent messenger after messenger to ascertain our wants for the journey, and was almost offended because we would not avail ourselves of his offers. Dresses for all our followers and fur cloaks for ourselves were sent in abundance, and one morning two men came carrying on a pole suspended between them 40 pairs of top boots, for the manufacture of which Yarkund is famous.

114. One very necessary item for our journey, however, he apparently dared not supply. Baggage animals had been promised to be given, and would doubtless have been supplied had we left with the Atalik's permission, but in the present circumstances he not only did not supply them, but begged me to write a certificate that he had done nothing to facilitate my departure, and that my departure was my own act.

115. This certificate I of course gave, and then by the aid of Tara Singh proceeded to purchase and fit out about 70 ponies. Mirza Shadee at this juncture behaved very ill, and would probably have prevented our getting away at all, had it not been for the energy and fertility of resource of Tara Singh, whose unsparing activity and good-tempered tact extricated us from what appeared at one time a formidable difficulty.

116. On the morning of the 5th September, which was the day fixed from the first for our departure, having sent off all our baggage, we went to take leave of the Dadkhwah. We were received much in the same manner as on our former visit, and had a friendly talk when he gave the usual parting presents, and we took our leave. We then bid a farewell visit to Kazee Mahamad Yakoob, whom we thanked heartily for the good offices he had exerted on our behalf, and then mounting our horses, and followed by a Yarkundee escort, we rode out of Yarkund. It is not necessary to give a detailed account of our journey homewards to Shadulla, as we traversed the same ground as we took going.

117. But I must record the good treatment we received on our return. It might have been supposed, and in fact I was at one time warned, that if we went away without seeing the Atalik, we should find scant honour shown us on the road. The contrary was the fact, and nothing could exceed the civility of all the officials we met. Each day special messengers arrived from the Dadkhwah bringing a silver ornament or a present of horses, or some little token of friendship, and a letter asking after our welfare, to which I replied by sending some English articles in return. Nor must I forget to notice the behaviour of the people. It had been said that the respect paid to us, as we neared and entered the city of Yarkund, was due to the partial adoption by us of the Mahomedan costume. On leaving Yarkund, I determined to wear nothing but our own clothes. I was strongly dissuaded from this, the argument used being that, if the people saw us without the usual honorary garments, it would be supposed that we left in disgrace, and we should therefore receive no respect. But I felt that we ought not to filch, as it were, a false respect from the people, given under the erroneous impression that it was offered to Mahomedans, and that whether we met with honour or dishonour, we ought to receive it as Englishmen. The result proved the correctness of these views, for it was impossible not to be struck with the very marked respect shown us by the villagers and travellers whom we met on the road. Riders dismounted from their horses as we passed, and, as a rule, the spectators bowed, crossed their arms, and uttered the salutatory *salaam aleikum*.

 118. From

118. From Shadulla we took a new route back to Ladakh, following the line indicated to us by Dr. Cayley, who, when he left our camp on the 2nd August, made a tour of exploration to see if a more favourable route than that over the Linzì Thung Plains could be found. A reference to the map, which accompanies the report, is necessary in order to understand these routes. Leaving the valley of the Karakash a few miles above Shadulla, we followed the old or Karakorum route over the Suget Pass, 18,237 feet high. The ascent is very gradual and easy, except just at the summit, where fresh snow having fallen, the labour of crossing the pass was somewhat severe. At a distance of 12 miles from this pass on the south side, we reached an encamping ground known as Mullik Shah, where no grass or sign of vegetation is found to mark the spot. From this point, leaving the old road, we crossed the Dipsi Kol Plain, a large bare plateau at an elevation of 17,000 feet. Here the cold began to be severe, the thermometer not rising above freezing point during the day, and falling below zero at night; the lowest point to which it fell on our return journey being 12 degrees below zero. Having crossed this Dipsi Kol Plain and surmounted an easy pass, we entered a valley leading us to the Upper Karakash river, along the bed of which our course was taken for five days. When Dr. Cayley travelled over this line two months previously, he found grass in more or less abundance at nearly every stage. But by the time we passed over the same ground, this grass had disappeared, partly having been grazed away, and in many places being hid by the snow which had fallen early in the season. Whatever was the cause, the result was that for seven days our animals did not taste a blade of grass; but such is the hardy nature of the Yarkund ponies that none of them died from exhaustion, though in the course of 24 hours we lost six ponies from internal inflammation, caused by the mixture of dâl pulse with the barley, of which we had run short.

119. Leaving the Upper Karakash river, near its source, we crossed by a low pass on to the head of the Linzì Thung plain, and thence making two marches, for the most part of the time through stony and narrow ravines, we came to the Chang Lung La range, crossing which we entered the Changchenmo valley, and found ourselves once more in Cashmere territory. Dr. Cayley, whose exertions to send us out supplies and assistance of all kinds, placed every member of this expedition under deep obligations to him, came as far as Gogra to meet us. From this point we traversed the same route by the Pangong lake, which we had taken on the outward journey, and reached Leh on the 12th October. Here the expedition was considered virtually at an end, and it was no longer necessary for us to keep together. I came on ahead, with a light camp, by double marches to Sreenuggur, and arrived at Murree on the 29th October. Mr. Shaw left the camp just before we crossed the Chang Lung La, to explore the head of the Shyok stream, or of its tributaries. Dr. Henderson, whose valuable collection of birds and plants had increased day by day, journeyed slowly down from Leh, in order to loose no chance of adding to his contribution to Natural History. The total estimated distance from Lahore to Yarkund is 1,000 miles, so that the expedition travelled 2,000 miles in six months, over the highest tract of country in the world, and, I am glad to add, without losing a single follower, or having to part with a load of baggage. Though some of our servants had never seen a mountain before, not one failed in the long marches, or grumbled at the hardships they had to undergo.

120. Having given a narrative of our daily proceedings, I will now endeavour to comply with the instructions conveyed in the Foreign Secretary's letter, which I have quoted at the commencement of this report.

121. But it will be easily understood, from what has been already told, that circumstances were very adverse to acquiring as much information as under other conditions we might have gained.

122. The absence of the Atalik Ghazee from the seat of his government put an end to all our projects at an early stage after entering Yarkund boundaries, and my attention was devoted to arranging for our speedy return, and could not be diverted to seeking general information on topics of public interest, which, to be of any value, must be gathered with care and deliberation, and be well sifted and weighed; all this requires time and leisure; whereas from the time of our entering

entering the Atalik's dominions, till we left them, only one month and 19 days elapsed, of which more than a month was occupied in travelling, chiefly over uninhabited tracts.

123. I purpose, at a later stage in this report, giving more fully all the information I have gathered regarding the Atalik Ghazee, but I may remark here, that his absence from Yarkund was by no means a matter of choice, but of necessity. The disturbances which broke out in Aksû, Turfan, and Oorumtsi, required to be quelled vigorously and promptly, and this could only be done by himself in person. He therefore left his capital some time in March, and has been busily engaged ever since. At the time of our reaching Yarkund, he was distant from that city at least 500 and probably 700 miles, and the post carried, by hard-riding horsemen, took from 13 to 15 days in transit.

124. Anxiously expecting our arrival, however, not only had he ordered a completely new residence for us and our followers to be built, as I have already described, but the Atalik had also evidently instructed the Dadkhwah to use every endeavour to keep us in the country till he could return to meet us.

125. But though the desire of his Excellency the Viceroy, that I should express in person to the Atalik Ghazee the friendly sentiments of Her Majesty's Indian Government towards him, could not be accomplished, still the second, and what perhaps may be considered the main object of the visit was fortunately independent of the presence of the Atalik, and I trust it may be found that, for the promotion and facilitation of trade between India and Eastern Turkestan, this expedition has not been without success.

126. The first point to which attention may be drawn is the road. Until a few years ago all communication with Eastern Turkestan was carried over the Karakorum range, by a most difficult and dangerous route, on which 30 per cent. of the baggage animals invariably died. Other difficulties, caused by Nomad robbers and plundering officials, were complained of and finally removed, and this year the last political obstacle seemed to be overcome by the abandonment, on the part of the Maharaja of Cashmere, of all transit duties formerly levied on the Central Asian trade.

127. It only remained then for this expedition to proceed along the new line of road to the Yarkund territory, and examine the route and see what further facilities are required, and whether the trade is of sufficient importance to justify the adoption of other measures, or the outlay of money.

128. The first thing which must strike any traveller over the new route between Ladakh and Yarkund is the remarkably easy character of the road. Though two very high passes have to be crossed, yet the ascent is so gradual and easy that laden animals experience no difficulty whatever, except from the rarity of the atmosphere. From Chang Lung La to the Karakash, a distance of about 100 miles, there is a gradual descent, broken here and there by small ridges and crests.

129. Looking at it then as a question of gradients, this route has not been at all unduly praised. But there are great drawbacks to this praise; and sundry difficulties, which have hitherto rendered the route unpopular, have to be overcome.

130. The great elevation at which travellers have to live for many days is a most serious drawback, but it is common to all routes passing over the Karakorum range.

131. The severe exertion and exhaustion which baggage animals have to undergo is an important consideration. We found that the Ladakh ponies, even when in good condition, were unequal to this work, and none but the hardy animals from Central Asian steppes could survive. This is important, and helps to strengthen an opinion which I have frequently expressed, that this trade is much more to be sought by the inhabitants of Eastern Turkestan than by the people of Hindostan.

132. Another drawback is the scarcity of grass and want of good water for seven or eight marches. Grass, in small patches and of a coarse kind, is found

here and there, and might suffice for a caravan of moderate size; but traders travelling in large numbers would have to carry enough grain for their animals, so as to be independent of these scanty grazing grounds. This, however, the merchants are accustomed to do. The want of good water is another serious drawback, but one which a little attention and labour will speedily remove.

133. All that is required to render the new road popular appears to be to construct places of refuge at each stage, with store pits or inclosures, and to dig wells or make reservoirs for water, the prime cost of which would be the only expenses necessary, and would not exceed a few hundred rupees.

134. For this road, especially in its present arid state, we found that camels were admirably adapted. Fifteen of these animals, heavily laden with merchandise, met us as we were entering Yarkund. As we crossed the Chang La Pass on our return, and within a day's march of Leh, we overtook these same camels, carrying their full loads and looking just as stout and well as when we first saw them. Their owner told us that not one camel had died or fallen ill, and when heavy snow fell on the Linzi Thung, rendering the road somewhat impracticable for horses, these camels went ahead and made a path through the snow.

135. Two camels presented to me by the Dadkhwah accompanied my return. In some parts of the Upper Karakash we had to traverse large ice fields full of awkward chasms, up and down which our ponies clambered with much difficulty; over these rough places, as well as through the stony ravines to which I have already alluded, the camels travelled without any inconvenience. The result of this experiment has been to convince the Yarkund merchants in Leh, whom I saw, that camels are by far the best description of baggage animals for this journey. These remarks apply, however, only to the double-humped Bactrian camel, of which quantities are to be found in Eastern Turkestan. I know not how far the Indian camel would be suited to those high regions.

136. As Dr. Cayley, the commissioner specially appointed to superintend the traffic on this frontier, has very carefully examined the various routes, I will not discuss here their respective merits, but the remarks I have just made will apply to any line taken over those great heights.

137. Mr. Hayward suggested opening out a more direct route over the Kogyar Pass into Yarkund, thus effecting a saving of some four or five days. I had no opportunity of personally examining this line, but was given to understand by several traders that the Kogyar Pass is easier than that which we crossed to Sanjû, and perhaps as trade increases, the Kashgar authorities may see fit to open out that route. But this matter may be viewed with patient indifference for the present. It is enough to know that by either of the routes from the Changchenmo to Shadulla, and thence by the Kilian, or by the Sanjû Pass, there are no physical difficulties to the passage of any number of laden animals except over the last pass into Yarkund, for which yaks alone can be used, and for this the Kirghiz and Wakhi tribes are only too happy to increase their profit as carriers. There is at times difficulty in crossing some of the rivers, as this report shows, but this is only experienced by persons situated as we were and compelled to push on our way at all hazards. The merchants travel more leisurely, and can afford to wait for the subsidence of the waters. It is not with them, as the Roman poet tells us it was in his country, that

> Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at ille
> Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

On the contrary, we found traders waiting patiently on the river bank, whilst the river, swollen by the melting snows on the mountain tops, gradually decreased in volume and velocity, till in many instances they dried up altogether.

138. A short résumé of the growth of trade with Eastern Turkestan may be appropriately given here.

139. In

139. In 1863, when Mr. Davies submitted his report to Government, the total amount of trade *viâ* Ladakh with Turkestan amounted to 23,604*l.*=2,36,040 rupees. At that time the Chinese held possession of the country, and one great article of trade was opium, which was smuggled into the towns, and its export increased in spite of the Imperial prohibition of 1839. Goat skins dyed red from Noorpore were sent to Leh, where they are manufactured into boots; otter skins, piecegoods, cloths, spices, and drugs. Indigo and saffron formed the staple of commerce. Small as the figures are, they fell in a year or two to scarcely 1,00,000 rupees=10,000*l.*, owing to the expulsion of the Chinese, and the consequent cessation of the demand for opium. The extortions also of the Maharaja's officials in Ladakh were so excessive that few traders ventured by that route. But the attention of the British Government being directed to this quarter, orders were given for the abolition of all illegal exactions and the stoppage of oppression by the Cashmere officials. A British officer was appointed to reside each summer at Leh to watch and protect trade; and the good effect of these measures will be seen from the following figures:—

The trade with Turkestan was—

	Rs.	£.
In 1867 - - - - -	5,54,945 =	55,494
„ 1868 - - - - -	10,38,401 =	103,840
„ 1869 - - - - -	12,91,587 =	129,158

140. At the beginning of this year the Maharaja of Cashmere agreed by treaty to abolish all transit duty on goods passing between Turkestan and India, and the British Government has also relinquished the duties on seaborne goods intended for exports to Cashmere or Turkestan, so that we may reasonably expect to see the trade returns to show a further steady increase.

141. This year, on entering the Atalik's territories, we were greeted with the intelligence that passes had been given to traders for the export of 2,300 horse-loads of merchandise. Assuming the value of the merchandise to be about the same as in former years, this statement implies that the trade had increased from one lakh, or 10,000 *l.* in 1866, to 13 lakhs, or 130,000 *l.* Another encouraging feature was, that all the traders from Hindostan whom we met on the road expressed satisfaction with the result of their commercial transactions. These people generally in former years spoke doubtfully regarding their gains, and rather paraded their losses. But this year one and all confessed to having made considerable profit, and what was most satisfactory for us to hear, they expressed much gratitude to the Dadkhwah of Yarkund for the very liberal treatment they had received at his hands.

142. The truth is, that Kashgar, Yarkund, Khoten, and all the cities and towns of Eastern Turkestan being thickly populated, and having scarcely any manufactories of their own, are entirely dependent on foreign imports for every thing except food. Cotton is grown to a small extent, but of a good quality, and a few coarse kinds of cloth are made up. But this is a very infinitesimal item of supply to meet the great demand there is for garments of all kinds, and the inhabitants of that country look to the caravans which yearly come from Kokand or Budakshan, and latterly from India, to replenish their markets.

143. The former trade with China is now entirely at a standstill, so that tea, so essential to the existence of these Asiatics, can no longer be got from that country direct. Green tea alone is used by them, and this finds its way into the Turkestan market by various routes. Some goes from Bombay or Calcutta through Afghanistan, Bokhara, and Kokand; some takes the still more circuitous route through Kiakhta and Siberia, and thence southwards from Semipalatinsk, or even from Irbit to Yarkund, and then across the Terek Pass to Kashgar. Some crosses the Himalayan Passes by the route which we traversed. The Yarkundees pretended to be great connoisseurs in tea, and for some reason or other it was the fashion to despise every other kind but the best China green, though I observed with satisfaction that green tea grown in the Kangra Valley, and passed into the country under the name of China tea, was pronounced by the drinkers to possess a delicate flavour such as they delared no Himalayan production could equal.

144. Just at the time when we were in Yarkund the price of tea had fallen considerably, owing to the large supplies which had lately been received. Stocks which had been lying in the Oorumtsi store-houses had found their way further west, and large quantities had been sent in from all sides. Brick tea is not touched by any native of this country. But I was told that a curious kind was sold and much relished in Yarkund. This tea is dug out from the remains of an old city, about seven days' journey east of Khoten, which many years ago was overwhelmed and destroyed by the sands drifted from the great desert of Gobi.

145. Sugar, in small white cones, and sugar-candy in wooden boxes, bearing Russian characters outside, are imported from Orenberg through Yarkund. Indian sugar when imported finds a ready and profitable market. Russian bon-bons, with mottoes in that language, are to be seen frequently on a Yarkund dusterkhan.

146. Chintzes of all kinds and colours, long cloth, broad cloths, furs, otter skins, are of course in great demand. The profit to be derived from this branch of the trade varies considerably in different years. This year the Russian caravans not having penetrated so far as Kashgar, the supplies sent from India fetched good prices.

147. Arms of all kinds and ammunition are eagerly sought, the preference being given to English manufactures. Guns are, however, appropriated by the State, private individuals not being allowed to buy these weapons without the permission of the Dadkhwah. This officer told me that the percussion caps supplied by Russia were of very inferior quality and constantly missed fire, whereas the English caps were all good. On the arrival of the artificers whom Mirza Shadee brought with him from Hindostan and Cashmere, the Dadkhwah set them to make caps, and showed us a few which had been made, but he found to his dismay that he could not manufacture the detonating powder.

148. The exports from Yarkund to India are confined to three or four items, the most important of which this year, at all events, was churrus, known to all Englishmen as "Hashish." This intoxicating or rather exhilarating drug is extracted from a very fine quality of hemp which is grown on the borders of every field in Yarkund, and when sent to Hindostan yields to the importer a profit varying from 50 to 200 per cent.

149. Silk is cultivated in Gooma and Khoten and exported to India. But the process of winding the silk from the cocoons is clumsy, and the threads are not sufficiently carefully separated, in consequence of which it has a coarse appearance, which completely spoils its value in the Indian market.

150. Shawl wool of the very finest quality is brought from Oosh and Turfan, and usually is exported to Cashmere. This year, however, owing to the war on the frontier, trade with Aksû and Turfan has been interrupted, and little or no wool came to Cashmere. In this item of trade, however, the cessation of the supply has saved the merchants from heavy loss, for the outbreak of the war in Europe has stopped the shawl looms in Cashmere, and consequently there is no demand for the wool.

151. The remainder of the export trade from Yarkund is divided between gold-dust, felt rugs, carpets, ponies, &c. I give in an appendix a list of prices and cost of carriage.

152. Taking a general view of the trade question, I may say that Eastern Turkestan has to come to us or other civilised countries for almost everything, and, with the exception of a few staples such as I have enumerated, has nothing to offer us in return. It is therefore for them to seek us, rather than for our merchants to go there to seek them. Bearing this in view, our object has been to remove all obstacles in the way of their intercourse with us, and to encourage them to come over freely and frequently. With this object a fair was established at Palumpore in the heart of the tea-growing district of Kangra, and has answered its purpose well. In future, now that the Yarkund merchants have found their way to our Indian markets, and have seen, in the presence of English officers amongst them, a proof of our earnest desire to promote commercial and friendly intercourse with them, the necessity for securing their attendance

attendance at the fair is no longer so urgent, though its continuance is on every account most desirable.

153. For a full account of the country known as Eastern Turkestan, Chinese Tartary, and, as it is called, Dzungaria, I would refer to Williams' "Middle Kingdom," and to the papers written by the late Mr. Wyllie and Mr. R. Michell. But a very brief description of the country and review of its history may not be out of place here.

154. The whole tract of country between the parallels of 73° and 95° East longitude and of 45° and 36° North latitude, which, having now become more or less subject to the sway of Yakoob Beg, is loosely called Eastern Turkestan, comprises three distinct districts, which in the days of the Chinese rule were separate jurisdictions.

155. The first, which includes Khamil, and Oorumtsi, the Chinese Tihua-chow almost its westernmost point, is merely, so far as its civil and military establishments are concerned, the westernmost division of Kan-suh, the North-Western Provinces of China Proper.

156. The second jurisdiction, of which I'li or Kulja, the Chinese Hwui-yuan is the capital, is an enormous district extending west from the frontier of Kan-suh nearly to the Lake Balkash, and bounded on the south by what are known to the Mongols as the Tengiri Range, and to the Chinese as the Tien Shan, or Celestial Mountains. This region is otherwise called the Pei Lu, "the road north," that is north of these mountains. This tract was ruled by a military governor of the highest rank, whose authority extended northerly over the outer provinces of Tarbagatai, Kurun, Uliasutai, and Kobdo, and southerly to the cities in the Nan Lu. The Nan Lu itself, *i.e.*, road south of the Celestial Mountains, or what is more properly Eastern Turkestan or Kashgaria, is the third division. This tract is the heart of the kingdom formed by Yakoob Beg on the ruins of the Chinese power in these parts, and may be more minutely described.

157. Eastern Turkestan Proper lies between the Tien Shan Mountains and the Kuen Luen and the northern watershed of the Karakorum Range. To the west it is bounded by the Pamir steppes and the range known as the Belor Tagh and Alai Mountains, and eastward the line is gradually shaded off into the great desert of Gobi.

158. The whole area of this tract has been computed to be 80,000 square miles, the greater part of which, however, is desert waste, the cultivated parts being chiefly on the northern and western slopes, and along the course of the various affluents of the river Tarim.

159. Roughly calculated, the distance from east to west is about 400 miles, and from north to south 750 miles.*

160. If the heights given by the Russian geographers are measured by the same scale used by us, the mountains and passes on the north and west of Kashgaria are for the most part very much lower than the Kuen Luen and Karakorum ranges.

161. The elevations given are as follows:—

Peak of Tengri Khan	21,000
Ridge	17,000
Height in vicinity of Issyk Kul	15,000
Average heights in the Tien Shan range about Issyk Kul	12,000

162. The principal passes in the Tien Shan Range by the Chatyr Keul and Sonkul Lakes are from 10,000 to 11,500, one only, the Muzart Pass, being 16,000.

163. The passes on the road to Ladakh range from 11,000 Zoji-Lâ in Cashmere, to 18,000 and 19,000 feet in and out of the Chang-chenmo Valley.

164. The

* *Note*—Williams makes the whole tract reach nearly 1,250 miles from east to west, and vary from 300 to 500 miles in breadth.

164. The principal towns in Kashgaria are Kashgar the capital, Yangi Hissar, Yarkund, Kurghalib, Gooma, Ilchi, and six other towns which constitute Khoten, Aksû, Bai, Sairam, Oosh, Turfan, Karashahr, Kucha.

165. The rivers are the Kashgar, the Yarkund, Tisnaf, Sanjû, Arpalak, and Karakash, which unite to form the Tarim. It is said that this river flows into the Lake Lob or Lok-nor, but the general opinion expressed by all whom I asked was that it flowed into the great desert, and is lost there.

166. The distance of Kashgar from Kokund is said to be 400 miles. The Russian outpost on the river Naryn is not more than eight days' journey, or 134 miles, from Kashgar.

167. I have been able to gather some information which may throw light on sundry passages in the narrative of travels given by Marco Polo. After describing the city of Khoten, he speaks of the province named Peyn, which was said to be of five days' journey in extent, in the direction of east-north-east, and contained many cities and strong places, the principal one of which was called Peyn. Further to the east-north-east, Marco Polo speaks of the province of Charchan, which in former times was flourishing and productive, but had been laid waste by the Tartars. Its chief city was called Charchan. Through this province run several large streams in which are found chalcedonies and jaspers, which are carried for sale to Cathay, and such is their abundance that they form a considerable article of commerce.

168. Neither of these provinces is marked on our maps, and hitherto no successful attempt has been made to identify the names of the towns or to fix their position. The only effort to do this, as regards Peyn, seems to have been made by D'Anville, who places it seven degrees of longitude from Khoten. Peyn is also written Poim or Poin, and this small piece of information helped me to identify the places, as I shall show.

Charchan is supposed to correspond with Schachan, and De Guignes speaks of a district named Chen-Chen to the south of Hami and near Lake Lop.

169. I made many inquiries regarding these provinces, and for a long time without success, till one day I met a very intelligent Tajik officer who had formerly been a merchant, and only lately had come into the service of the Atalik. This man had travelled backwards and forwards between Moscow and the various towns of Central Asia for the last 15 years, and was, if I may so call him, a living Central Asian gazetteer. I asked him about the mines of gold and precious stones said to exist near Khoten, when he told me that these really came from a place called Charchand, which he said is a large town at the foot of the range of mountains which run from the south of Khoten to China. Charchand is 40 days' journey from Khoten, and the road skirts the foot of the mountains the whole way, and traverses 12 streams of considerable size, which unite to form one river that flows into Lake Lop. Charchand is inhabited by Tartar Mahomedans. Manufactures are carried on there, and a trade between it and China exists. The route to China from Khoten used to pass by this town. Judging from the data given by my informant, I should say Charchand might be placed somewhere about the 97th degree of east longitude, and perhaps about 36th degree north latitude. It is evident from my informant's statement about the 12 rivers and the grassy slopes along which the road passes, that the high range of the Kuen Luen, instead of ending, as some of our geographers make it do, not far east of Khoten, extends the whole way till it joins the mountain system of China. My Tajik friend spoke Persian with the very broad accent peculiar to the dialect of Andijan, the letter *a* being made to sound like *o*. He told me that these rivers flowed into the lowland, Paeen-mulk, which he pronounced *Poin*-mulk, and this gave me a clue to identifying Marco Polo's Peyn province. Colonel Gardiner, whom I met in Sreenuggur, and whose extensive acquaintance with the countries of Central Asia, over which he travelled nearly half a century ago, is well known, threw light on the discussion which is carried on in geographers' circles regarding the Bolor country, by saying the word "Bolor" is in truth bâlâ, or high. My Tajik friend pronounced bâlâ in his broad dialect Bolor, and thus, I believe, the Bolor tract and the Peyn Province of Marco Polo are really the Persian translation of highland and lowland.

170. He

170. He said that in this Peyn or lowland province large cities formerly existed, which have been overwhelmed and buried in the sand. Mr. Johnson alludes to the same story in the report of his visit to Khoten; and from several sources we heard of the large town called Tukla Makan in the desert of the same name, which has been partially restored to light, possibly by excavation, but more probably by the drifting sands having shifted their position.

171. Tales of the strange noises heard by persons venturing on the great desert of Gobi, and of the spirits who infest the place and molest travellers, similar to those told by Marco Polo nearly 600 years ago, were recounted to us by my informant.

172. No trace of the Nestorian Christians could be found, and any buildings they erected have long since perished. Nor in the customs or habits of the people is there any sign of a purer faith than that of Mahamed.

173. Concerning the position of Yarkund there has been much diversity of opinion, Colonel Yule, in his "Cathay," giving no less than six different valuations of the longitude, ranging between 76° 3′, fixed by the Chinese missionary surveyors, to 77° 30′. Mr. Shaw, who took careful observations all through our journey, fixes the position of Yarkund at 76°.

174. Similarly, regarding the size and population of Yarkund, conflicting accounts have been given. Atkinson says there are 14,000 houses, and perhaps 100,000 inhabitants. Michell says Yarkund has 32,000 houses. The town is surrounded by a wall, eight fathoms in height, and 17 miles in circumference, with four gates.

175. Williams says the stone walls are three miles in circumference, and the population doubtless exceeds 200,000. Other writers, I believe, put the population at 120,000. Mr. Davies says Yarkund contains a population probably exceeding 50,000. It has five gates and a mud wall all round, on the top of which a cart might be driven. It is loopholed, and has no ditch.

176. Huree Chund, a most intelligent observer, undertook, at my request, to make a rough plan of the city, a copy of which is given in the Appendix. He paced the outside of the walls, and found the circumference to be 9,100 paces. This would give an area of little more than a square mile. Inside the city, near the wall, are gardens attached to the houses, and in the parts which we visited we saw much space given up to courtyards, thick walls, &c., so that probably the habitations, except in the main bazaars, are not very closely packed together. Judging from similar towns in India, I should put the population at a more moderate figure than those generally given. The bazaars are crowded during the day with villagers from the suburbs, who return to their houses at night. These would, perhaps, give the appearance of a larger multitude. The Cashmeeree Akskal gave the following distribution of the population :—

People from	Badakshan	2,000
„	Baltistan	2,000
„	Cashmere	1,000
„	Andijan or Kokund	3,000
„	Tunganis	500
„	Yarkundees	50,000

Of these Yarkundees about 5,000 are merchants, and as many more are menials or beggars, and the rest either own land which they cultivate themselves, or till the ground for others.

177. I should say from the foregoing data that 60,000 would be the outside figure at which to put the population of Yarkund, and this calculation may perhaps be some guide in enabling us to arrive at an idea of the whole population of the country. The Russian authorities vary their estimate from 3,000,000 to 20,000,000, and even 30,000,000. Williams only gives the population of the chief towns. Now the greater part of Eastern Turkestan is desert steppe, cultivation and habitation existing only where rivers make their way. According to Mr. Michell there are about 70 towns and large villages. Taking Yarkund as the largest, at, say, 60,000, we should perhaps find that M. Valikhanof has not been very far wrong in reducing the total figure to 580,000 souls.

 178. The

178. The stone walls eight fathoms high, on the top of which a cart might be driven, is not quite a correct description. There are no stones at all in Yarkund; all the houses are built of sun-dried bricks, which acquire a remarkable degree of hardness; the walls are of mud, and about 18 feet high, with crenellated battlements. There are five gates to this town. The citadel of Yungishahr is 700 paces distant from the town, and is built in the form of a square, each side being 1,000 paces long. There is only one gate leading to the town of Yarkund.

179. There are 120 Mohullas or wards in Yarkund, of which the Cashmeeree quarter is said to be the largest. In each ward is a school where the Koran is taught, and little else. The number of colleges has been given as 60, but I believe this to be a great exaggeration. My informant said there were only three or four colleges where education of a superior kind was given. As we rode through the streets we saw two of these colleges. The streets are wide enough to admit of the passage of carts, and the bazaars resemble very much the streets in Cairo, but the absence of second stories, except here and there a low upper room being visible, gives a very unimposing character to the town.

180. The population of Eastern Turkestan, or Kashgaria, is Mahomedan, and chiefly of the straitest orthodox or Sunni faith. The few Chinese who escaped massacre had to cut off their pig-tails and become Mussulmans. Shia Mahomedans are held in great disrepute. The population is said to consist chiefly of Uzbeg Turks, and speak the Jagathai dialect of the Turki language. Hindoo merchants are tolerated for the wealth they bring into the country, but they are not allowed to ride or wear turbans. In the time of the Chinese rule the Mahomedans fell into lax habits, and have only been restored to a strict observance of the rites of their faith by the adoption of stern measures by the Atalik. Some of them, in talking to one of our party, secretly dwelt with fond regret on the good old days when roast pork was indulged in by them, and liquor was freely taken. Kazee Mahomed Yakoob, when speaking of the Atalik's strict rule, acknowledged that one advantage to be derived from travelling was the relaxation from prejudices which resulted from contact with other people, and he confessed that his uncle would be none the worse for adopting more liberal ideas on the subject of ritualism. It appears that the Atalik aims at framing his kingdom on the model of Bokhara, the true support of Islamism; and in the arrangement of his court, as well as in the maintenance of the true faith, he adopts all customs which are popular in Bokhara. Imitating the same model, he is now styled in all correspondence the "Badowlut," or the Prosperous One.

181. I do not attempt, in this report, to give a full description of the manners and customs of these people, because, in the first place, our stay was too short to enable me to make those minute inquiries which alone would enable me to put forth statements to be fully relied on. Moreover, Mr. Shaw, whose lengthened residence in the country, and great aptitude for acquiring information, render his writings of peculiar interest and value, has lately published an account of his first visit to Yarkund and Kashgar, and has therein chronicled, in an abler manner than I could pretend to, all the facts that he could glean; and further, the similarity between the people of Kashgaria and the Khanats being very great, the general reader will derive all possible information from the lively pen of Mons. Vambery, in his "Travels in Central Asia."

182. The history of Kashgaria goes back to the earliest ages,* when Cambyses received as the dower of his bride, the daughter of Afrasiab, and mother of Cyrus, the province of Khoten, and fixed his capital at Kung, which perhaps is a corruption of the word Yarkund. In the 14th century this province fell under the rule of the Khojas, or saintly descendants of Mahomed, who came across the Alai mountains from Bokhara. For three centuries these Khojas held sway over the country, but dissensions having lasted for some time, the weaker party, in an evil moment, applied to China for aid, and in the year 1765 the whole country passed under the Chinese yoke. The representatives of the Khoja dynasty then fled to Kokhund, whence they made perpetual attempts to recover their kingdom,

* *See* Malcolm's "History of Persia," vol. i, pp. 40 and 224.

dom, the most formidable insurrection being headed by Jehangir, in 1826, when he was treacherously seized and sent to Pekin, and beheaded there. The trouble and expense of quelling this insurrection was made an excuse for upwards of 20 years after for levying an extraordinary taxation on the empire.

183. In 1864-65 the general disorder of the Chinese empire, caused by the rising of the Tunganis, presented a favourable opportunity to the Khojas for making another, and this time successful, attempt to recover their kingdom. But, as is well known, though Yakoob Beg was sent from Kokhund to conquer Kashgar and the surrounding country, under the standard of the Khoja chief, Buzurg Khan, he merely made a show, and that only for a few years, of serving him as master. Buzurg Khan was utterly unfit to assert his own rights, and had rendered himself unpopular by his vices, so that Yakoob Beg had no political party to fear when he determined to set him aside, and openly assume the government in his own name. As an act of extraordinary clemency, Buzurg Khan, instead of being put to death, was sent across the mountains to India, with an order to make a pilgrimage to Mecca, and to remain there. I met him at Leh, two years ago, on his journey, but afterwards heard that he had changed his mind when he reached India, and returned to Kokhund, by way of Cabul and Bokhara.

184. Yakoob Beg having expelled or massacred all the Chinese, and having, by an act of gross treachery, made himself master of Khoten, lost no time in establishing a firm rule over the whole of Kashgaria, and during the few years he has governed the country, has shown himself to be "profoundly politic, wonderfully clever, and of great strength of mind." Messrs. Hayward and Shaw, who resided for six months at Yarkund and Kashgar, have described the vigour of his administration, signs of which were very plain wherever we went through the country. All the chief offices under him being kept in the hands of his fellow countrymen, Yakoob Beg has nothing to fear from internal insurrection so long as he is in power. According to his system of government, his lieutenants, such as the Dadkhwah of Yarkund, the Begs of Khoten, Aksû, &c., are responsible for the administration of their respective provinces; keep up their own armies, and defray all expenses from the revenues collected, paying the surplus to the Atalik of Kashgar. The power of life and death is reserved as a royal prerogative. During his absence from the capital, Alum Kulee, or Beg Bucha as he is called, assumes charge of that district, but the Atalik's first lieutenant is decidedly the Dadkhwah Mahamad Yoonus.

185. What the revenues of the country are it is difficult to find out, owing to the system just described, by which only the surplus, after all expenses are paid, is made known. In the days of Chinese rule, the customs at Yarkund were stated to yield over 45,000 dollars annually. The taxes were 35,400 sacks of grain, 57,569 pieces of linen, 15,000 lbs. of copper, besides gold, silk, varnish, and hemp.

186. On assuming the reins of government, Yakoob Beg abolished all taxes, except those sanctioned by the Koran, 1-40th of all produce being taken from the cultivators, and in special cases, such as orchards, vegetable gardens, &c., seven tungas=one rupee per tunâb, a measure of land. In customs 1-40th is levied from all Mahomedans, and 1-20th from everybody else. A strict guard is kept on all the roads and city gates, so that smuggling is next to impossible, and severe punishments are dealt to offenders; but honest traders have little or nothing to fear in Eastern Turkestan. The Dadkhwah has shown marked favour to those merchants who came from Hindostan, and does his best to encourage them. A pressing emergency arose this year for money, and the Dadkhwah took loans from the chief merchants in his city. Soon after, when the revenue collections were received, or when the monetary crisis had passed, the Dadkhwah repaid these loans, thus displaying a promptitude in discharging his obligations which even western nations might imitate.

187. When there was a demand for horses to be sent to the Atalik's army, the citizens received fair prices for any animals taken from them. It has been said that labour is always paid for, and that the villagers are treated with the same justice and liberality as I have described; but I am afraid, from the stories we

heard, that this good policy does not extend, just at the present time, beyond the merchants.

188. A few words may now be said regarding the war in which the Atalik is engaged against the Tungens or Tunganis. Who these Tunganis are has provoked much discussion, some maintaining that the Tungen is a name derived from the Turk word "remnant" applied to the late rebellious subjects of China, because they are supposed to be descendants of the Turks who followed Alexander the Great on his eastward expeditions, and remained to settle in the countries they conquered. Others say that the word is derived from the Chinese *tun-jen* or *tun-yen*, military colonists, and was given to these people because they were sent to colonise the country in the western extremity of the empire and all the land beyond the province of Kan-Suh. Whatever the derivation of their name, these Tungans were Mahomedans when they were first removed to China by the government, and though they have insensibly fallen into Chinese habits and customs, they to this day adhere to the laws of the Prophet, and observe strict rules of life, abstaining from drink, opium, and even from tobacco. Forbidden by the Chinese to fill high offices of state, these Tunganis were enlisted as soldiers, and, according to some authorities, were conspicuous for their bravery and martial spirit.

189. In 1862 the Tunganis had increased to 30,000,000 of people, spread over all the interior provinces of China, and in large numbers in Kan-Suh.

190. The cause of the rebellion has never been explained, but the fact is that, in 1862, 100,000 Tunganis broke out into insurrection in the provinces of Shensi, Kan Suh, Se-chuen, and Yunnan. After considerable fighting the insurgents were expelled from Kan-Suh, and forced to retire to the western district of Urumtsi (Oorumchee), which they took, and have ever since held.

191. In 1864 the Tunganis had possessed themselves of Aksû, and cut out the Chinese garrisons of Turfan, Kucha, Karashahr, Khamil, and other towns. They would have doubtless spread their power over the whole of Eastern Turkestan, had not Yakoob Beg appeared on the scene, and possessed himself of Kashgar. He soon after took Askû, and drove the Tunganis out of the towns south of the Tien Shan range, massacring Tunganis just as he had done Chinese.

192. The spirit of insurrection roused by these people spread itself to the farthest corner of the Chinese Empire, and infected the Kulmaks and Taranchi inhabitants of Kuldja For the following description of the Taranchis, I am indebted to Mr. R. Michell:—

193. In 1829, the rising of the Khojas in Kashgaria suggested to the Chinese the propriety of adopting the customary measure for providing against any further insubordination by deporting a large body of Kashgarians to the neighbourhood of Kuldja. From 8,000, to 12,000 people are said to have been thus removed after the expulsion of the Khojas. These people were put upon the soil, and were made to perform, under surveillance, servile duties for the Chinese military colonists. Being made slaves, and groaning under their many heavy burdens, these wretched people obtained the name of Taranchis, or "people of the bloody sweat."*

194. The news of the rising of the Hoi-hoi-tsi, or Tungans of Kan-Suh, does not seem to have stirred the inhabitants of I'lí to rebellion for some time. And the insurrection may not have excited the bulk of the population of Dzungaria, too busily occupied in agriculture and trade, had it not been for incidental circumstances which worked on the minds of the Tungans and Taranchis.

195. The incidental circumstances were these: The hostile fronts presented to the Russians by the Bokharians and Kokkandians; the warfare along the whole of the line from Kuldja to Tashkend, *i. e.*, along the whole extent of the northern trade route from China into Central Asia; the consequent collapse of trade, which threw most of the people out of their occupations; the gathering together in Kashgar of numerous fugitives from Bokhara and Kokand, which added to the fanatic element in all the countries to the east of the scene of Russia

* This name is also said to be derived from "taran," millet.

sian operations; the revolution in Kashgar; the sudden and easy deliverence of that place and of others from China; the impunity with which these defections were suffered to pass; the closing of the southern trade route, and lastly, the exaggerated accounts of the successes of the Tungans in Kan-Suh.

196. All these circumstances ripened the Taranchis for revolt. The appearance on the scene of the northern body of Tungans was the signal for the instantaneous rising of the Mahomedan Taranchis, who required no persuasion. The neighbouring Kirghizes, ever ready to plunder, were easily induced to side with them, under a promise of rich booty.

197. The result was a simultaneous massacre of the Chinese and Manchurs, the destruction of Chuguchak, the sacking of Urumptsi, Manassy, and Kur-Kara-Usu, and other small towns and villages, the appropriation, wrecking, and burning of all the Chinese stores, and the investment of Kuldja, its seizure, and the subsequent fate of its citadal and garrison.

198. Fifteen thousand of the inhabitants of Kuldja took refuge in the Russian dominions, but 90,000 remained to be enslaved. The Kulmaks, who remained true to the Chinese Government, decamped, some into the heart of the steppes, some into the Russian limits

199. Next came a division of the spoils among the confederates; and over this they quarrelled. The Tungans, boastful of their Chinese cultivation, asserted their own rights over the conquered country. The ruder Taranchis objected to a fresh subordination, and being the most numerous in Dzungaria, fell upon their allies, massacred the Tungans in Kuldja, and drove the rest beyond the limits of the I'li Valley, through Talk Pass. The Kirghizes, having enriched themselves with plunder, and fearing lest the Taranchis should make them disgorge, moved their encampments into the deserts and steppes, whence some of them were afterwards chased by the Kulmaks and obliged to take refuge in Southern Siberia.

200. Dzungaria Proper is now divided between the Taranchis and Kulmaks, thus: the Tarbagatai or Chuguchak district is in the hands of the latter, while Kuldja and the neighbouring towns are held by the former. They are both separated by the district of Kur-Kar-Usu, which, laid waste and abandoned, forms a neutral zone scattered with the rotting bodies of the victims of the rebellion, and freely roamed over by voracious wild beasts.

201. Of the form of Government among the Taranchis, the whileome slaves of the Chinese, we have no information. Russian traders and caravans are strictly excluded from Kuldja, so that what is enacting therein, although that place is only 67 miles distant from the Russian frontier, remains a mystery. The country is known to be peopled from the fact of the constant appearance of armed bands on the Russian lines, and from repeated incursions of marauding parties over the borders.

202. It has, however, been ascertained by the Russians, that the Kalmaks, who had retired beyond the Yuldus Mountains, have returned to their fields in the neighbourhood of Kuldja, These Kulmaks are ruled by an elderly woman.

203. A Tartar, who had returned from Kuldja, related at Fort Vernoë that he had seen this Kulmak ruler proceeding to an interview with the chief of the Taranchis. Her hair, he said, hung in long tresses down her back; they were so heavy with golden coins and other precious ornaments that they had to be supported by two men as she walked.

204. At the present time the Taranchis in and around Kuldja are said to number about 12,000.

205. After quarrelling with the Tunganis, the Taranchis became apprehensive of the danger of their isolated position, and sent emissaries to Yakoob Beg, requesting to be taken under his protection. This he was not able at once to afford them, though, from his conversations with Mr. Shaw in 1869, it appeared that he only waited for a fitting opportunity to move to their aid. This year the Tunganis seem to have become more troublesome, and through fear of them a second deputation was sent to Kashgar to ask for aid. It is also said that disturbances broke out in Aksû, and in consequence the Atalik left his capital in

March 1870 and moved with all his forces against the enemy. It was very difficult to obtain reliable information of the progress of the war, but the fact seems undoubted that the Kulmâks are fighting in company with the Atalik, and they and the Taranchis have accepted from him a prince of the Khoja House as their chief at Kuldja. The Atalik was said to have gone as far as Oorumchee, where he defeated the whole force of the Tunganis. But as he was also reported to be building a fort at Turfan, and could not leave the place to return to his capital, it is probable that the expulsion or extinction of the Tunganis will be a work of time, if it be accomplished at all.

206. I have said nothing in this report of scientific observations and explorations, because the credit of making them does not belong to me; but the reports of Messrs. Shaw and Henderson will give all the desired information, and will probably be considered to offer the greatest interest to the general public.

207. In concluding this report, I would draw attention to the great services rendered by Mr. Shaw. It is not merely because I found him an invaluable companion that I now write of him. Having experienced the difficulties and trouble of a journey to Yarkund, even when backed up with all the prestige of being accredited agents of the British Government and the invited guests of the Atalik Ghazee, I cannot sufficiently express my admiration at the enterprising energy and patient endurance which prompted Messrs. Shaw and Hayward to undertake their perilous journey, and to sustain them during a dreary period of confinement. To the tact displayed by Mr. Shaw, and to the friendly feeling which he inspired the Atalik and his officers to entertain towards the British nation, we are mainly indebted for the safety of the present expedition.

208. The value of Dr. Henderson's services will be apparent from a perusal of his own reports, and from inspection of the rare collection of plants and birds which he so indefatigably made. Not only in his capacity of medical officer did he earn our thanks, but in times of difficulty I was indebted to him for sound advice, which I now have much pleasure in acknowledging.

209. I have already alluded to the arrangements made by Dr. Cayley: had his instructions been more carefully followed by the Ladakh officials, we should have been spared much inconvenience.

210. I beg to notice the service rendered by Mir Akbar Ali, Khan Bahadoor, C.S.I. He was in charge of the portion of the camp which I left behind at Lokzay, and brought it on to Yarkund, joining me at the town of Karghalik. Of Tara Singh I am bound to speak in the highest terms of gratitude, for to his admirable conduct, his fertility of resource, his untiring energy and activity, we owe our departure from Yarkund, on the date fixed. His knowledge of the people, and the advice he gave based on that knowledge, proved of the greatest service to me. Throughout the journey he and his brothers spared themselves from no fatigue to ensure the comfort and safety of our camp, whilst his hearty good temper proved invaluable in cheering the spirits of our followers in time of difficulty or weary exhaustion.

211. I would next notice the service rendered by Faiz Buksh. Having travelled through Afghanistan, Budakhshan, and across the Pamir to Yarkund, he arrived in time to take the place of my Moonshee Dewan Buksh, whose conduct was so very suspicious that I was obliged to dismiss him summarily, and bring him back to India under surveillance.

212. Ibrahim Khan undertook at my request a rather hazardous journey from Cashmere through Gilghit and Yaseen and across the Pamir to Yarkund, and displayed great tact and acuteness in avoiding all difficulties by the way. Both his and Faiz Buksh's account of their travels are being translated, and will be submitted to Government hereafter.

213. Mullik Kutubud-din, the vakeel attached to my camp during our march through Cashmere, was most attentive and active in supplying our wants.

214. Mr. Shaw's and Dr. Henderson's report will be forwarded when received.

APPENDIX I.

LIST of GOODS purchased at *Yarkund* and sold in *Hindostan*.

No.	Name of Commodity.	Average Quantity.	Average Price.	Hire.	Duty.	Total Expenses.	Average Selling Price in India.	Average Profit.	REMARKS.
			Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	
1	Silk of all kinds -	per seer -	4 – –	– 10 –	– 2 –	4 12 –	6 12 –	2 – –	Product of Khoten.
2	Tilla - - -	per tola -	13 – –	– –	– –	13 – –	15 8 –	2 8 –	- - ditto.
3	Silver (kurus) - -	per 100 tolas	100 – –	– 2 –	- nil -	100 2 –	108 2 –	8 – –	- - ditto.
4	Charas (first quality)	per maund	50 – –	30 – –	5 – –	85 – –	125 – –	40 – –	Produced in Yarkund and prepared from bhang.
„	Charas (inferior) -	„	10 – –	30 – –	2 – –	42 – –	50 – –	8 – –	- - ditto - - ditto.
5	Carpets - - -	per yard -	2 – –	– 12 –	– 4 –	3 – –	4 8 –	1 8 –	Brought from Khoten and Yarkund.
6	Namda (a coarse woollen cloth).	per piece	– 12 –	– 8 –	– 2 –	1 6 –	2 – –	– 10 –	- - ditto - - ditto.
7	Silk - Daryaee and Shahee (a kind of flowered silk).	„	5 – –	– 8 –	– 8 –	6 – –	7 8 –	1 8 –	From Khoten.
8	Mushroo (silk striped cloth).	„	3 – –	– 8 –	– 4 –	3 12 –	5 – –	1 4 –	- - ditto.
9	Pushm - - -	per maund	25 – –	30 – –	2 – –	57 – –	80 – –	23 – –	From Yarkund, Khoten, and Turfan.
10	Ponies - - -	per animal	100 – –	– –	– –	100 – –	125 – –	25 – –	These are brought from Yarkund and Khoten. The speculation is not very profitable. But the animals being used as beasts of burden, the saving of carriage is counted towards the price, and the animals are sold, accordingly, at a little over the cost price, which includes the cost of feeding on the way.

APPENDIX II.

LIST of GOODS exported from *India* and sold in *Yarkund*.

No.	Name of Commodity.	Average Quantity.	Average Price.	Hire.	Duty.	Total Expenses.	Average Selling Price at Yarkund.	Average Profit.	REMARKS.
			Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	*Rs. a. p.*	
1	Piece Goods - -	per maund	100 – –	30 – –	10 – –	140 – –	180 – –	40 – –	In great demand.
2	Spices, all kinds -	„	15 – –	30 – –	3 – –	48 – –	50 – –	2 – –	No saving.
3	Brocade (Kinkhab) -	per piece	80 – –	5 – –	1 – –	83 – –	116 – –	30 – –	Demand is great.
4	Broad Cloth - -	per yard	3 – –	2 8 –	– 8 –	4 – –	7 – –	3 – –	- - ditto.
5	Green Tea - -	per maund	80 – –	30 – –	10 – –	120 – –	220 – –	100 – –	Very great profit.
6	Sugar and Sugarcandy	„	13 – –	30 – –	5 – –	48 – –	88 – –	40 – –	- - ditto.
7	Posteen (Garments made of the Beaver Skins).	each -	3 – –	1 – –	1 – –	5 – –	8 – –	3 – –	Sold very fast.
8	Goat Skins - -	per score	8 – –	5 – –	2 – –	15 – –	22 – –	7 – –	- - ditto.
9	Opium - - -	per maund	280 – –	30 – –	20 – –	330 – –	370 – –	40 – –	- - ditto.
10	Country-made muskets.	each -	30 – –	4 – –	2 – –	36 – –	76 – –	40 – –	Sold exceedingly well.
11	Swords - - -	„	5 – –	1 – –	1 – –	7 – –	11 – –	5 – –	- - ditto.
12	Pistols - - -	„	30 – –	4 – –	2 – –	36 – –	76 – –	40 – –	- - ditto.
13	Gunpowder - -	per maund	40 – –	30 – –	3 – –	73 – –	120 – –	47 – –	- - ditto.

Appendix III.

Detailed Estimate of Sale in Eastern Turkestan Bazars of Printed Calico per Piece of 21 Yards (= 28 arschines) weighing 5 lbs.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
Cost in Bombay at 4 annas per yard	5	4	–
Carriage and other charges, Bombay to Yarkund (at 5 *l.* 12 *s.* per cwt., or 8 annas per pound)	2	8	–
Duty in Ladakh (4 per cent. on prime cost)	*–	3	6
Duty in Yarkund (1 in 40 in kind)	–	3	6
	8	3	–
Profit	5	3	–
Selling price in Yarkund (80 tangas† per piece of 28 arschines)	13	6	–

N.B.—The above is a low average to take, as many samples are at a price of 150 tangas for 50 arschines, 125 tangas for 40 arschines, 175 tangas for 50 arschines, and (from Kashgar) 4 tillas for 40 arschines, or, in other words, *Rs.* 14., *Rs.* 14. 10., *Rs.* 20. 6. 6., and *Rs.* 16. 12. respectively for a piece of 28 arschines (as above).

The profits on the articles detailed on the last page have been calculated in a similar manner.

The above prices are all those given for Russian goods. English manufactures are practically unknown in Eastern Turkestan owing to the smallness of the supply. But Mr. Shaw reports that in Kashgar some English chintz had arrived there shortly before his arrival, and had been eagerly bought up at 5 and 6 tillas the piece, instead of 4 tillas, which the Russian fetches.

Selling Prices of various Articles in Yarkund.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
1. Chintz for printed calico, large pattern, "Goolanar," per piece of 28 yards	22	–	–
2. Chintz (coarse)	12	–	–
3. Chintz, sort called "dress," 12 yards	6	–	–
4. Chintz, „ "dress gown," 40 „	25	–	–
5. White shirting "lutta," 40 „	20	–	–
6. White shirting (coarse), 40 „	16	–	–
7. White shirting (coarser), 40 „	14	–	–
8. Muslin for turbans 20 „	8	–	–
9. Coloured shirting "Hulvan," 40 „	20	–	–
10. Dimity, red, "Goomtee," 28 „	14	–	–
11. Dimity, white, „ 40 „	20	–	–
12. Women's veil, red	4	–	–
13. Silk stuff, "Atwar," per yard	8	–	–
14. Brocade, "Kinkhab," per piece, *Rs.* 150. to	200	–	–
15. Black tea, Pekoe, "Zira cha," per pound	6	4	–
16. Green tea, ordinary	4	8	–
17. Green tea, fine, "Kara Kokla"	7	8	–
18. Common sugar, per pound	–	8	–
19. Raw silk from Khoten (100 tangas per charak), 5 lbs. = per lb. *Rs.* 3. 6.	6 *s.*	8 *d.*	

Appendix IV.

Comparative Prices in the Bombay and Yarkund Markets of several Articles.

Number.	Names.	Bombay. Per Yard.	Yarkund. Per Yard.	Remarks.
		Rs. a. p.	*Rs. a. p.*	
1	Chintz (print)	– 4 4	– 12 6	
2, 3, & 4	Chintz	– 1 4 to – 3 –	– 6 10 to – 10 0	
5, 6, & 7	White shirtings	– 2 5 to – 4 10	– 5 6 to – 8 –	
8	Muslin, per piece of 20 yards	1 3 – to 2 – –	8 – –	
9	Dyed cotton cloth, per yard	– 2 – to – 2 4	Per yard – 8 –	
10	Dimity	2 – 3 to 2 – 5	– 8 –	

* This will be remitted in future.

† On an average 6 tangas = 1 rupee.

Appendix V.

Current Market Prices of the Yarkund Bazar for 1868, and of the Jalandar Bazar for 1870.

No.	Name of Commodity.	Weight.	Price at Yarkund.	Price at Jalandar.	Remarks.
				Rs. a. p.	
1	Rice	2 seers, Eng.	1¼ tangas	– 2 6	1 tanga = from 2 annas 6 pie to 2 annas 9 pie.
2	Indian corn (makkee)	ditto	3 paisah	– 2 8	1 tanga = 25 paisahs, and 1 paisah = 2 pools.
3	Moong (a kind of pulse)	ditto	15 ditto	– 4 –	
4	Small baked bread	3 chitaks	1 ditto	– – 9	Atta (flour) is not generally sold; cooked food is generally sold and bread is often bartered for other articles.
5	Large baked bread	5 and 6 chitaks	2 ditto.		
6	Indian corn bread	3 chitaks	1 ditto.		
7	Mutton	2 seers	2¼ tangas	– 5 6	Well-to-do people use mutton; others use horse-flesh or beef, which is cheaper.
8	Turmeric (Huldee)	ditto	12 ditto	– 8 –	
9	Sugar-candy	ditto	15 ditto	– 15 –	
10	Green tea	ditto	12 to 14 tangas	4 or 5 – –	Sold well, if the colour and flavour be good, and the leaves easily boiled.
11	Bombay tea (Gola)	ditto	8 to 12 ditto.		
12	Sonth Zingeberis	ditto	3 T.—8 paisah	– 11 –	
13	Pepper	ditto	18 tangas	1 4 –	
14	Cardamoms, white	1 tola	10 ditto.		
15	Cinnamon	ditto	6 ditto	– – 4	
16	Cloves	ditto	1 tanga	– – 4	
17	Nutmeg	Each	2 tangas	– – 4	
18	Mâshroo (silk cloth)	1 piece of 7½ yards	16 to 30 tangas	– –	Not used in the Punjab; used in colder climates.
19	Doria (cloth)	Enough for a choga.	35 to 40 ditto	– –	Not used in the Punjab; half silk and half cotton like the former.
20	Shàhee	Piece of 7½ yards	35 to 40 ditto	– –	This is a kind of flowered silk, not brought here, but it is liked by wealthy persons.
21	Atlas satin	Piece of 7½ yards	40 to 50 ditto	– –	Ditto - ditto.
22	Cotton cloth, white	– – –	– – –	– –	Out of these, Malmal (muslin) is much used for turbans; but in Yarkund, people use coloured clothes. Kinkhab is used by those who can afford it.

Further Remarks.

One kurus of silver, weighing 2 seers, English weight, which is equal to 160 rupees in weight, is sold at Yarkund for 168 to 170 rupees, according to the current price. In the Punjab, the person selling gets 1 anna profit for every rupee weight. At Delhi, the profit allowed is more. At Yarkund, the same is valued at from 30 tillas to 33 tillas. And every kurus is valued at from 1,000 to 1,100 tangas. Tillas (new), which weigh from 4 to 4¼ mashas, can be had at Yarkund, and in the Punjab are sold at *Rs.* 5. 8. or *Rs.* 5. 12.

APPENDIX VI.

COMPARATIVE COST of TRANSPORT of One Cwt. to *Yarkund*, from *England*, and from *Russia*.

	£.	s.	d.
Moscow to Tashkend, at 4 roubles per pood of 36 lbs.	1	19	8
Tashkend to Yarkund, at 8 tillas per horseload of 2 cwts.	2	8	–
£.	4	7	8

P. S.—Taking Kurrachee as the port of entry, the rates would be, with a distance by rail, when all is open, of 800 miles to Lahore,—

	£.	s.	d.
Cotton goods	–	9	–
Woollen	–	11	–
Cutlery	–	13	–

	£.	s.	d.
England to Bombay or *Calcutta*, at 2*l.* a ton	–	2	–
Calcutta to Lahore, 1,277 miles (Chord line), for *Cotton piece goods* *	–	9	5
Terminal charge, &c.	–	1	–
Lahore to Yarkund, at 65 rupees per horseload of 2 cwt.	3	5	–
£.	3	17	5

* For *Woollens*, the freight would be, Calcutta to Lahore	–	12	6
And for *Cutlery*	–	15	6

ROUTES.

From *Leh* to *Yarkund*.—Route taken by Yarkund Expedition in 1870.

No.	Name of Stage or Halting Place.	Distance in Miles.	REMARKS.
1	Tiksè	10	On banks of Indus.
2	Chimrè	11	The valley of the Indus is left about 2 miles before reaching Chimrè village and monastery.
3	Sakti	6	Up a ravine well covered with wood and grass. Village at Sakti.
4	Tso lâk	12	Cross Chang Là Pass; ascent steep for 6 miles, but road good. Encamp near lake on north side.
5	Durgoh	10	Easy descent to bed of river; village at Durgoh; water, fuel, and grass abundant.
6	Muglib	12	Road passes along bed of river; plenty of grass and fuel; village of Tanktsè passed about half way.
7	Lukong	14	Soon after leaving Muglib, a small lake of fresh water is passed, and a few miles further on, the river which flows into this lake suddenly disappears. The Pangong Lake is reached at the 15th mile; its waters are quite brackish. Lukong is a collection of huts or habitations half buried in the ground.
8	Chagra	7	The last traces of the Buddhist religion are seen here. A few roofless enclosures afford shelter to the Bhot shepherds; grass and fuel procurable in abundance; a storehouse has been built by the Maharaja here.
9	Rimdee	12	Cross Masimik Pass, 18,457 feet high (according to Hayward); Johnstone makes it 19,400 feet. Ascent to the summit easy, except for the last 2 miles. Descent on north side very gradual.
10	Pumsul	14	Road stony and rough for 4 miles, afterwards descent easy to bed of Changchenmo River; tamarisk bushes give fuel; grass to be found about 2 miles lower down the stream.
11	Gogra	11	Road for 4 or 5 miles along left bank of river; stream difficult to ford in summer; cross a low spur to Kugrang Valley.
12	Camp Chang Chenmo Valley.	14	Road to hot springs, about 6 miles, tolerably easy; there is one bad descent and ascent, from hot springs; road is over steep, short ascents and descents. Scarcely any grass or fuel to be had at the encamping ground.

ROUTES.—From *Leh* to *Yarkund*.—Route taken by Yarkund Expedition in 1870—*continued*.

No.	Name of Stage or Halting-place.	Distance in Miles.	REMARKS.
13	Camp Nischû - - -	12	Road leaves main valley at last halting-place, and passes up a ravine on west to Chang Lang La. Ascent easy, scarcely any descent on north side. Frozen bed of river followed to point of junction with another stream. Nischû means two streams. No fuel or grass.
14	Camp Linzi Thung Plain	16	Road follows river course for 6 or 7 miles, and then crosses a sandy plain for 4 miles more; a steep descent of 500 feet takes the traveller to the Linzi Thung Plain. Camp in sandy bed of dry river bed; a muddy liquid can be obtained by digging holes. No grass, and very scanty fuel is collected from the Boortse plant.
15	Lok zang - - -	25	Long tedious march over sandy desert to a remarkable dome-like peak in range, running east and west. Pass under this peak and over two ridges into a valley where a little water and fuel and some grass is found; a very trying march.
16	Thaldat - - - -	14	A frozen lake; road very easy, over undulating desert plains; no grass, and scarcely any fuel. A very little grass about a mile off.
17	Patsalang - - -	18	Road good, over open plain, for 12 or 13 miles; grass in small quantities to be found on both sides of a low pass. At Patsalang water obtained by digging.
18	Camp north of Soda Plain	14	Cross three dried-up salt lakes. Camp in a valley on left of plain; grass abundant, but water only obtainable by digging.
19	Camp in Karakash Valley	24	The Karakash river is struck after a march of 12 miles, to Brungsa, where deserted huts are seen; the road follows the course of the stream for 12 miles, and then brushwood and grass are found.
20	Kaffirdurrah - - -	20	Plenty of grass and fuel.
21	Camp in valley - -	16	Grass and fuel.
22	Kyang Maidan; wild horse plain.	12	An easy march. Grass and fuel abound.
23	Gulbashar - - -	17	Kirghiz encampment passed on the road. Near this place are the celebrated jade quarries.
24	Balakchee - - -	11	Cross the river Karakash; difficult passage in summer; fine pasture ground at Balakchee.
25	Toghra Su - - -	22	Fort of Shadulla passed about the 10th mile. River Karakash has to be crossed twice with great difficulty. Plenty of wood and grass. Camp on south side of Toghra Su. A mountain torrent, deep and rapid and scarcely fordable, except in the forenoon.
26	Tilartargâsh - - -	10	Cross Toghra Su and pass the fort called Ali Nuzr Kurgham. This is manned by soldiers from Yarkund. From the Kurghan a road goes up the valley to the Killian Pass.
27	Camp south of Sanjû Pass	11	Road along Karakash for 5 miles to Ali Mazar Abu Bukr, where in summer the river can be crossed with great difficulty. Laden animals have to cross a steep pass which caused a detour of 3 miles. Road here leaves Karakash Valley and goes up a narrow stony ravine, crossing a hill torrent every hundred yards.
28	Kichik yilak - - -	10	Cross Gerim Pass 16,612 feet; very steep ascent and descent. The pass is impracticable for laden horses, whose loads have to be carried on yaks. Horses and camels unladen can cross the pass. Kirchik yilak is the summer encampment of the Kirghiz.
29	Tâm - - - -	12	Road down Sanjû Valley, crossing stream; easy march, plenty of wood and grass.
30	Chûchû Pass - - -	15	In spring and autumn, when the water is low, the road follows the river to Sanjû about 30 miles. In summer a detour has to be made over the Chûchû Pass.
31	Mazar - - - -	12	Cross a pass 11,847 feet, into the Arpalâk river, to Mazar; abundant grass, shrubs and large trees; game very plentiful in this valley.
32	Kizil Lungur - - -	10	Down Arpalâk river.
33	Sanjû - - - -	14	Road leaves Arpalâk Valley, and crossing a low sandy ridge, slopes down to Sanjû, a cluster of villages.
34	Koshtâk - - -	25	Road crosses the Sanjû river and ascends a low range of sand hills, across which it descends to the small hamlet of Langur 15 miles from Sanjû. Hence it crosses the desert to Koshtak, a village dependent on the Killian stream for its cultivation.
35	Oi-Togrâk - - -	20	Road across desert to village in a valley.
36	Borah - - - -	12	Ascend low range of sand hills, and across desert to Borah. Here the Killian route joins in.

ROUTES.—From *Leh* to *Yarkund.*—Route taken by Yarkund Expedition in 1870—*continued.*

No.	Name of Stage or Halting-place.	Distance in Miles.	REMARKS.
37	Karghalik - - -	24	At 8 miles from Borah, the road leaves the low hills, and descends to an arm of the great desert of Gobi. Distance across about 12 miles to village of Beshârik, from which place to Kargalik is about 4 miles. Here the direct road from Khoten through Gooma and the road from the Kogyar Pass join in, to Yarkund.
38	Pushgam - - -	21	At 11 miles from Karghalik the Tisnaf river is crossed; it is scarcely fordable in summer; 5 miles beyond is Yakshumba bazaar.
39	Yungi Bazaar - -	14	The direct road to Yarkund crosses the Yarkund river, not far from Pushgam, but in summer, owing to the size of the river, a detour has to be made to Yungi bazaar, some 10 miles lower down the bank, where a ferry is plied with three large punts.
40	Yarkund - - -	8	Cross the river in boats, and then a ride through meadow, fields, and suburban villages to Yarkund.

ROUTE from *Yarkund* to *Khoten.*

1	Pushgam - - - - -	Total distance, 37 tâsh=185 miles.
2	Kurghalik - - - - -	
3	Lokchulâk - - - - -	
4	Goomah - - - - -	
5	Moji - - - - - -	
6	Choda - - - - - -	
7	Pyalma - - - - -	
8	Zowa - - - - - -	
9	Khoten - - - - -	

ROUTE from *Yarkund* to *Kashgar,* given by Mr. *Hayward.*

MAIN ROAD FROM YARKUND TO KASHGAR.

The road is regularly traversed by two-wheeled carts and conveyances.

No.	Name of Stage or Halting-place.	Distance in Miles.	REMARKS.
	Yarkund		
1	Kokrubat - - -	22½	Road conducts along north wall of the fort, and, at 4½ miles from the city, crosses the Urpi canal by a wooden bridge. Passing the villages of Kara Koour and Bigil, it skirts some marshy ground to Kokrubat, a village of 200 houses, with a caravan serai.
2	Kizil - - - -	27½	Road skirts the "Hamed-i-Dusht," a large barren tract of country extending up to the Kiziltâh range on the west. At 14 miles from Kokrubat is a halting-place called Ak-Langur, where is a musjid and two wells of water. Kizil is a village of 500 houses, with a large tank and caravan serai.
3	Yanghissar - - -	32	The road passes the villages of Chamalung, Khoduk, Koshimbash, and Toblok to Kelpun, an old Chinese "urtang" or police station, now in ruins; at 2½ miles before reaching Yanghissar it crosses the Largrah river by bridge. Yanghissar is a commercial town of some 11,000 houses situated 82 miles north-west of Yarkund, and 43½ south of Kashgar. The fort lies at a distance of 600 yards to the north of the town.

ROUTE from *Yarkund* to *Kashgar*, given by Mr. *Hayward*—continued

No.	Name of Stage or Halting-place.	Distance in Miles.	REMARKS.
4	Yupchan - - -	22½	Road passes villages of Koomlok and Togloh, and crosses the Hosun river by bridge. Then continues up left bank of river to Supchan, a village of some 700 houses.
5	Kashgar (old city) - -	21	At 2½ miles from Supchan cross Khanarik river by bridge; and, passing the the village of Tasgam, cross a canal from the Khanarik river, and a branch of the Kashgar river, to the fort of Kashgar, which lies some three miles south of the city. Cross Kizil Daria, or the Kashgar river, midway between the fort and city. Kashgar contains about 28,000 houses, and from 60 to 70,000 inhabitants.
	TOTAL - -	125½	Miles.

ROUTE from *Yarkund* to *Aksû*.

1	Yutkoh - - - - - -	*Remarks.* In the time of the Chinese there were 18 stages which now are reduced to 10.
2	Lilâk - - - - - -	
3	Minal - - - - - -	
4	Aksmaràl - - - - -	
5	Murâl bashi - - - - -	
6	Chudri kûl - - - - -	
7	Shamâl - - - - - -	
8	Yaku kudok - - - - -	
9	Eikûl - - - - - -	
10	Aksû - - - - - -	

ROUTE from *Shadula* to *Gogra*, taken by the Yarkund Expedition returning.

No.	Name of Stage or Halting Place.	Distance in Miles.	REMARKS.
	Shadula to—		
1	Sooget - - - -	8	Road for 4 miles along the Kara Kash, and then turns south up a ravine; plenty of grass and fuel.
2	Chibra - - - -	19	Ascent gradual till within a mile from the summit; height of pass 18,237 feet; camp at Chibra 4 miles beyond summit; no grass or fuel.
3	Maliksha - - -	8	An easy march; no grass or fuel at encampment, but some is obtainable on the west valleys not very far off.
4	Karatagh Lake - -	24 or 25	Direction *S. E.* across plain to a depression in *S. E.* angle of Karatagh range; road nearly level, wood plentiful on plain, and water at one place 6 or 7 miles short of camp. At Lake abundant good fuel (Burtsi) and water and grass 1 mile off, up mountain S.W.
5	Shorjilga - - -	17	Cross valley and ascend gravel ravine *S. E.* for 3 miles, turn to right (south) up an easy pass, ascent 400 to 500 feet. From top descend by a long winding ravine, 9 or 10 miles, to a wide sloping gravel valley. Cross this 4 miles to Shorjilga at its lower end, where is water and a little grass but no fuel, though plenty 4 miles lower down. Where the stream enters broad valley 4 miles above Shorjilga is also fuel.

Route from *Shadula* to *Gogra*, taken by the Yarkund Expedition returning—*continued.*

No.	Name of Stage or Halting Place.	Distance in Miles.	Remarks.
6	Shadula to— Khushmaidan - -	14	Easy march 7 or 8 miles down the Shorjilga Ravine to the Kárápash River, then up that river 6 miles to Khushmaidan, which is on left *S. E.* side of valley. Plenty of fuel in lower part of Shorjilga Valley, and again at its junction with Kara Kash. One mile above junction is "Chungtash," a lofty rock on right bank, behind which is grass; 1½ miles above Chungtash, round a rocky spur on left bank, is most *abundant excellent* grass and fuel. At Khushmaidan also, on left bank behind a spur, is abundant fuel (Myricaria), and grass along the side.
*7	Kiziljilga - - -	17 or 18	March up broad valley (generally left bank) of Kara Kash. At 13 miles pass under a conical black mountain, where is abundant fuel. At Kiziljilga Camp under lee E. side of a rocky spur round which river turns. Abundant fuel and a little grass. Much grass 1 mile off to *East*, and again in all ravine to *S. E.*
8	Shinglung - - -	13 to 14	Easy march nearly south up main stream, the smaller (now dry) stream from east come from "Kizil Diwan." Fuel everywhere, grass abundant in all side valley, as well as frequently in main valley. Cross occasional firm level snow beds. At camp abundant grass and fuel.
9	Sumdo - - - -	11	Easy level march up right side of valley. Plenty of grass and fuel for first 3 miles, after turning S. E. under a stupendous limestone cliff; they then cease for a few miles. At Sumdo a wide plain or basin into which the river or main valley come from west, with large valleys leading through rocky defiles from east. At Sumdo, on west side of valley, abundant fuel and pasture.
10	Camp in valley north slope of the Changchenmo Range.	20*	Keep west up Kara Kash for 1½ miles, then turn *S.* up a ravine, with small stream, for 4 miles to foot of easy pass nearly due *south*, and just *west* of a vast irregular domelike mountain. There is a second pass to the east of this crag, which is higher and less direct. The pass takes 15 minutes to ascend. *N.B.*—It would be well to go beyond Sumdo, and camp near foot of pass, where is water but no grass or fuel, but some is to be stored and some can be carried from Sumdo. From top keep down the valley *S.* by *E.* for 4 miles, then across wide valley, a plain (which is the western corner of the Lingzi-thang), for 6 miles, passing three black rocks standing up apart in this plain, down the valley and on the opposite side of plain, where the southern ascent begins, is water, but no grass or fuel. (Can camp here or continue 4 or 5 miles up southern slope, and camp in one of the shallow valleys running north; the latter preferable. No fuel anywhere).
11	Valley south of Changchenmo Range, and running down to hot spring.	16†	A very gradual easy ascent over undulating slope, and up wide shallow valleys; direction generally *S. by E.* (compass) to the top of the ridge, which is high, but the ascent is very slight; 3 miles north of the main ridge a low rounded ridge has to be crossed beyond, *S.* of which is a broad sloping plain leading right up to main pass, and crossed from *E.* to *W.* by a deep ravine, containing a tolerable stream of water. Descent from top of pass nearly *W.* for 4 or 5 miles, at first rather steep, then gradual down valley to camp, a place where stream turns round to *S.* and *E.* At camp abundant grass and some fuel; plenty of fuel 2 miles lower down. Road very easy.
12	Gogra - - - -	20 to 21	Road very good and easy down valley. At 12 miles join road from "Chunglung-la," at 14 the hot springs, and at 20 Gogra. Grass and fuel very abundant the whole way down valley to junction with old road, beyond which only fuel, no grass.

* This distance is reckoned from Sumdo.

† This distance is counted from about 4 miles up the slope on the south side of the plain, or 3 miles south of the *pond* in map.

(No. 413—1370.)

From *T. H. Thornton*, Esq., D.C.L., Secretary to the Government of Punjab, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, dated 13th December 1870.

Sir,

IT was stated in your telegram of the 2nd current, that his Excellency the Viceroy hoped to receive, by an early date, the honourable the Lieutenant Governor's comments on the report of Mr. Forsyth's visit to the court of the Atalik Ghazi, and on matters connected with that officer's journey to and from Yarkund.

2. This report was received by his Honor on the 10th current, and as it appears that a copy has been submitted to his Excellency by Mr. Forsyth in person in Calcutta, it seems unnecessary for the Lieutenant Governor to offer any remarks on the details of this special deputation of a British official to Yarkund; he will, therefore, confine himself to stating his opinion that, considering that Mr. Forsyth's visit "was not in any sense a mission, and had no political objects," it speaks well for the influence of the British Gocernment, and for the intelligence of the Atalik Ghazi, that the visitors were so well received, and so courteously treated.

3. His Excellency the Governor General having organised the deputation, the meritorious conduct of the officers concerned can be best left by his Honor to the consideration of his Lordship in Council, and the Lieutenant Governor desires me to conclude with the remark that missions with more pomp and greater exhibition of symbols of power have sometimes resulted in disappointment, while it admits of no question that the march to Yarkund, the stay there, and the return from Yarkund by so unpretentious a body of English and native officials is, in itself, a success creditable to them, alike as enterprising travellers and as public servants who have ably sustained the honour and reputation of the Government which sent them.

(No. 31. P.)

From *C. U. Aitchison*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Punjab.

Sir, Fort William, 6 January 1871.

I AM directed by His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council to reply to your letter of 13th December, submitting the remarks of his honour the Lieutenant Governor on Mr. Forsyth's report of his expedition to Yarkund.

2. In December 1869 you reported by telegraph that an envoy from the Kushbegi had arrived at Leh on his way to British territory. His arrival at Lahore with letters to the Lieutenant Governor, the Viceroy, and Her Majesty the Queen was reported on 29th January. He was honourably received by the Lieutenant Governor, Sir D. Macleod, and after a short stay at Lahore, he arrived in Calcutta towards the end of March, and at an interview with his Excellency the Viceroy, having produced letters from the Kushbegi giving him powers to discuss and arrange various matters with his Excellency, he stated that he had been instructed by his Government to request that a British officer should be sent back with him on a friendly visit to the court of his highness the Atalik Ghazi. In my letters marginally noted, the Punjab Government were informed of the preliminary arrangements proposed with a view to comply with the wishes of the Atalik Ghazi, and of the instructions issued to Mr. Forsyth, who was requested to submit through the Lieutenant Governor any additional points on which he might deem it desirable to procure further directions. In your Under Secretary's letter, No. 134, dated 28th April, proposals regarding the organization and equipment of the expedition were submitted, and these proposals were all sanctioned in my letter No. 9 A.P., dated 4th May, with exception of a proposed increase to Mr. Forsyth's allowances.

No. 630 P, dated 6th April.
No. 5 A P, dated 14th April.

3. Early in June information reached his Excellency in Council from various quarters that disturbances, the exact nature of which was unknown, had broken out in the territories of the Atalik Ghazi. His Excellency in Council, therefore, deemed it necessary, as you were informed in my letter No. 936 P., dated 7th June, that Mr. Forsyth should make every exertion to find out the exact position of affairs in Yarkund, and that he should receive additional instructions as follows; "*first*, that, unless he is satisfied that a general state of peace similar to that which is said to have prevailed in Yarkund up to the date of his departure still exists, he is to abandon at once his intended journey; and, *secondly*, that he should in that case make preparations for his immediate return to India."

4. Mr. Forsyth, it was added, is fully aware that his deputation to Yarkund would never have been undertaken by his Excellency in Council had he not been fully persuaded that a state of complete peace existed throughout the territories ruled by the Atalik Ghazi.

5. In his original instructions Mr. Forsyth had been told that he was to go to Yarkund merely on a friendly visit to the Atalik Ghazi, and for the sole purpose of opening up and giving impulse to the trade with that country. He was therefore to be careful to abstain from taking any part in the political questions that might be agitated, or disputes that might arise further than conveying to the Atalik Ghazi the general advice already given to him by the Viceroy; viz., that the Atalik Ghazi would best consult the interests of his kingdom by a watchful, just, and vigorous Government, by strengthening the defences of his frontier, and, above all, by abstaining from interference in the political affairs of other states, or from mixing in the quarrels of chiefs or tribes which did not directly concern his own interests. Mr. Forsyth, was, however, to endeavour to obtain the fullest and most reliable information possible regarding the prospects of trade, the Indian staples that are most in demand, the nature and resources of Yarkund and neighbouring countries, their past and present history, and generally information of any kind which he considered of interest.

6. The instructions of 7th June reached Mr. Forsyth at Srinuggur in Cashmere, and on the 14th June he commenced his march towards Leh. The narrative of the expedition is contained in the interesting and valuable report now received, which will be published in the "*Gazette of India*"* for general information.

7. His Excellency in Council fully approves of Mr. Forsyth's proceedings. The steps which he took both at Srinuggur and at Leh to ascertain the real state of affairs in Yarkund are entirely in accordance with the spirit of his instructions. The difficulties in the way of obtaining reliable information were in reality insurmountable. Nothing was known either at Srinuggur or Leh of the existence of disturbances in Yarkund. It was not indeed likely that anything definite could be known at Leh, as it appears that the Atalik Ghazi left his capital in March, and the only traveller who had reached Leh was Moolla Baki, who left Yarkund about the same time. Dr. Cayley, who had gone to Leh from the Punjab by Kullu and Lahoul, had heard no unfavourable rumours. The two messengers who had been sent on to Shadoolla met Mr. Forsyth in the Lokzang valley with the report that all was quiet. It was not until he reached Balakchi close to Shadoolla that Mr. Forsyth first heard that the Atalik Ghazi had left his capital many months before, and had gone on a warlike expedition to Oorumtis, about 700 miles distant from Yarkund.

8. Considering the difficulties in which Mr. Forsyth was placed by the failure of the local Cashmere authorities to furnish sufficient supplies and carriage for the desert journey which now lay between him and British territory, the urgency of the Yarkund authorities that he should advance, and the assurances given him that the Atalik Ghazi had returned to Kashgar from the war, his Excellency in Council considers that Mr. Forsyth exercised a wise discretion in going to Yarkund. His proceedings while there, and his determination to return in obedience to his instructions, have the full approval of his Excellency in Council. Due allowance must be made for the great difficulties in which the Dadkhwah of Yarkund was placed by the absence of his sovereign, and for the great

* *See* Supplement to "Gazette of India," 7 January 1871, pp. 13–63.

great responsibility which he took upon himself in permitting the return of the expedition without effecting the interview with the Atalik Ghazi for which it had been sent. To the delicacy and difficulty of the Dadkhwah's position are chiefly to be ascribed the obstacles which were at first thrown in the way of the departure of Mr. Forsyth and his party. His Excellency in Council is not surprised at the efforts made by the Governor of Yarkund to induce the party to remain, but there is nothing to indicate that the expedition was unwelcome or that its object was misunderstood.

9. His Excellency in Council regrets that, owing to the necessary and protracted absence of the Atalik Ghazi on a distant frontier, the expedition had to return without effecting the main purpose for which it was sent. But he has no reason to be dissatisfied with the measure of success which attended Mr. Forsyth's journey, and he desires that the cordial thanks of Government may be communicated to that officer and to those whose services he has brought to notice in his report for their courage and perseverance under difficulties of no ordinary kind and for the good judgment displayed under trying circumstances.

10. His Excellency in Council has learnt with satisfaction from your letter No. 385-1293, dated 19th November 1870, that the Maharaja of Cashmere has severely punished the Wuzeer of Ladakh to whose culpable negligence the misfortunes which overtook the party in the desert journey are attributable, and has sentenced him to fine, to a year's imprisonment, and to expulsion from Cashmere territories.

YARKAND (FORSYTH'S MISSION).

COPY or EXTRACTS of CORRESPONDENCE relating to the MISSION of Mr. *Douglas Forsyth* to *Yarkand*.

(*Mr. Eastwick.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
28 *February* 1871.

[*Price* 6 *d.*]

60.

Under 6 *oz.*

EAST INDIA (NAWAB NAZIM).

RETURN to Three Addresses of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 16 February, 6 March, and 9 March 1871;—*for,*

(ADDRESS, 16 February 1871.)

"COPIES of MEMORIAL of the Nawab *Nazim* of *Bengal* to the Secretary of State for *India* in Council, dated the 28th day of July 1869:"

"Of LETTER or LETTERS from the Secretary of State for *India* in Council to the Governor General of *India* notifying the Despatch of such Memorial, and requiring a Report thereon:"

"Of LETTER or LETTERS from the Governor General of *India* to the Secretary of State for *India* in Council reporting upon the Memorial:"

"And, of LETTER, dated the 23rd day of December 1870, from the Secretary of State for *India* to the Nawab *Nazim* of *Bengal.*"

(*Mr. Haviland-Burke.*)

(ADDRESS, 6 March 1871.)

"COPIES of LETTER, dated the 14th day of January 1862, of No. 28, from the Officiating Secretary of the Government of *India,* Foreign Department, to the Secretary of the Government of *Bengal:*"

"Of LETTER, dated the 23rd day of May 1859, from Major *Colin Mackenzie,* Acting Agent of the Governor General at *Moorshedabad,* to *A. R. Young,* Esquire, Secretary to the Government of *Bengal:*"

"Of LETTER, dated the 28th day of February 1823, from *H. T. Prinsep,* Esquire, Persian Secretary to the Government of *India,* to the Agent of the Governor General at *Moorshedabad:*"

"And, of DESPATCH, No. 17, dated the 24th day of April 1840, from The Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of *India* in Council."

(*Mr. Harvey Lewis.*)

(ADDRESS, 9 March 1871.)

"COPIES of the FIRMAUN or SUMNUD of 1765 of the Emperor of *Delhi,* Shah *Aalum,* conferring the Nizamut of *Bengal, Behar,* and *Orissa* on the Nabob *Nudzam ul Dowlah:*"

"Of LETTER, dated the 21st day of July 1786, from the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of *India* in Council:"

"Of LETTER, dated the 20th day of February 1834, from *C. E. Trevelyan,* Deputy Secretary to the Government of *Bengal,* to *H. Paulin,* Esquire, Attorney to the Honourable the East India Company:"

"And, of a PROCLAMATION of the Deputy Governor of *Bengal,* dated the 19th day of December 1838, and published in the 'Calcutta Gazette' of the same day."

(*Mr. Downing.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
23 *March* 1871.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE

COPIES of MEMORIAL of the Nawab *Nazim* of *Bengal* to the Secretary of State for *India* in Council, dated the 28th day of July 1869:—Of LETTER or LETTERS from the Secretary of State for *India* in Council to the Governor General of *India*, notifying the Despatch of such Memorial, and requiring a Report thereon:—Of LETTER or LETTERS from the Governor General of *India* to the Secretary of State for *India* in Council, reporting upon the Memorial:—And, of LETTER, dated the 23rd day of December 1870, from the Secretary of State for *India* to the Nawab *Nazim* of *Bengal*.

India Office,
20 February 1871.

J. W. KAYE, Secretary,
Political and Secret Department.

Political Department, India Office, 28 October (No. 229) 1869.

The Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India.

* Dated 28th July 1869.

1. I FORWARD to you herewith five printed copies of a memorial * addressed to me by the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, which reviews all the several questions which for a number of years have been agitated by his Highness in India, and regarding some of which the views of Her Majesty's Government were expressed at considerable length in Sir C. Wood's Despatch of the 17th June 1864 (No. 30).

2. Although the Nawab Nazim is at present in England, and has expressed his anxiety to remain in this country until he has received a reply to his memorial, I have declined to take an unusual course in this matter, and have caused his Highness to be informed that his memorial has been referred to your Excellency in Council.

3. It is desirable, however, that as little time as possible should be lost in conveying to me your Excellency's views on the several points to which the Nawab Nazim has invited my attention in the enclosed memorial.

(signed) *Argyll.*

(No. 148 of 1870.)

Government of India—Foreign Department—Political.

To his Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, K.T., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Duke, Simla, 29 July 1870.

WE have now the honour to reply to your Grace's Despatch, No. 229, dated 20th October 1869, forwarding for our consideration a memorial from his Highness the Nawab Nazim of Bengal.

2. We have very carefully considered this memorial, but have failed to discover any facts, arguments, or claims which have not already been repeatedly disposed of in previous correspondence with Her Majesty's Government.

3. As respects the Nawab Nazim's alleged treaty claims, we would observe that they have more than once been rejected. The Government of Lord Dalhousie, after full deliberation, came to the conclusion in 1853 that the Nawab has no right

right or title whatever to any allowance by treaty or compact; that the three treaties which are upon record are purely personal agreements which expired with the individual with whom each was concluded; and that they were not renewed after the death of Mobaruck-ood-Dowlah in 1796. The Court of Directors also decided that "it is perfectly true that the present assignment of 16 lakhs of sicca rupees does not rest on the stipulation of any formal agreement."

4. Again, in 1862, the Government of Lord Canning, after an elaborate review of all the arguments urged in the present memorial, directed the Government of Bengal clearly to explain to his Highness that "the Governor General in Council entirely rejects his claims so far as they are founded on the assertion of any treaty rights, or of any sovereign or hereditary title;" that the continued payment of the 16 lakhs "is guaranteed by no treaty, and that it has hitherto been paid of the free grace and favour of the British Government."

5. All the arguments now advanced by the Nawab Nazim were further reviewed in the Despatch* of Her Majesty's Government, No. 30, dated 17th June 1864, and the conclusion arrived at was that neither under the firman of Shah Alum, nor under the treaties, has the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, or his family, any claim upon the British Government, or any acquired rights.

* *See* Parliamentary Paper, No. 371, Session 1870.

6. After the most careful consideration that we have been able to give to all that the Nawab Nazim has again urged, we can see no reason whatever to question the soundness of the conclusions arrived at by successive Governors General and by Her Majesty's Government. We need scarcely remind your Grace that the appointment of Soubadar of Bengal, or of Nawab Nazim, was purely personal, and that the arrangements made with successive holders of the office could not in the nature of things be permanent or hereditary. Notwithstanding the clauses in the treaties on which the Nawab Nazim relies to prove their perpetual obligation, the terms granted to each successive Nawab were changed for the worse; the last treaty of the series (the treaty with Mobaruck-ood-Dowlah) became a dead letter from the very first, and was never acted upon by either party; and on the next succession, treaties having already ceased to be appropriate to the altered state of affairs, no agreement was made, and Government continued to deal with the case of each successor as was deemed fit at the time. It appears to us idle to dwell on the particular phrases in which the treaties are concluded. The broad facts of the case and the relative position of the parties appear to us to prove, in the clearest possible manner, that the treaties were and must have been personal, and were so understood by the parties who contracted them.

7. The treaties appealed to by the Nawab Nazim were made between 1757 and 1770 with Meer Jaffier and his three sons, Nujm-ood-Dowlah, Syuf-ood-Dowlah, and Mobaruck-ood-Dowlah, who succeeded his second brother in 1770, and died in 1793. Now, Meer Jaffier was, if not a sovereign prince, at all events a person whom the East India Company treated as such in many respects. But in the hands of his three sons his power gradually declined, and though some degree of real power was still attached to the position of the Nawab at the accession of Mobaruck-ood-Dowlah in 1770, he was entirely deprived of it by the policy adopted by the Company between 1772 and 1781. This change in his position differed from that which might be effected by an ordinary conquest by force of arms, simply in the fact that he was too weak to resist the changes which the Company made. He sank, therefore, during this interval from the anomalous position which he had previously occupied, and which was neither that of an independent prince, nor that of a mere officer of the Emperor of Delhi, to the position of a subject of the Company. At the beginning of this period, viz., in 1770, the Company made with him one of the treaties, to which the present Nawab refers, by which they engaged to pay him 32 lakhs a year. This, by the letter of 1771, they reduced "during his minority" to about 16 lakhs. In 1772, commenced the series of changes by which his real power was taken away, and which were in substance and fact as much a case of conquest and deposition as the conquest of the Punjab. The fact that the conquest was effected peaceably, because the force of the Company was irresistible, no

more prevented it from being a conquest, than the fact that the Danes offered no resistance to the occupation of Serampore prevented that occupation from being a conquest; and the conquest, however effected, put an end to all independence on the part of the Nawab, and, therefore, according to one of the most familiar principles of international law, to all treaties between him and his conquerors.

8. It appears clear to us that both parties looked at the matter in this light. The Company having, in the first instance, reduced the Nawab Nazim's stipend during his minority, continued to pay the reduced amount for the rest of his life, and long after his minority ceased. The reason of this is obvious. He had ceased to be an independent prince, and their payment had become a compassionate allowance to a subject. The Nawab Nazim on his part quietly accepted his altered position, and the present Nawab Nazim's father, his grandfather, his grand-uncle, and his great grandfather, received the reduced payment for a period of 45 years, apparently without complaint; and the present Nawab Nazim himself acquiesced in the arrangement for a period of 10 years after he attained his majority. We cannot imagine that several successive generations of Nawabs, who were in constant relations with the Government of India, and whose money affairs were, on several occasions, the subject of discussion and arrangement, should have silently submitted to a real grievance.

9. With respect to the various documents quoted by the Nawab Nazim as containing admissions that his ancestors were independent princes, we must observe that most of them are merely expressions of opinion, based on imperfect acquaintance with the facts, which could not by any possibility have the effect of changing the status of the Nawab Nazim from that of a subject to that of an independent or feudatory prince. The very fact that it was necessary to pass Acts of the legislature to secure to the Nawab Nazim certain privileges which the Executive Government desired that he should enjoy, is conclusive evidence of his position as a subject, a view which was, in our opinion, correctly taken by the Supreme Court in 1834. But even if we were to give to these documents all the force which the Nawab Nazim would wish to attach to them, we would point out the inference which he entirely overlooks, that the higher he raises their position, the more weight does he attach to the acquiescence of himself and his ancestors in the arrangement under which they lived.

10. But in truth it appears to us useless to discuss now the morality or policy of these proceedings. They were in substance a conquest of Bengal by the Company, in trust for the Crown of England, and according to common sense and legal analogy, they must, in our opinion, be held to have had all the effects of a conquest. They have put an end to the old state of things and to the treaties which belonged to it, and have produced a new one. Even if an injustice were committed, which we by no means admit, it is impossible for the Government of the present day to give a remedy. No one would assert that Her Majesty in the year 1870 ought to re-consider the justice and propriety of the policy of Warren Hastings in 1770, with the view, if it should appear to have been unjust or impolitic, of re-establishing the representative of Meer Jaffier as hereditary Soubadar of Bengal, and of reducing herself to the position of Dewan. But it appears to us that, unless this absurd conclusion is adopted, the present Nawab Nazim possesses no treaty-right. His right to be Soubadar of Bengal is neither better nor worse than his right to receive the 32 lakhs a year, which were to be paid to his ancestors under the treaty of 1770.

11. For these reasons we desire to express our entire concurrence in the decisions already repeatedly given both by the Government of India and by Her Majesty's Government that, while it is our duty to treat the Nawab Nazim in the same way as we would deal with any other pensioner, that is to say, with liberality, with a scrupulous regard to all promises made to him, and to such reasonable expectations as the past treatment of the family may fairly have raised, the Nawab Nazim has no claim or right whatever under treaty in any form or to any degree.

12. With respect to the Moorshedabad murder case, we cannot consent to re-open discussion, or to re-consider the decision expressed in paragraph 11 of the Secretary of State's Despatch, No 30 of 17th June 1864. The case was most

most fully considered by Lord Dalhousie's Government at the time; every point that could be advanced on the question is to be found in the papers on which a verdict was then given, and we can see no reason, after the lapse of so many years, for questioning the decision at which Lord Dalhousie's Government arrived.

13. The penalties which, after careful deliberation, were inflicted upon the Nawab Nazim by Lord Dalhousie were four, (1) his salute was reduced by six guns; (2) it was declared that the expenses of his hunting tours should be paid from his personal allowance, and not from the Deposit Fund; (3) that on these tours a special officer should accompany his camp; and (4) certain special privileges and immunities which he enjoyed were abolished by Act XXVII. of 1854.

14. With exception of the 4th, which still remains in force, all these penalties have been removed as a reward for subsequent services rendered by the Nawab Nazim; and as to the 4th, we believe that even if the measure had not been determined on as a punishment, the repeal of the regulations of 1793, 1805, 1806, and 1823 would have been necessary as a matter of public policy. We are strongly of opinion that the Act XXVII. of 1854 ought to be maintained, and that the regulations repealed by it should on no account be revived. They appear to us to have conferred privileges likely to be, and which actually have been, misunderstood, dangerous, and objectionable in themselves, and quite unsuitable to the Nawab Nazim's position. They have now been abolished for 16 years, and we cannot consent to introduce, nor could the Legislative Council be induced to pass, any Bill for their revival.

15. The Nawab Nazim's complaints in regard to the Nizamut Deposit Fund appears to us to be two, 1st, that it is not allowed to bear interest; and 2nd, that his control over it is unnecessarily and improperly restricted. To show the groundless nature of these complaints, we give a brief sketch of the history of this fund.

The Nizamut Deposit Fund is an amalgamated fund, consisting of—

(I.)—The Agency Fund;
(II.)—The Munnee Begum's Fund;
(III.)—The Nizamut Stipend Fund; and
(IV.)—The Pension Deposit Fund, which has never been really kept up under that name, but into which all the others merged under the mame of Nizamut Deposit Fund.

(I.)—*The Agency Fund* was formed in 1816 from the following assets:

	Sicca Rs.
Accumulations of Munnee Begum's lapsed stipend -	2,63,703 10 -
Her treasure under agreement with Nawab Nazim -	4,36,296 6 -
Total - - - *Rs.*	7,00,000 - -

With these assets, Government Six Per Cent. Securities to the value of 7,10,600 rupees, and yielding 42,636 rupees interest, were purchased, of which 42,060 rupees were set apart for agency establishment, and 576 rupees for the expenses of the Begum's tomb. In 1824, when Government interest was reduced from 6 per cent. to 5 per cent., the income of this fund fell to 38,019 rupees, upon which the allowance for the Begum's tomb was transferred to the Begum's fund, and from the same fund, money was transferred to meet deficiencies accruing in the agency fund. In this way, 89,155 rupees were paid into the agency fund in 1829 to save it from bankruptcy.

(II.)—*The Begum's Fund* was formed from the investment of the accumulations of her lapsed stipend up to 1823. From that date it was intended to devote a sum of two lakhs only to form a Deposit Fund, viz.:—

	Rs.
Begum's lapsed stipend - - - - -	1,44,000
Other lapsed stipends to be paid by Nawab Nazim into Collector's treasury - - -	56,000
Total - - - *Rs.*	2,00,000

The Begum's stipend was regularly retained in the Collector's treasury; but the Nawab Nazim continued to have control of the other stipends, and he never paid the lapsed 56,000 rupees into the Collector's treasury, so that the arrangement fell through, or rather was never acted on, and the Begum's stipend merged in.

(III.)—*The Nizamut Stipend Fund*, which was first opened on the books of the Accountant General to the Government of India in 1826-27, consisting of the lapses from pensions and other miscellaneous items. Had the arrangement of 1823 been carried out, this fund would have been quite unnecessary. But, with the exception of the Munnee Begum's stipend, which was regularly held in deposit by the Collector, the Nawab Nazim continued to appropriate to himself the lapses which should, by rule, have gone to the fund, and in 1836, when accounts were adjusted, the demands upon the Nawab Nazim for lapses were compromised by his paying 90,000 sicca rupees, Government 96,000 rupees, in full satisfaction of all the claims of Government for lapses which had accumulated in his hands from July 1833. The original investment in this fund was 5,50,200 sicca rupees, making, with the agency fund of 7,10,600 rupees, a total investment of 12,60,800 rupees. But of this, a certain portion of the securities was sold out to provide for the marriage expenses of three daughters of one of the Nawabs. The total invested funds in 1836 was therefore 11,92,745 rupees. The total amount of interest on this investment, together with the accumulations of the Begum's lapsed stipend up to 1836, amounted to 10,21,577 rupees, and this, together with the 90,000 rupees paid up by the Nawab Nazim, formed the nucleus of the pension deposit fund, which is identical with the Nizamut Deposit Fund.

16. In consequence of the new arrangements made in 1834, it was intended that all lapses from the balance of the 16 lakhs, after deducting the Nawab Nazim's personal share, should be credited to this fund. This intention, however, was never carried out, and the difference between the sum of 16,00,000 sicca rupees a year, and the sums actually disbursed amounted, as reported in our separate Despatch, No. 149 of this date, to *Rs.* 55,33,261. 7. 3. on 31st March 1868.

17. The Nawab Nazim states that Lord Dalhousie wrongfully converted the Deposit Fund into a book debt bearing no interest; that the several funds were created by his ancestors for special purposes, and ought to bear and have borne interest; that the orders of the Government were, that interest should be re-invested as received; that, in reality, the funds have been created (1) from lapsed stipends arbitrarily diverted for that purpose; (2) from family property to which the Nawab Nazim would have fallen heir; and (3) from a sum of two lakhs a year paid by the Nawab Nazim.

18. Now, the facts are, that the fund consists of two parts,—(1) invested, and (2) uninvested. The invested funds to which the Nawab Nazim never contributed anything, but which, with exception of a portion of Munnee Begum's treasure invested with consent of the Nazim of the day, consists exclusively of lapsed stipends, over which the Nawab Nazim had no control whatever, have always borne interest, and bear interest to this day. Part of the interest is devoted to the purpose for which the corresponding portion of the investment was originally made, viz., the agency establishments, although it is insufficient to meet the expenditure, and has had to be supplemented with grants from the other portions of the fund; and the remainder goes for Nizamut purposes over and above the payments made from the Government Treasury. If the interest of the Begum's Fund has not been reinvested as directed in 1823, it is because that fund never really came into existence, and the Nawab Nazim himself failed to carry out the arrangement by which he was to credit 56,000 rupees a year to the fund. He himself wrongfully appropriated the lapses, and, so far from his having any claim, Government had actually to forgive him a debt of 2,70,137 rupees on account of misappropriated lapses, and for this the Government of India incurred the censure of the Court of Directors.

19. In regard to the uninvested portion, not only was it never intended that it should bear interest, but it would be contrary to all the Government rules regarding deposits, if interest were granted upon it. Deposits in the Government Treasuries do not bear interest, except under specific arrangements made with the

the depositors. Since the first day of its formation, the deposit has borne no interest. It was not Lord Dalhousie who made it a book-debt; the uninvested portion of the Deposit Fund has never been anything else than a book-debt ever since its formation in 1836. What Lord Dalhousie wanted to do was to abolish the fund altogether, and to re-credit the uninvested balance to Government; but to this the Court of Directors objected. If the fund had been invested it would at one time have been bankrupt. The demands upon it are heavy and fluctuating. A reference to the report on the fund, which is enclosed in a separate Despatch, No. 149, of this date, will show that it has not always been able to meet its liabilities. Between 1842 and 1851, for instance, there was a cumulative deficit varying from a quarter of a lakh to nearly two lakhs. Much confusion, indeed, has arisen from styling the balance of the 16 lakhs a fund. The uninvested portion of the so-called fund is a mere account of certain liabilities which the Government of India may, at some indefinite time in the future, be called upon to meet. There is no obligation, expressed or implied, to give interest on this account; and on two occasions on which the present Nawab Nazim has brought forward his grievances, although apparently assisted by persons fully acquainted with all the facts of the case, he has not been able to adduce anything which implies a promise on the part of Government that interest would be allowed. This appears to us to have been the view of Her Majesty's Government in 1864. At that time interest had never been paid on the uninvested part of the fund. The Nawab Nazim complains that the fund was converted into a book-debt by Lord Dalhousie in 1854. The Despatch of June 1864, however, says not a word about interest, but merely decides that "the unappropriated portions from year to year of the 16 lakhs stipend unquestionably belong to the Nazim and his family, and can properly be expended only for their benefit." This is precisely the principle on which the fund has been administered. The Nazim's interest in it consists of his right to have certain expenses defrayed out of it (subject to the approval of Government) which would otherwise have to be paid by himself out of his personal allowance. His family's interest in it consists in their right to have a provision out of it at his death, as Government may then consider proper. It is true that the balance is now large, but there can be no doubt that at the death of the present Nazim, which may of course occur at any time, very heavy claims will come upon it.

20. We need scarcely remind your Grace that no portion of this fund is formed from the Nawab Nazim's personal allowances; that it consists of lapsed stipends of other members of the family, and is maintained for the benefit of the members of the Nawab Nazim's family and for Nizamut purposes generally; that it is to be expended on such objects as Government may sanction from time to time; and that the Nawab Nazim has no right to it, and least of all can he claim to have his debts paid from it. Until 1834, indeed, the only portion of the annual payment of 16 lakhs, in the disbursement of which the Nawab Nazim was uncontrolled, was a monthly allowance of 12,000 rupees for his privy purse, and a provision for the women's apartments. When in 1823 the Government of India forgave the Nawab Nazim a sum of 2,70,137 rupees which he had appropriated to his own purposes from the accumulations, the Court of Directors* observed: "The deposit fund is the property of the Nizamut generally, and if the Nazim has thought fit to misapply a portion of it, this is no ground for exempting him from the obligation of reimbursing what he has so misapplied to the prejudice of other members of the establishment, whose necessities are greater, and who, if it is to be devoted to the relief of individuals, have so much more valid a claim." The same principle has been repeatedly laid down, more particularly in the Despatch from the Court of Directors, dated 17th May 1854, and in Lord Canning's Despatch of 20th December 1859.

* Despatch of 11 March 1829.

21. While, therefore, we admit that the accumulations of this fund are to be held by us for the benefit of the family and the purposes of the Nizamut generally, we must absolutely reject the claim on the part of the Nawab Nazim to interfere in the management of the fund in any way whatsoever. The object of the proceedings of Lord Canning's Government in respect to the appointment of Dewan Nizamut, of which the Nawab Nazim complains, was to separate the public and official duties of the administration of the fund from the management of the Nawab Nazim's personal allowances, and to leave the Nawab Nazim to dispose of his personal allowances in any way he may think proper. These

arrangements were fully approved in the Secretary of State's Despatch of 17th June 1864, and, as the Nawab Nazim has no personal claims whatever on the fund, or any right to a voice in its management, we cannot see that he has any grounds for complaint in connection with the arrangements made by Lord Canning. We may remark that we have recently received information of the death of the Dewan Nizamut, Raja Prosunno Narain Deb, Bahadoor, and it is our intention to take the opportunity of abolishing the office.

22. With respect to the Nawab Nazim's complaint regarding the proceedings of Mr. Torrens, we think that sufficient answer has been given in paragraph 14 of Sir C. Wood's Despatch of 17th June 1864. So far as concerns any claims for accounts during the Nawab Nazim's minority, the matter has been settled, as reported in our Despatch, No. 119, dated 24th June 1870; and as to what took place after the Nawab Nazim came of age, we would simply refer to the decision given in 1864. The Nawab Nazim's statements are put forward so vaguely that they call for no remark from us in any way, and it would be impossible, even if desirable, to enter on a discussion of them.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Mayo.*
Napier of Magdala.
John Strachey.
R. Temple.
J. F. Stephen.
B. H. Ellis.
H. W. Norman.

The Secretary of State for India to the Nawab Nazim of Bengal.

My Friend, India Office, 23 December 1870.

In my letter of the 23rd October 1869, I informed your Highness that the memorial which you did me the honour to address to me on the 28th July 1869, had, in accordance with established precedent, been sent to his Excellency the Viceroy, for such observations as he might have to make upon it; and I have now to acquaint you that, having received the opinion of his Excellency in Council on the several points of complaint which you have brought before me, I have taken them into deliberate consideration in Council, and I have now to communicate to you the result of our deliberations.

It will be for the convenience of your Highness that I should adopt the arrangement of your memorial, and reply to the several questions in succession, according to the order in which you have placed them.

The *first* question which you bring before me relates to the nature of the several treaties, which, from time to time, have been entered into between your Highness's predecessors on the one side, and the British Government in India on the other. Your Highness has read the Despatch of the 17th of June 1864, in which the views of Her Majesty's Government on this subject were communicated to the Government of India. I regret that I can find nothing in your Highness's memorial to cause me to consider that the views then taken were erroneous.

Having deliberately considered the circumstances of these treaties and engagements, as fully set forth in the records of this Government, I can come to no other conclusion than that they were not of an "hereditary nature."

On the *second* point to which your Highness has called my attention, being a matter of a personal character, and of a painful and delicate nature, I enter with much reluctance. You complain that there was, as far back as the year 1854, some misconception "of your being in some way connected with a base outrage committed by some menial servants," an outrage of which you were not even cognizant at the time. I cannot but regret that, after the lapse of so many years, you should have revived this painful discussion. I have had before me the records relating to it, and I have read the final decision of the Home Government of the time, the Court of Directors of the East India Company, and I do not see that it was judged that your Highness was "connected with the outrage" to which you refer. It was the opinion of the Court that, by subsequently bestowing marks of favour on some of your servants, who had been connected with

with that outrage, you had not marked your abhorrence of the offence, but had, on the other hand, appeared to evince sympathy with the offenders. The adverse judgment of the Court of Directors, I am happy to inform your Highness, went no further than this reflection on your subsequent behaviour; and I need not remind you that, with one single exception, the privileges which were withdrawn from you shortly after the occurrence of these transactions, have been since restored in a manner honourable to your Highness.

Of this exception, to which you invite my attention under the third head of complaint, I have now to speak. Your Highness refers to the abrogation of certain special regulations by which you were exempted from the ordinary jurisdiction of the law courts; and you seek the restoration of these exceptional privileges. But it is with no especial reference to the events of 1854 that the Government, both in India and in England, feel themselves compelled to refuse compliance with your Highness's request. You must be aware that the whole tendency of recent legislation in the Indian Empire has been opposed to the grant of these privileges and exemptions, and it would be contrary to the principles upon which India is now governed to restore such enactments to the Statute Book.

The *fourth* and *fifth* subjects of complaint which you bring to my notice, relate to the administration of the several accumulations of money in the hands of the Indian Government, generally described as the "Nizamut Deposit Funds." It is the opinion of your Highness that you ought to have a more direct control over these "Funds," and that the entire amount should be invested, and the interest added yearly to the aggregate accretions. The first question was fully considered by Her Majesty's Government in 1864, and I can see no reason to differ from the opinion then expressed as to the full right of the Government to administer these "Funds" in such manner as they might think fit, for the benefit of the Nizamut family. With respect to the question of interest, I can only inform you, at present, that I am in communication with the Government of India, as to whether the interest might not advantageously be added to the accumulations in the fund for the general benefit of the family.

One further point remains for consideration; that which your Highness describes as "Extraordinary transactions of Mr. Torrens, Agent to the Governor General." These transactions occurred more than 20 years ago. I have read the correspondence contained in your Highness's Memorial with extreme regret; but I cannot help entertaining the opinion expressed in Sir Charles Wood's Despatch of 17th June 1864, that although your Highness may have had good ground of complaint against Mr. Torrens, as the death of that gentleman arrested inquiry at the time, no benefit would now arise from re-opening the discussion of the question.

I may take this opportunity of informing your Highness, and I do it with much pleasure, that having taken into consideration the circumstances of the advance of three lakhs of rupees, promised to your Highness in my letter of the 15th July 1869, Her Majesty's Government have determined that it shall not be considered as a loan to be repaid by your Highness, but as an absolute payment out of the Deposit Fund, in fulfilment of an intention which seems to have been entertained by Government, after the disturbances attending the mutiny of a portion of the Bengal army in 1857.

I am, &c.
(signed) *Argyll.*

His Highness
the Nawab Nazim of Bengal.

COPIES of LETTER, dated the 14th day of January 1862, of No. 28, from the Officiating Secretary of the Government of *India*, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to the Government of *Bengal*:—Of LETTER, dated the 23rd day of May 1859, from Major *Colin Mackenzie*, Acting Agent of the Governor General at *Moorshedabad*, to *A. R. Young*, Esquire, Secretary to the Government of *Bengal*:—Of LETTER, dated the 28th day of February 1823, from *H. T. Prinsep*, Esquire, Persian Secretary to the Government of *India*, to the Agent of the Governor General at *Moorshedabad*:—And, of DESPATCH, No. 17, dated the 24th day of April 1840, from the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of *India* in Council.

India Office,
14 March 1871.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in Political and
Secret Departments.

From Colonel *H. M. Durand*, C.B., Officiating Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal (No. 28), dated the 14th January 1862.

Sir,

No. 420, dated 5th July 1861.
No. 441, dated 23rd July 1861.
No. 457, dated 1st August 1861.
No. 461, dated 6th August 1861.
No. 483, dated 31st August 1861.

I AM directed by the Governor General in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter noted in the margin, relative to the recent dismissal of the Dewan by the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, and to the conduct of his Highness towards the Governor General's agent, Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie.

2. On the first point I am directed to express the general concurrence of his Excellency in Council in the view taken by the Lieutenant Governor, both as to the constitution of the office of Dewan, and as to the course which the Nawab Nazim's proceedings towards the present Dewan impose upon the Government.

3. Heretofore no Dewan has ever been appointed or removed by the Nawab Nazim without the concurrence and approval of the Government or of its agent. And although the Government has always assumed the power of appointing and removing the Dewan in opposition to the wishes of the Nawab, yet that power has in no case been exercised, except after previous communication with the Nawab, and a full consideration of his objections.

4. Therefore, in summarily dismissing the Dewan without inquiry, and without any just cause in opposition to the remonstrances of the agent, and in violation of his own promise; in abolishing the office of Dewan; and in appointing his two sons to "conduct the affairs of the Nizamut," aided by another functionary under the title of Madar-ul-Mahan, the present Nawab Nazim has not only departed from a long established usage, but has usurped an authority which does not belong to him, and was never even claimed by any of his predecessors. The proceeding is one which, to say the least of it, is not respectful to the Government.

5. The Governor General in Council is not in the least disposed to interfere with the Nawab's management of his own private affairs, nor does his Excellency desire any longer to have a voice in the appointment of the persons by whom the expenditure of the Nawab's personal stipend is to be controlled. His Highness is at liberty to spend his income as he pleases so long as he keeps out of debt, and he is equally free to choose his own servants, to dismiss them, and to designate them by any names that he deems appropriate. But the Governor General in Council will not allow his Highness another opportunity of treating with

with injustice and contumely a high native officer appointed with the sanction of Government and still possessing its confidence; nor will the Nawab in future be consulted as to the appointment of the officer by whom the general business of the Nizamut is managed under the superintendence of the agent.

6. The Nawab Nazim, therefore, should be informed that the Government will take no cognisance of the arrangement he has made for the management of the affairs of his own household, and that the expense of it must be defrayed from the funds at the disposal of his Highness. The Nawab should also be told that the Dewan will not be allowed in future to interfere in the private affairs of his Highness, but that he is the only officer whom the Government will recognise as the Dewan of the Nizamut, and through whom the business of the Nizamut generally will be transacted. The Dewan will continue to receive the salary he has hitherto drawn, but it will be paid to him from the Nizamut Fund. The office will be maintained on this footing so long as it is held by Rajah Prosunno Narain Deb, but when a vacancy occurs it will have to be considered whether the duties are not such as may be performed by a less expensive agency.

The Nawab Nazim's stipend, together with all arrears that may due to him, should be paid at once to his own receipt; if this has not been already done, consequent upon a communication which lately passed between the Governor General and the Lieutenant Governor. With regard to the affront offered by the Nawab Nazim to the agent, on the occasion of his visiting the palace in May last, the Governor General in Council agrees with the Lieutenant Governor in thinking that it has by no means been atoned for by the very unsatisfactory explanation which has been accepted by Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie as an apology to himself. For that affront offered to the Government, in the person of its agent, his Excellency in Council will not be satisfied with imperfect excuses. Nothing short of a full admission of error, and an unreserved expression of regret can be received by the Government as a sufficient apology, and the Nawab should be told that until such an apology has been forwarded by him and accepted by the Lieutenant Governor, neither will the request which his Highness has made for permission to visit the Governor General be considered, nor will the letters which he addressed to his Excellency on the 16th and 25th October be answered. The agent also will be withdrawn for the present, and all official communications between the Government and the Nawab will be made through the Collector of Moorshedabad, until an agent regularly appointed can with propriety resume his functions.

7. I am directed to take this opportunity of referring to the Nawab Nizam's Memorial to the Secretary of State, and to the correspondence ending with your letter, No. 421, dated the 6th July last, relative to the accounts of the minority, and to the allegations made by his Highness in respect to the late Mr. Torrens.

8. The Nawab should be informed that his Memorial, though expressed in language far from respectful, will be forwarded to the Secretary of State, for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, together with such remarks as the unfounded pretensions it sets forth, and the erroneous statements and inferences it contains have rendered necessary.

9. At the same time it should be clearly explained to his Highness that the Governor General in Council entirely rejects his claims, so far as they are founded on the assertion of any treaty rights, or of any sovereign or hereditary title, and that his recognised position in regard to the sum of 16 lakhs of sicca rupees, now annually set apart for Nizamut purposes, and to the accumulations thereof, is as follows:—

1st. Since 1771, 16 lakhs of rupees have been granted for Nizamut purposes. The continued payment of this sum is guaranteed by no treaty, and it has hitherto been paid of the free grace and favour of the British Government. It may cease, or may be diminished, whenever the Government shall so determine; but there is no intention of making any change in the present arrangement during the lifetime of the present Nawab.

2nd. Though there is no guarantee for the continuance of the above payment in whole or in part, yet certain pensions now charged upon it were declared by Lord Cornwallis in 1790 to be, and are therefore, hereditary.

3rd. Out of the above-mentioned sum of 16 lakhs, somewhat less than seven lakhs of sicca rupees a year are now paid to the Nawab for his own purposes. This money is at the Nawab's disposal without control, unless he falls into debt, in which case the Government may step in and take the management of it. Any pension granted out of this annual sum reverts to the Nawab on its discontinuance. This arrangement, however, is only for the lifetime of the present Nawab, and will be re-considered at his death.

4th. The rest of the 16 lakhs, after deducting the amount paid to the Nawab, is carried to the credit of the deposit fund.

5th. Everything once paid into the deposit fund is held at the disposal of the Government, as a means of providing for the collateral branches of the Nizamut family (exclusive of the Rajmehal branch), and for other purposes connected with the Nizamut.

10. The only other point in the Nawab Nazim's Memorial which it is necessary to notice now, is that which relates to the charges brought by his Highness against the late Mr. H. Torrens. It is alleged by the Nawab that Mr. Torrens, in his capacity of agent of the Governor General prevailed on his Highness, on his coming of age, to agree to the sale of certain Government securities, amounting to upwards of 19 lakhs of rupees, the invested savings of his personal stipend during his minority, that he caused the securities to be sold, and held for some time in his own name by the Calcutta firm of Mackenzie, Lyall & Co., and that he was, at least, a consenting party to the reckless plunder and dissipation of nearly the whole amount. The statements of the Nawab and of Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie on this subject, as contained in the enclosures of your letter, No, 421, dated the 6th July last, reflect most painfully on the character and conduct of Mr. Torrens; and if that gentleman were now alive it would have been obviously imperative on the Government to make a strict and searching inquiry into the whole facts and bearings of the case. There certainly are, as the Lieutenant Governor observes, grounds for presuming that he acted on good faith for the Nawab's benefit, though altogether without authority, and with the most culpable imprudence and disregard of all official propriety; that he was imposed on by others, and that, notwithstanding the suspicion that necessarily attaches to some of his acts, he himself derived no personal advantage from the transactions in question. But at the best, the appearance of the case as regards him, judged by his own letters to Mackenzie, Lyall & Co., is most discreditable. Still, under the circumstances, it does not appear to the Governor General in Council that any good object can be gained by further inquiry.

Mr. Torrens has been dead for more than eight years; and, so far as the Nawab is concerned, it is clear from his own admission that after he became of age he gave Mr. Torrens full authority* to deal with the accumulated savings; that he made no objection or complaint in Mr. Torrens' lifetime as to the way in which the money was being disposed† of, though his Highness might, in such a case, as he has recently done, have addressed the Governor General direct; that he allowed several years to elapse after Mr. Torrens' death before he accused that officer of having aided to pillage him, or otherwise brought his proceedings to the knowledge of the Government; and that the statements in regard to Mr. Torrens, made by his Highness in his Memorial to the Secretary of State, were not brought forward in the way of complaint, but were merely incidental to the subject matter of the Memorial, and intended to illustrate the manner in which his interests were injuriously affected by the action of the law of 1854. The matter may therefore be allowed to drop.

11. With reference to your letter, No. 490, dated the 17th September last, I am

---

* "Mr. Torrens required me to sign, which I did in compliance with his requisition, the letter of that date before alluded to, addressed to the Government Agent, directing the endorsement to him as Officiating Agent to the Governor General at Moorshedabad, or order, of the Government securities remaining in the Government Agent's possession belonging to me, holding them subject to his, Mr. Torrens', instructions." —*Nawab Nazim's Letter to Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie.*

† "Mr. Torrens continued to be the agent of the Governor General up to the time of his death, and any representation or complaint that I might have desired to make in his lifetime must have been made through him. There was no other course open to me. Moreover, although I was sensible, while Mr. Torrens held the office of Agent, of his general oppressive conduct towards me, I was not cognisant of the particular acts which, after the institution of my suits against Mackenzie, Lyall & Co., and Mr. Macarthur, came to my knowledge."—*Ibid.*

I am directed to request that the Nawab Nazim may be urged to give a discharge for the minority accounts, the correctness of which in no way depends upon circumstances which occurred after his Highness came of age.

12. In a preceding paragraph it has been directed that the Agent should be withdrawn. The Governor General in Council will not entertain the question of any Agent residing at Moorshedabad until the Nawab Nazim shall have apologized in a way that shall be satisfactory to the Lieutenant Governor for the affront offered by his Highness to the representative of the British Government. Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie should therefore be directed to leave Moorshedabad directly, and repair to Calcutta. He should make overcharge of his office to the Collector of Moorshedabad, who, with the assistance of the Dewan, will make the usual payments to stipendiaries and others, and discharge the current duties of the Agent's office, but will hold no communication with the Nawab except such as may be required by law.

13. As it is not the intention of the Governor General in Council that Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie should resume charge of the office of Agent, he should be so informed, and directed to abstain from all further interference with Nizamut affairs. The grave doubts of his Excellency in Council, as to Colonel Mackenzie's unfitness for the position he now holds, have already been recorded, and the present correspondence clearly shows that any hope of his ever obtaining a salutary influence over the Nawab is out of the question. He will remain in Calcutta until he can be otherwise provided for, but when the time comes for the Agent to resume his functions, another officer will be appointed in his room.

14. In conclusion I am desired to state that the instructions conveyed to the Agent in the Junior Secretary's letter, No. 156, dated the 3rd December, are entirely approved by the Governor General in Council. Whatever may have been the practice in former years, Lieutenant Colonel Mackenzie's proposal, as regards English gentlemen not in the service of Government, is quite untenable. It is by influence and tact alone, not by commands, that the Nawab can be kept from intercourse with any persons of that kind with whom such intercourse is objectionable.

From Major *Colin Mackenzie*, Acting Agent to the Governor General at Moorshedabad, to *A. R. Young*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Fort William, the 23rd May 1859.

Sir,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter, No. 119, dated 2nd April 1859, calling for my opinion on Nizamut affairs, together with the enclosures, as per margin.

Note by Secretary to Government of Bengal. Minute by Government of Bengal, dated 9th November 1853. Letter from Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 2889, dated 7th July 1854, with one Enclosure.

2. The force of the first two documents is considerably neutralised by their rejection in the third and last; but as his Honor the Lieutenant Governor has invited me "to make any remarks upon them which they may seem to require," I have the honour to forward, for the consideration of Government, a narrative of the principal facts connected with Nizamut affairs, which I have for months past been engaged in compiling from a mass of ill-arranged records, and in anticipation of a desire on the part of my superiors to have fuller information as to the facts of the case than has hitherto been afforded them.

3. I beg to premise that in offering this detail I earnestly disclaim all intention of thrusting my opinion on the attention of Government, or of presumptuously dictating the course which ought to be pursued. If, in my endeavour to put the merits of the case clearly before the eyes of the deciding authorities, I have used little circumlocution, I trust that my plainness of speech may be viewed in a favourable light, and that it will be seen that my sole motives are concern for the honour, and consequently for the real interests of my country and of the Government which I have the honour to serve, and the necessity of putting aside all selfish considerations in the performance of so sacred a duty.

4. The papers sent and referred to in the first paragraph of this letter consist of a note signed by the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and a Minute

based upon it by Lord Dalhousie, dated 9th November 1853. The Governor General speaks of the note as "having given him for the first time a full view of the arrangements of the Nizamut." It was, therefore, the more to be regretted that the note itself was incomplete, and made no allusion to several most important documents and facts which must have materially altered the conclusions arrived at. This incompleteness could scarcely have been avoided unless the drawing up of the memorandum had been confided to the Agent of the Governor General at Moorshedabad, or to some one who could command the leisure to peruse the mass of documents relating to Nizamut affairs which are dispersed in the offices of the Agent of the Nizamut and of the Bengal Government, and which I may safely say require the labour of months to become fully acquainted with.

5. After giving an outline of the three treaties between the East India Company and the three sons and successors of the Nawab Jaffer Ali Khan, the writer of the note came to the conclusions—

First, That "no treaties or agreement had been made with any of the five Nawabs who have since ascended the musnud."

Second, That "none of the above engagements were otherwise than personal," and that therefore "there never was any guarantee, express or implied, to continue the payment of 16,00,000 sicca rupees to the Nawab and his family for ever;" while the late Governor General states that "it is beyond question that the Nawab has *no right or title whatever to any allowance* by treaty or compact, or by virtue of any agreement," but that he and his predecessors have received the stipend of 16 lacs of "the free grace and favour of the British Government in the same manner as the King of Delhi." He supports this opinion by the remark that the amount of the allowance was changed for the worse from 56 to 43, and subsequently to 31 lacs; but although, on a cursory glance, these conclusions may appear well founded, they were apparently formed in unconsciousness of the grand fundamental treaty of all; *i. e.*, the tenure on which the British hold the vast provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

6. This is the basis of all our relations "with the Nazim. It is the firman of Shah Alun granting to the East India Company the Dewanee or Civil Government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa," as a free gift, and Altumgah with the *conditional "jagheer" of "whatsoever may remain* out of the revenues thereof" after the payment of 26 lacs per annum (by the Nawab) to the royal revenue," and "*after providing for the expenses of the Nizamut*," securing "them from dismissal, and granting the said office to the Company *from generation to generation for ever and ever.*"

Blue Book, pp. 46, 7.

7. Upon this firman two supplementary agreements were based, carrying out its provisions, one between the Nawab Nazim-ool-Dowla and the Company, and the other between Shah Alum and the Company. The former runs thus:—

Blue Book, p. 36.

"The King having been graciously pleased to grant to the English Company the Dewanee of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, with the revenues thereof, as a free gift for ever, on certain conditions, whereof *one is* that there *shall be a sufficient allowance out of the said revenues* for supporting the expenses of the *Nizamut:* Be it known that I do agree to accept of the annual sum of 53 lacs of sicca rupees *as an adequate allowance.* This agreement, by the blessing of God, I hope will be inviolably observed as long as the English Company's factories continue in Bengal."

In the second agreement between the Shah and the Company the latter, "in consideration of his Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant them the dewanees of Bengal, &c., do engage to be security for the regular payment of the sum of 26 lacs per annum, which the Nawab has agreed to pay to the King." This engagement having lapsed, owing to the downfall of the sovereignty of Delhi, does by no means affect the separate agreement between the Nazim and the Company, the former having fulfilled all his engagements, and the Company having enjoyed all the benefits contemplated therein.

8. From this it appears evident—

Jagheer conditional.

First. That Bengal, Behar, and Orissa were granted to the Company as a conditional jagheer, the full force of which term may be gathered from the fact that the jagheer granted to Lord Clive is expressly styled an "unconditional

ditional jagheer;" and the grant to the Company of the northern Circars in the same year is stated to be "by way of inám or free gift." Blue Book, p. 49.

Second. That which was granted was *not* the whole revenue of these provinces, but "whatsoever may remain" after remitting the annual tribute (which the Nawab Nazim, or Viceroy, was bound to pay to the Imperial Court), and providing for the "expenses of the Nizamut." These were the first charges upon the revenues of Bengal, and the Company were entitled to "what remained." Had the treaty been purely personal and applicable only to the reigning Nazim, the expression used would have been the expenses of the Nawab Nazim Nadjim-ool-Dowla; but the phrase "expenses of the Nizamut," is a generic one, and has always been employed to include those who should inherit or appertain to the Nizamut; the Nizamut exists, though Nadjim-ool-Dowla has been long dead. What the grant consisted of.

3rdly. The grant being made "for ever and ever," the conditions of it are evidently perpetual also.

4thly. The stipulation was a "sufficient" or "adequate allowance" for the expenses of the Nizamut, and the amount was settled by mutual agreement. To annul, modify, or in anywise change a treaty so carefully worded, and on which such great interests depend as the annexation of three provinces (which might be styled kingdoms), must obviously require the consent of both the contracting parties. The contracting parties were equal; they are so in theory still. The Nazim is now weak, but what made him so? this very treaty. Shall we, therefore, break it? Who is to decide what is "suitable" or "adequate"? Evidently not only the paramount power, but both.

9. Accordingly this has been the invariable practice, with one marked exception. The Nawab Syef-ool-Dowla "ratified and confirmed" the treaties entered into with his father and brother, "as far as is consistent with the true spirit, intent, and meaning thereof," which is, if I mistake not, the custom whenever a supplementary article or modification is added to a treaty or agreement between contracting parties in Europe, and by no means implies that the treaty would not have been binding on the successors of the prince who made it without such confirmation. A further article was added, to the effect that "having entire confidence in them (*i. e.*, the English) that nothing whatever be proposed or carried into execution by the Company derogating from his honour, dignity, interest, and the good of his country," he made over the military defence of the country to the Company; and in consequence, while receiving the same sum as his predecessor, viz., 1,77,800 rupees, for his household expenses, he agreed to diminish the portion for his sowaree to 24 lacs instead of 36, as he no longer had to maintain the same number of horse and foot. This latter sum had never been considered fixed, the expression used in the agreement with Nadjim-ool-Dowla being, "*should such an expense hereafter be found necessary to be kept up.*" The change, therefore, cannot be said to be "for the worse," neither does it prove anything but that it was lawful to modify the former treaty by the consent of both parties.

10. The terms of both agreements denote their permanency, "so long as the English factories continue in Bengal." The treaty, in 1770, with the minor, Nawab Mobaruck-ool-Dowla, was still more solemnly confirmed. Owing, probably, to the infancy of the Nazim, his stipend was reduced still further; but this agreement, which the Governor General in Council affirmed, "shall, by the blessing of God, be *invariably observed for ever*," was, about two years after, broken by the Court of Directors, and the allowance of the Nazim reduced to 16 lacs. To use Lord Dalhousie's words, "it was set aside by their sole authority, without any acquiescence, signified or asked, from the Nazim;" but this transaction, which his Lordship, apparently not being aware of the solemn fundamental Treaty of Shah Alum, was thus led to adduce as a proof of right, was one of those instances of wrong which causes our early Indian history to be adduced as rather a chart of shoals than as an armoury of precedents. I think his Honor will agree with me, that in order to act in accordance with the higher political morality of the present day, and especially with the pledge for "the strict observance of treaties and engagements" so recently given by Her Majesty, we 1770. 1772.

must refer to the compact made by our predecessors rather than to their mode of observing them.

11. The result of long and careful researches into voluminous ill-arranged records has been the establishment of the following facts: that although the engagements with the five subsequent Nazims were not in the shape of formal "Treaties," yet there have been several solemn "agreements and compacts," especially in 1790, 1823, and 1834; and each successive Governor General, on assuming the reins of government, as also on the accession of a new Nazim, has "confirmed the existing treaties and engagements," and reiterated the assurance of a "scrupulous adherence to existing engagements, and to the obligations of public faith and honour."

Governor General, 5th January 1823. Governor General to present Nazim, 1838.

The late Governor General solemnly promised on his arrival to "promote the interests and establish the authority of all the native princes by strict observance and enduring fulfilment of compact and treaty in terms of existing conditions, stipulations, and articles arranged and concerted."

In fact, with slight variations of expression, every successive Governor General has publicly assured each successive Nazim that "the honour and dignities due to your hereditary rank, and the prescriptive privileges of your high station, guaranteed by the stipulations of *subsisting treaties and long-established relations*, observed and cherished by former Governors General, will, on the part also of this sincere friend, be fervently fostered and punctually fulfilled."

12. The 16 lacs to which the Nazim's stipend was reduced in 1772 have been repeatedly recognised as "belonging to him by treaty."

The frequent promises "not to derogate from the honour, dignity, or interest of the Nawab Nazim certainly include not diminishing his income, since both his dignity and interest would suffer by the curtailment of it."

Lord Cornwallis, after "inquiring of the Nazim the names of those whose pensions he wished to discontinue," declared the stipends of the relations of the Nazim "hereditary." If the stipends were to be hereditary, the funds from which they were paid must be hereditary also.

But express pledges abound.

Lord Minto, on the accession of Nawab Nazim Ali Jah, "assures him that the stipend, fixed on the accession of your august father by the Honourable East India Company, will be continued to your Highness without any difference, viz., the annual allowance of 16 lacs, in monthly issues, as usual." The same pledge is reiterated by the Marquis of Hastings in 1821, and by Lord Amherst in 1825. Lord Amherst says, "Your Highness may be assured that the regular fixed allowance, and the other mutually settled points, will remain and continue as approved and sanctioned by the Home Authorities, viz., 16 lacs of rupees per annum."

Governor General to Nawab Nazim, 15 July 1807.

Lord Moira gave a formal assurance that the agency deposit fund would "ever be considered as the inalienable property of his Highness' family over and above the 16 lacs of rupees assigned for its support."

In 1836 the Government instructed the Accountant of the Revenue Department, "That the stipend of the Nawab Nazim, and the Nizamut pensioners, having *formed matter of express engagement in a treaty*," &c.

12 January 1836.

In 1840 the Court of Directors corrected the Deputy Governor, who had styled the deposit fund "public money," and affirmed that "the deposit fund is not public money, but a part of the assignment by treaty of the family." *See* Narrative, *passim*.

Even had there been no treaties the 16 lacs are sufficiently secured by "long-established relations," and Government has repeatedly pledged itself "to the strict observance and enduring fulfilment of existing conditions, stipulations, and articles arranged and concerted."

No change in the amount of the allowance has been made since 1772, and no change of any importance has ever been made even in the allotment of it, without a formal agreement with the reigning Nazim.

13. The principal agreements, omitting several which proved abortive, have been three in number.

By the first, seven lacs, chiefly arising from Munnee Begum's stipends, were invested for the payment of the Agent of the Governor General and his establishment; his Highness gave his consent on receiving from the Governor General

1816.

General " an assurance that this fund is, and will be considered the inalienable property of his Highness' family over and above the 16 lacs assigned for its support."

1823.

In 1823 the Governor General proposed that two lacs of rupees, per annum, should be invested for the benefit of the Nizamut; his Highness consented, on the British Government " relinquishing all desire to increase the fund beyond one-eighth of the entire Nizamut stipend." Governor General in Council, 28th February 1823.

The third and latest agreement which has been entered into between the " two Sirkars," is that of Captain Thoresby in 1834, which stipulates that " all *perquisites*, Mamoolats, &c., *as well as present or future* pensions should *revert to* and *be at the entire disposal of his Highness.*"

That the stipends of relations and dependents should be distributed by the Agent, although the entire 16 lacs are still paid to his Highness' receipt, the treasurer being answerable henceforward to the Agent, as well as to the Nawab Nazim; that his Highness should have full control over his own household and his own expenditure, " without the obligation of giving any account of either." 23rd May 1836.

This was acknowledged by Government as " the rule under which Nizamut affairs are to be henceforward administered."

14.—I. To sum up the subject as a mere matter of account, it seems clear that " an adequate allowance " for the Nizamut is secured by treaty as the first charge on the revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

II. That the right of his Highness to at least 16 lacs, per annum, rests not only on ancient usage, " long established relations," and prescriptive right, since 1772, but on many formal stipulations and agreements.

III. That two lacs, per annum, and no more, are by contract to be deducted from his Highness' stipend, the accumulations and balance of interest to be invested in the securities of the British Government, who is the trustee responsible for disposing of the money " for the benefit of the family," especially for buildings, travelling expenses, and dowries; this is admitted in Lord Dalhousie's orders, for he styles it " a debt," although he would not allow it to bear interest.

IV. That the remaining 14 lacs, with all lapses and accumulations therefrom, from 1836 (only deducting such pensions as he and his ancestors have allotted to their relations and dependents), belong to the Nazim for the time being, whoever that may be, and should be made over to him. It appears that if a portion of this money, properly belonging to the Nazim, has been withheld from his Highness and made use of by Government, he has a claim not only to the principal but also to the usual rate of interest.

15. The foregoing remarks and the subjoined narrative will, I venture to hope, enable Government to discern and weigh the merits of this important case, and to arrive at a conclusion befitting the magnitude of the interests debated, and the enduring influence of the principles involved. I will not dwell on the impression likely to be produced by this and similar decisions upon the native mind, and it may be on that of the public at home.

16. I cannot conclude without remarking that it is impossible to disconnect the interests of the Nawab Nazim from the proceedings adopted in connection with the famous murder case in the year 1853-54. But I am not authorised to enter upon this subject, although if called upon to do so, I believe I could throw some additional light on it.

17. I beg permission to add, lastly, that my position is one of peculiar difficulty and delicacy. As Governor General's Agent my first duty is to the Government, and I heartily desire to avoid even the appearance of opposition to their acts or policy. Of course I mean the Government which I have at present the honour to serve, as no man would be considered blameable if openly disapproving bygone measures, such as the abolition of flogging in the native

army, or the invasion of Afghanistan; at the same time I believe that his Excellency the Viceroy placed me in my present appointment, with a view to my carrying out the very object for which the office was instituted, viz., the protection of the interests of the Nawab Nazim as inseparably connected with the honour of the British name. Indeed, the Governor General in Council, in 1816, fully coincided with Mr. Edmonstone in declaring that "the exclusive object of the Governor General's agency at Moorshedabad" is "the prosperity and pecuniary benefit of the Nizamut," and it is on this ground alone that the Nazim consented to the formation of the Agency Deposit Fund, out of his own revenue, for the payment of the Government Agent at his establishment.

It is therefore with perfect confidence that I ask the indulgence of his Honor, the Lieutenant Governor, for having entered so fully into the subject, as also for every imperfection in the manner of doing so.

From *H. T. Prinsep,* Esq., Persian Secretary to the Government of *India,* to the Agent of the Governor General at Moorshedabad, dated 28th February 1823.

Sir,

I AM now directed to convey to you the orders of Government on the accounts of the Nizamut for the years 1226, 1227, and 1228, and likewise to furnish you with instructions on the several propositions contained in your predecessor's letters, dated respectively the 19th and 31st of December last. As connected with the subject of the accounts, I take the same opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of Mr. Rickett's letter, dated the 23rd December, forwarding the Collector's statement of the amount in deposit in his treasury.

2. The Governor General in Council is concerned to observe that, although improved in former and apparently more correct than when last forwarded, the accounts are yet not wholly free from error, besides being still somewhat confused, and not exhibiting so clearly as might be all the particulars called for in my letter to the acting Agent, dated 3rd February of last year. There is, moreover, no detailed statement of the appropriation of the several large sums allotted to the head noted in the 11th paragraph of the letter in question, the same plan having still been adopted of giving only a particular statement of the amount charged by the accounts in *excess* of the appropriations, which without a knowledge of the manner of distributing the allowed amount can, as before observed, afford little or no check. The detail is promised for the present year, and being essential as a record of the claims of the several members of the family, I am desired to call your particular attention to this point.

3. Again, although the accounts of the Deposit Fund for each of the three years under review, have been made up with some reference to the accounts of the general expenditure, and purport to correspond with them, the principle on which the balance is struck between the two is not clearly explained; besides that, it is not stated with sufficient precision from which treasury each of the disbursements charged *per contra* against the fund has been defrayed; neither is the date of the authority for any of the payments cited, which, as there must have been a Government Order to sanction each, should have been entered to facilitate the account.

4. It seems, indeed, from the statement of deposits obtained from the Collector, and sent up with the separate letter of the 23rd December, that no payment has been made by him from the Munee Begum's accumulated stipend since 1817; thence it follows that the Nazim's treasury has furnished the whole of the charges set against the Deposit Fund. This assumption has accordingly been adopted throughout the following paragraphs.

5. The

5. The balance at the close of 1225 is stated to have been three lacs ninety-six thousand one hundred and five rupees two annas and eight pies, whereof seventy-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-two rupees two annas and eight pies were in the Nizamut treasury, and three lacs seventeen thousand five-hundred and seventy-three rupees* in that of the Collector, it remains to bring on the accumulations and strike the annual balance from that time. The fund of accumulations for 1226 seems to have been two lacs fifty-eight thousand rupees twenty eight annas and nineteen pies, arising from savings annually accruing from before 1224. Against this is set the allowance to the Munee Begum's establishment for the year, twenty-six thousand five hundred and sixty five rupees, sundry augmentations of stipends amounting to thirty-six thousand rupees per annum, and the incidental charges noted in the margin, amounting to the aggregate to fifteen thousand six hundred and fifty-four rupees. The total charges on the fund for the year would thus appear to be seventy eight thousand two hundred and nineteen rupees, and the increment to the Deposit Fund, one lac seventy-nine thousand eight hundred and one rupees. From the above calculation the stipends of Khuleeloolah and others are entirely omitted, since, although from accidental circumstances they have come to be in deposit with the Collector, they seem to be totally distinct from the fund formed from stipends which have actually lapsed, or in the distribution of which amongst heirs and claimants a permanent saving has been effected.

	Rs.
Wages to Manjees, not stated whether sanctioned or not, as a charge against the Deposit Fund - - - -	54
Marriage Expenses of Shurfoonessa -	1,600
Buildings for the Valida Begum - -	14,000
Rs.	15,654

6. Of the above sum of one lac seventy-nine thousand eight hundred and one rupees, one lac forty-four thousand rupees, the Munee Begum's stipend, is forthcoming at the Collector's treasury, the remainder, viz., thirty-five thousand eight hundred and one rupees should be in the Nizamut treasury. It is necessary, however, to examine the account of receipts and disbursements of that treasury for one thousand two hundred and twenty-six rupees before determining the amount forthcoming there; the Nazim draws monthly the sum of one lac sixteen thousand three hundred and thirty-three rupees five annas and six pies, and with the sum paid to Moostufa Khan's family, the total payment to the Nazimut is sixteen lacks, minus the retained pension of the Munee Begum, or fourteen lacks and fifty-six thousand rupees of this sum, thirty-five thousand eight hundred and one rupees for the year, as above shown, unappropriated assets of the Deposit Fund for which the Nawab was accountable. The amount applicable to the expenses of the different branches of the Nizamut, including the charges on the fund, all of which were paid from his treasury, was only fourteen lacs twenty thousand one hundred and ninety-nine rupees. It seems, however, that the Nazim produces accounts showing an expenditure of fourteen lacs thirty-five thousand one hundred and fifty-one rupees, independently of several payments to be made for his treasury, on account of the fund; thus his charges are considerably beyond the funds available.

	Rs.
	16,00,000
Deduct -	1,44,000
Rs.	14,56,000

The charges not included are Munee	Rs.
Begum's establishment - -	26,565
Buildings, &c. - - - - -	15,654
Rs.	42,219

7. The general accounts are made upon the principle of disallowing all the charges which are in excess of the aggregate amount appropriated for the different departments, including that for contingencies as settled by the committee, of one thousand eight hundred and two rupees, and a few other available items from casual savings. In this manner a deduction of fifty-seven thousand one hundred and seventy-one rupees being made from the above amount, a difference is shown which corresponds with the deposit account, and leaves the precise sum of one lac forty-four thousand rupees to swell the accumulation in the Collector's treasury, besides yielding an increment in that of the Nizamut of thirty-five thousand eight hundred and one rupees, which, as before observed, ought to be forthcoming there. The following detail will explain this more clearly.

* This includes a sum in deposit on account of Khuleel Oollah's stipend, which cannot be considered part of the fund. The Munee Begum's stipend of twelve thousand per mensem is the only item falling under this description which accumulates in the Government Treasury, and, confining the statement to this, the Collector's balance was three lacs fourteen thousand five hundred at the close of 1225. The accounts transmitted assume the entire amount of the collections and deposits to be available to the fund.

Authorised expenses under different heads					13,01,791	7 18 –
Contingencies charged in excess*					1,33,359	11 9 3
But there being certain funds to meet contingencies, deduct, to be disallowed, the excess of contingencies above them, viz.					14,35,151	3 7 3
					*57,171	12 6 3
Remains to be passed					13,77,979	7 1 –
Complement of 16 lacs					2,22,020	8 19 –
Equal to aggregate of					16,00,000	– – –
Deposit fund			2,58,020	8 19		
Minus augmentation already carried to account			36,000	– –		
					2,22,020	8 9 –
* The Munee Begum's kitchen allowance is not included amonst these contingencies, but, on the contrary, is specially deducted from them; on the other hand, in calculating the amount to be disallowed, it is added to the larger sum, and therefore makes part of the 57,171 rupees. This item is thus twice subtracted from the total amount charged by the Newab, which is a mistake; its amount is 3,242 rupees per annum					2,22,020	– – –
Munee Begum's establishment			26,565	– –		
Sharfoonissa's marriage, building, and manjee			15,654	– –		
					42,219	– – –
Remains increment to fund					1,79,801	– – –
Distributed as follows:						
Collector's treasury			1,44,000	– –		
Nazamut treasury			35,801	– –		
		Rs.	1,79,801	– –		

From two lacs twenty two thousand and twenty deduct the Munee Begum's establishment and other expenses authorised as charges on the fund, but not included in the general account, like the Valeda Begum's and other increased stipends allowed for, and there remains the sum brought to account as increment to the fund distributed as above noticed.

8. It will be seen that in the balance struck between the general account of expenditure for the year and the Deposit Fund account, Mr. Ricketts has not included Khuleeloolah's stipend which is perfectly right; but that item should have been equally excluded from the deposit account, where its introduction has only led to confusion.

9. Having prefaced the above detail for the year 1226, the accounts of 1227 and 1228 may be disposed of in a similar manner.

10. The stoppage fund, which yielded two lacs fifty-eight thousand rupees twenty-eight annas and nineteen pies in 1226, was increased by the death of the Walida Begum and by the annexation of the salary of Raee Girdharee Mul with arrears, and also that of Moobarukoonessa to three lacs seven hundred and fifty-five rupees fourteen annas and fifteen gandas. The two last items, however, are not included in the balance struck, which assumes the Deposit Fund of the year at two lacs eighty-two thousand three hundred and sixty rupees. The reason of this is not sufficiently apparent; indeed the whole account for this year is very confused, the items being mixed up both in the general account and in that of the Deposit Fund, so as to render it extremely difficult to cast a balance; to proceed, however, for 1227, as was done above for 1226, let two lacs eighty-two thousand three hundred and sixty rupees three annas and twelve gandas be assumed as the available fund, against this

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
As in 1226	2,58,020	8	19
Waleda, for a broken period	24,339	10	13
	2,82,360	3	12
Raee Girdharee's Salary, with arrears from Bysack, 1225	17,776	10	13
Mobarukoonissa	619	1	–
Rs.	3,00,755	15	5

this must of course be set the establishment of the Munee Begum, also the allowed augmentations and the sum expended in buildings. The Valeda Begum's establishment, and the expense of her fatiha upon her decease, were likewise fairly chargeable to the fund, credit having been taken for her whole allowances in the above two lacs and eighty-two thousand rupees; making these deductions there will remain available for that amount an increment to the fund of one lac seventy-nine thousand two hundred and sixty-nine rupees for one thousand two hundred and twenty-seven. It is to be remarked that the payments to Jynath Ghose and Gungadhur are not included in the above statement of charges against the deposit fund, the reason for which is that those charges were not met from the lapsed salary of Raee Girdharee Mul, as explained in Mr. Russell's letter, dated the 20th February 1822, paragraph 9; and as that salary has been excluded from the above estimate of the available fund for the year, it must necessarily follow that these charges can have no place amongst the demands for the year. The inclusion of this item in Mr. Ricketts' account of the deposit fund for 1227, has contributed mainly to the confusion which appears.

Vide Deposit Fund Account 1227:	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*
Deposit Fund for 1227 - -	-	-	-	2,82,360	3	12
Deduct:						
Munee Begum's Establishment -	25,233	12	–			
Authorised Augmentations -	28,000	–	–			
Buildings - - - - - -	41,000	–	–			
Valida Begum's Establishment -	8,857	1	1½	1,03,090	13	1
Remains available - - -	-	-	-	1,79,269	6	–
Collector's Treasury - - -	1,44,000	–	–			
Nazim's Treasury - - -	32,269	–	–			
Rs.	1,79,269	–	–			

I am not aware that it will be necessary to notice any particular item of expenditure in the year 1226, as I was not in charge of the office. In like manner, I do not know if I am called upon to notice any item in 1227 but one, and that I am not aware may not have been authorised, but I am unable to state it beyond the fact that it is asserted that it was verbally sanctioned by Mr. Ricketts. It is the item of 9,750 rupees paid to Jynath Ghose for performing the duty of Nail Dewan after the death of Girdharee Mull, and Gunga Jhur Baboo, after that of Jynath Ghose. Mr. Ricketts most probably considered it just that the person who did the duty should receive the salary attached to the office, although in a reduced scale, for Girdharee Mull (whose salary has been credited to the accounts) received 500 rupees per mensem, while the sum admitted to Jynath Ghose and Gungadheer is but 300 rupees.

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
Raee Girdharee Mul's salary for 35 months 15 days -	17,766	–	–
Mobarukoonessa at 16 months, exclusive of Fatcha -	619	–	–
Ahmed Ulee and Shurfoonessa, from Khuleetollah's stipend - - - - - - - - - -	1,369	–	–
Rs.	19,754	–	–

11. To proceed with the calculation commenced above, there appears, independently of the stipends noticed in the margin, to have been an available saving for the fund of one lac seventy-nine thousand two hundred and sixty-nine. It remains to show how this tallies with the general account for 1227 of the appropriation of the sixteen lacs allowed by Government to the Nizamut. In consequence of the Walida Begum's death, the fixed charge for the several heads was considerably reduced from the year 1226, and stood at twelve lacs seventy-two thousand and forty-one. This amount, it is to be observed, includes the authorized augmentations, and likewise the expense for the Valida Begum's fathiha and kitchen, charged against the deposits. The accounts proceed to state the excess of expenditure for the year at one lac fifteen thousand two hundred and ninety-eight rupees, six annas, and thirteen and a half gandas; from this they deduct the Munee Begum's kitchen allowance, stated by Mr. Russell to be an impracticable saving, and likewise the expense of a journey to Beerbhom, which it is proposed to pay from the deposits; the excess thus stands at ninety-nine thousand four hundred and eighty-two; the account then disallows as much of this as equals its difference compared with the fund provided for contingencies, plus the kitchen allowance of the Munee Begum, which amounts to the same thing as if the contingent fund were at once added to the allowance appropriations, and the kitchen allowance deducted therefrom, as is done in the margin; thus the kitchen allowance, which being asserted to be an impracticable saving, should apparently be added to the authorized charges, becomes on the contrary not only an item of which audit is refused, but a deduction from the sum actually appropriated for contingencies. This cannot but be an error, yet as it is one which pervades the accounts for all

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*	*Rs.*	*a.*	*p.*	*g.*
Established charges - - -	-	-	-	12,72,041	8	6	1
Add increase - - - -	1,15,298	6	13½				
Deduct journey to Beerbhoom and Munee Begum's kitchen -	15,816	5	–½	99,482	1	13	–
				13,71,523	9	19	1
Deduct difference between - -	1,15,298	6	13½				
And the fund for contingencies -	79,447	10	3				
	35,850	12	10				
Minus the journey to Beerbhoom only - - - - - -	12,574	–	–	23,276	12	10	–
There remains to be passed -	-	-	*Rs.*	13,48,246	13	9	1

	Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
Authorized appropriation - - - - - -	12,72,041	8	–
Funds for contingencies - - - - - -	79,447	10	–
	13,51,489	2	–
Deduct Munee Begum's kitchen allowance on impracticable saving - - - - - - - -	3,242	5	–
Rs.	13,48,246	13	–

three

	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
Accounts passed	-	-	-	13,48,246	-	-
Complement of 16 lacs	-	-	-	2,51,753	-	-
				16,00,000	-	-
Which complement is equal to	-	-	-	2,82,360	3	12
Minus authorised augmentations	28,000	-	-			
Plus Valida Fatcha, &c.	2,607	1	1¼			
				30,607	1	1¼
Both of which have already been in the	13,48,246	-	-	2,51,753	-	-
Deduct charges on the fund not brought to account:						
Minus Begum's establishment	25,233	12	-			
Buildings, &c.	41,000	-	-			
Validee's establishment	6,250	-	-			
				72,483	12	-
Remains as above	-	-	Rs.	1,79,269	-	-

three years, while the motive and origin of it is not very intelligible, it must be left for separate correction. Assuming thirteen lacs forty-eight thousand and two hundred and forty-six to be the rate at which the account is to be passed, there is a complement of two lacs fifty-one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, which balances with the deposit fund assumed at two lacs eighty-two thousand two hundred and sixty, after deducting the items already brought to account.

12. The Governor General in Council remarks that, independently of the charges on the fund above noted, by which the available asset of the year is reduced to one lac seventy-nine thousand two hundred and sixty-nine, the item of twelve thousand five hundred and seventy-four, on account of the expenses of a journey to Barbhoom, should likewise have been credited against the fund, making the increment of the year stand at one lac sixty-six thousand six hundred and ninety-five; in other words, reducing the amount for which the Nizamut treasure is to be accountable from thirty-four thousand two hundred and sixty-nine to twenty-two thousand six hundred and ninety-five.

13. It cannot be necessary to pursue the same detail in receiving the accounts of 1228. It may suffice to observe, that by the annexation of the entire stipend of the Valida Begum the available fund was raised in that year to three lacs twenty-eight thousand seven hundred and twelve rupees twelve annas. The charges on it are stated at sixty-one thousand six hundred and four rupees; but this includes an item of seven thousand rupees expended in salary to Ghaleb Ulee Khan and Raee Gungadhur, which, as the asset for it in the pay of Girdharee Mul is not included in the fund, cannot be set against the above sum. The increment of the year should thus be two lacs seventy-eight thousand one hundred and eight rupees, of which the Nizamut is accountable for one lac thirty-four thousand one hundred and eight rupees.

14. The general account of the appropriation of the stipend in 1228 is made up exactly on the same principles as those above reviewed, and by disallowing one lac fifty-five thousand and eighty-five rupees, out of a surplus charge of two lacs thirty-four thousand two hundred and eighty-three rupees, it exhibits an available fund of the same amount as the above. The same peculiarity appears in the manner of bringing the Munee Begum's kitchen allowance to account, viz., that it assumes the shape of a deduction from the amount set apart for contingencies.

15. The accounts and correspondence of previous years have been in vain referred to, in the hope that they would afford the means of ascertaining the correction which ought to be made in the accounts. With a view to rectify the error Mr. Russell, in the 9th paragraph of this letter, dated 29th November 1821, stated it to have been his intention to have "*added* the amount to the sum available for extra and contingent expenses," so as to prevent its swelling the excess of expenditure. In the present accounts the exact contrary of this course seems to have been followed.

16. Amongst the items composing the Deposit Fund as an allowance described as saleeana and kitchen of the Munee Begum, and stated at three thousand eight eight hundred and four rupees ten annas and nineteen gandas, whether this amount includes the three thousand two hundred and forty-two rupees, which constitutes the difficulty in the present instance, does not clearly appear; and in order to preserve the balance between the deposit account and that of the general appropriation of the Nizamut stipend, it is of some importance to know this. The probability seems to be that the correction would be in favour of the Nizamut treasury; but how the balance will be affected, and by what counter alterations in the deposit account the error will require to be met, it is impossible to ascertain without further inquiry of the Nizamut officers. You will be pleased, at your earliest leisure, to direct your attention to the subject, unless the instructions about to be furnished to you should supersede the necessity for so doing.

17. Upon

17. Upon the supposition that the balance of each year as now cast is not incorrect, the following abstract will explain the result of the accounts :—

	1226.	1227.	1228.	Total.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
Total Deposit Fund to be accounted for in the appropriation of the sixteen lacs - -	2,58,020	2,82,360	3,28,712	8,69,092
Authorised appropriations from the fund -	78,219	12,574 / 1,03,090	54,604	2,48,487
In Collector's office - - - - - -	35,801	22,696	1,30,108	1,88,605
But in order to balance the deposit and general accounts, there has been an excess of charge disallowed equal to - - -	57,171	23,276	1,55,085	2,35,532
Moreover, independent of the amount accounted for in the general Nizamut account, there are deposits in the Collector's treasury	2,258	1,369	11,740	15,367
And appropriations from these - - -	1,456	- -	2,509	3,965
Ditto - - ditto - - Nizamut Treasury, Gerdharee Mul's salary, &c. - - -	- -	18,385	10,390	28,775
Appropriations from ditto - - - -	- -	9,750	7,000	16,750

18. From the above abstract it is quite clear that if the settlement of the accounts for the three years 1226, 1227, and 1228 were to be made on the same footing as those of 1225, his present Highness would be liable to be called upon to make good the sum of one lac ninety-one thousand six hundred and four, as an asset of the Deposit Fund, besides what was stated to be in deposit at the close of 1225 ; viz., seventy-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-three, making altogether a sum of two lacs seventy thousand one hundred and thirty-seven. In point of fact, unless it could be assumed that the accounts were wholly factitious, in so far as they show an excess of charge, very little, if any, of this large sum will be forthcoming. There is, indeed, a sum of sixty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-one, which has been actually reserved for his Highness out of the privy purse savings of the late Nawab, bequeathed to the Doolhin Begum ; consequently thus much may be assumed to be disposable ; but the whole of the remainder, as well as the balance in hand at close of 1225, as the subsequent accumulations must, it is to be feared, be regarded as a retrenchment on the Government audit of the accounts, realization of which might or might not be enforced from other funds belonging to the Nazim.

	Rs.
1224 - -	19,338
1225 - -	42,933
Rs.	62,271

19. The above considerations, combined with the promise given in my letter dated the 3rd February 1222 to deal literally with his Highness in the adjustment of the accounts of his predecessor, suggests to the Governor General in Council that the following shall be the plan adopted for settling the accounts of the three years under review.

20. The total excess of charges for the three years, beyond the funds assigned from them out of the Nizamut stipend of sixteen lacs seems, from the above abstract, to have been two lacs thirty-five thousand five hundred and thirty-two, including a sum of upwards of a lac and thirty thousand spent on his Highness's accession, or in the funeral of his brother, and in the instalment of Raja Oodwunt Singh as Dewan, which occurred four days before his late Highness's death. Assume that these charges are passed, and that the savings which ought to have been accumulating in the Nizamut treasury as increment to the fund have been appropriated to their liquidation,—

	Rs.
Expenses of elevation to the Musnud	97,968
Funeral of late Nazim - - -	24,927
Khelut to Oodwunt Singh - -	10,200
Rs.	1,33,095

21. The above abstract shows these to have amounted for the three years to one lac ninety-one thousand six hundred and four ; add thereto the sixty-two thousand two hundred and seventy-one withheld from the Doolhin Begum, and there will be a considerable excess applicable to the purpose of renewing any

part of the establishment of his Highness, which may be defective. Whatever remaining part of the balance of one thousand two hundred and twenty-five, which is stated at seventy-eight thousand five hundred and thirty-three, may likewise be forthcoming in the Nizamut coffers is likewise abandoned to the same purpose, it being the intention of Government to give up the whole accumulation of the deposits in the Nizamut treasury to meet the above charges.

Rs.	
1,91,604	Accumulation of 12,261,718.
78,533	Balance at close of 1225.
2,70,137	
2,35,532	
34,605	Excess, besides 62,271 rupees stopped from the Doolhin Begum.

22. It remains to notice the proposition contained in the 5th paragraph of Mr. Rickett's letter of the 19th December, viz., that certain charges incurred by his Highness, amounting in the aggregate to eighty thousand one hundred and thirty-eight, should similarly be defrayed from the deposit fund.

23. Upon examining the items, it appears to the Governor General in Council that they are all of a personal nature, that must have been actually defrayed before the accession of his present Highness; none of them remain as debts now due by the Nizamut; and as none of them are entered in the Nizamut accounts, the reason is apparent, viz., that his late Highness conceived them to be of that description of charges to be paid by himself personally, either from his allowance under the head of privy purse, or from the wealth that had come to him in heritance.

24. It seems to the Governor General in Council that Government might, with equal propriety, be called upon to replace every item expended by his late Highness from his privy purse allowance, and to make over the accumulation of that allowance untouched as a sacred inheritance of the Nizamut, as to sanction the payment of the particular charges claimed in this instance. Had debt been incurred to meet them, and had the Nizamut been made over to his present Highness with an empty treasury in consequence, or otherwise embarrassed by the extravagance of his predecessor, the claim to relief from the fund provided for such exigencies might have been deserving of consideration; but in the present instance his Highness succeeded to an accumulated treasury from which his predecessor might have appropriated, shows him to have done tens of thousands, and Government would neither have felt itself interested in the expenditure, nor called upon to replace the amount. You will be pleased to take an opportunity of explaining to his Highness the light in which these charges have been regarded by Government.

25. You will have gathered from the above observations and orders, that the Governor General in Council is not disposed to grant the lac of rupees solicited for the Nizamut in the 6th paragraph of Mr. Rickett's letter above alluded to, for the purpose of enabling his Highness to renew his establishments. The plan of reserving this fund was adopted with a view to place in the hands of Government a means of relieving any exigencies in which the family might be involved, as well as of portioning the daughters, and providing buildings or other operations of the kind, involving a present sacrifice of capital.

26. If the Nizamut were destitute of other resources, the claim to assistance for an outlay of the kind now suggested might be admissible; but while it enjoys the advantage of inheriting the wealth of its dependents, and thus becomes enriched from means in which other branches of the family are debarred from participating, it seems just that the aid of the fund shall rather be extended to assist those who have otherwise nothing but their monthly stipend to look to. This principle it will be right to explain to his Highness, in order that he may not consider the refusal as an ungracious act, dictated by desire to avoid contributing to the restoration of the splendour of the Court of Moorshedabad, than which nothing can be further from the intention of Government.

27. It may at the same time be hinted that the wealth inherited by his Highness from his brother could not possibly be better bestowed than in restoring the equipages and other establishments of the Nizamut to a creditable state. Considering the amount already known by Government to have come into his Highness's hands, it is, in the judgment of the Governor General in Council, quite impossible that the whole should have been expended; and could he suppose this to be the case, the circumstance would lead to his withholding from his Highness that confidence in his discretion and prudence which alone would justify an advance of the kind solicited in the present instance.

28. It

28. It is to be remarked, moreover, that his Highness has very recently come into possession of the wealth of the late Valida Begum, and though the debt due the Nizamut by the Seits may not, perhaps, have been actually recovered, there can it is presumed be no doubt of its ultimate realization.

29. The above instructions leave the accumulation of the Munee Begum's stipend in the treasury of the Collector entirely untouched; the whole will consequently be open to be appropriated in the manner Government may deem most equitable and proper for the benefit of the Nizamut.

30. At the close of 1225 the fund is stated to have amounted to three lacs seventeen thousand five hundred and seventy-three, but in this sundry deposits are included on account of the pension of Khuleel-oollah and the like, which cannot be considered as forming part of the fund. The accumulation of the Munee Begum's stipend alone up to that date, seems to have been three lacs fourteen thousand and five hundred. Add to that amount the accumulation during the three years 1226, 1227, and 1228, and there is a fund of seven lacs forty-six thousand and five hundred actually forthcoming in the Collector's treasury. It remains to determine the mode of appropriating this sum.

	Rs.
	3,14,500
	4,32,000
Rs.	7,46,500

31. You are of course aware that Government are in a manner pledged to provide a suitable palace for his Highness, and that a large portion of the above sum will be required for this purpose. As the advances for the building will, however, require to be made gradually, and the same fund will go on accumulating as heretofore, it cannot be necessary to reserve the large floating balance suggested in the 8th paragraph of Mr. Rickett's letter; but of the seven lacks and a-half, six lacks may safely be invested in public securities for the benefit of the Nizamut; the Governor General in Council accordingly desires that that amount may be forthwith remitted to the Government Agents at the Presidency, for the purpose of being invested to the best advantage. The requisite instructions will be sent to the Collector and other officers of the territorial department, and the paper will be held in deposit in the same manner as that provided for the payment of the expense of the establishment of your office.

32. It remains now to point out to you the views of Government for the future regulation of the control to be exercised by you over the expenses of the Nizamut, and the footing on which it is proposed to place his Highness in this respect.

33 Nothing can be more vexatious and unsatisfactory than the present system, under which his Highness is compelled to furnish annual accounts for Government to audit. The system owed its origin to the embarrassed state of the Nizamut, and to the desire of Government to lend the weight of its authority to enforce certain economical reforms deemed at the time necessary for its relief. Now, however, that the same motive does not exist for interference, it seems to the Governor General in Council that it would be very desirable to withdraw from any minute supervision, and to confine the Agent's duty to that of ascertaining that every member of the family receives his due. It might, perhaps, be sufficient for this purpose that the Agent should be ready to receive and inquire into all complaints under a declaration to his Highness, that in case the payment of any one's stipend should be delayed, or of any legitimate perquisite being withheld, the Government would separate the allowance, or a fair equivalent for it, if not a money allowance, and pay it from the public treasury direct. It seems, however, desirable that your office should possess the means of settling the dues of all the members of the Nizamut in case of dispute, and, therefore, that a register of the present authorised distribution of the several heads of charge should be formed as expeditiously as possible, with a due regard to correctness. The preparation of this record is stated to be already in progress, and in case of any difficulty in procuring the information required to form it from the officers of the Nizam, the Governor General in Council is aware of no objection to your calling on the parties in each instance to state their respective rights.

34. Upon the formation of the register in question, the Governor General in Council is of opinion that the requisition of annual accounts in detail may be wholly discontinued, and an arrangement being made for the adjustment and withholding of the amount appropriated to the deposit fund, that the remainder may safely be delivered to his Highness to be disbursed according to his pleasure,

under the responsibility above described. It will then suffice to require his Highness to deliver in a statement of the gross expenditure arranged under its general heads according to the register, as an assurance that the appropriation has been made according to it, or is reserved for the purpose, but without exhibiting any detail. This will be of use to prevent the matter from falling wholly out of view, and will further enable Government to revive the requisition of more exact accounts, should circumstances render it expedient to do so.

	Gross Savings.	Appropriations in the Way of Stipends, &c.	Net Fund.
	Rs.	*Rs.*	*Rs.*
1226 - -	2,58,020	62,565	1,95,455
1227 - -	2,82,360	59,483	*2,22,877
1228 - - -	3,28,712	23,604	*3,05,108

* The sums included the entire allowance of the Valida Begum, amounting to 24,339 in 1227, and 61,019 in 1228; the promotion of the Doolhen Begum to the situation of Valida will involve an appropriation of near 60,000 rupees per annum, which is allowed for in assuming the fund at two lack.

35. It is by no means the desire of Government to increase indefinitely the appropriations for the benefit of the deposit fund. Their net amount seems at present to exceed two lack of rupees, after allowing for all the augmentations and appropriations sanctioned. This is one-eighth of the entire Nizamut stipend, and the Governor General in Council would not wish to make it larger. At the same time he conceives it will be unadvisable ever to reduce the fund below one lac and a-half, or at any rate to trench on the amount of the Munee Begum's stipend, one lac forty-four thousand, which has for so long a time been set apart for the purpose.

36. Mr. Ricketts, in his letter, dated the 31st December, proposes to make the following permanent allowances out of the existing fund :—

	Per Mensem.	Per Annum.
	Rs.	*Rs.*
To his Highness' son - - - - - - - -	1,500	18,000
„ his Mother, the Begum - - - - - - -	2,300	27,600
„ his late Highness' three daughters, 250 each - -	750	9,000
„ seven concubines of his late Highness, 100 rupees each	700	8,400
Rs.	5,250	63,000
		27,000
Rs.		35,400

37. Of these the only one deserving special notice is that proposed for the Begum of his present Highness. It is quite unusual to make any public provision for the wife of the reigning Nazim, and though this was done in the case of the Doolhin Begum, as a special indulgence to his late Highness, the Governor General thinks, nevertheless, that the point cannot be conceded, in the present instance, without establishing a very inconvenient precedent. His Highness will be free to make any appropriation in the Begum's favour that he may desire, and it will be better that she should feel indebted to his Highness' bounty, and subject to his pleasure in regard to her provision, rather than that it should be guaranteed to her independently of his will.

38. Deducting this stipend, therefore, the proposed annual appropriations will stand at (thirty-five thousand four hundred), which the Governor General in Council has no hesitation in sanctioning.

39. It remains to ascertain the actual amount that will remain disposable. In this, however, there is a difficulty from the want of any distinct report on the subject of the late Valida Begum and her establishments. Putting wholly out of the question any advantage to the fund that may eventually arise from the promotion of Ameer oon Nissa to that dignity, it would seem from the accounts of 1228 that there exists a fund of two lacs fifty-seven thousand seven hundred and thirteen, which by the additional of the stipend enjoyed by his Highness, as presumptive heir, becomes two lacs seventy-five thousand seven hundred and thirteen. This again being charged with the payment of the Munee Begum's establishment (twenty-five thousand and seventy-four), and with sundry authorised augmentations (nine thousand eight hundred and thirty) is reduced to (two lacs forty thousand eight hundred and nine), from which amount the stipends above authorised being deducted, the available fund will stand at two lacs five thousand and four hundred and nine.

	Rs.
	2,75,713
	34,904
	2,40,809
Deduct -	35,400
Rs.	2,05,409

40. In

40. In consideration of the British Government withdrawing from the interference now exercised in auditing the accounts of his Highness, the Governor General in Council thinks it will be necessary, and not too much to expect that his Highness should consent to allow the above entire sum of two lacs five thousand and four hundred and nine, or say two lacs of rupees, to accumulate in the collector's treasury.

41. The British Government will, in that case, undertake the payment in future from that fund at all charges for new buildings, or other expenses legitimately claimable from it, and further will relinquish all desire to increase the fund,* pledging itself on the lapse of any future stipend, to consider the suggestions of his Highness as to its allotment, and, except under special circumstances, which may demand a different appropriation, to assign the whole for the family and its dependents.

42. You will be pleased to take an early opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments of his Highness on the subject of the above proposition. Should the plan be adopted, his Highness will no longer have any interest in withholding information of the decease of any stipendiary from the fear that the occasion will be taken to effect a saving in the distribution of his allowances, and his patronage and influence amongst the members of the Nizamut will be strengthened by the knowledge that his recommendations in behalf of individuals will be sure of due attention. On the other hand, a security will be given to the fund, which it did not possess, while the accumulation of a large proportion of it was allowed to be made in the Nizamut treasury, and the confinement of the control of the Agent to the investigation of complaints of the non-payment of authorised stipends or other advantages, will remove the chief motive of difference between that officer and the Nazim. The arrangement will thus promote a better understanding between them, besides saving an infinity of trouble to all parties.

43. You will be pleased to subject your own sentiments on the above propositions along with those of his Highness.

44. It only remains to notice a few suggestions of inferior importance. In the 11th paragraph of Mr. Ricketts's letter, dated 31st December, it is proposed to pay to the Bhow Begum from the deposit fund ten thousand rupees in part of the accumulated arrears of an allowance of three hundred rupees for Meer Samane's expenses, which it is said was never paid.

45. On this point the Governor General in Council remarks that the Bhow Begum, if she did not receive the advantage provided for her, either in the money allowance or in some other shape, was at liberty to have applied to the Governor General's Agent, who would, of course, have taken measures in the lifetime of his late Highness to enforce the provision made in her favour. If she has neglected to do so for so many years, that circumstance will give her no claim on the deposit fund; but, on the other hand, if she can show that the allowance has been actually accumulating in the Nizamut treasury, Government will be prepared to enforce its restoration.

46. With respect to the suggestion contained in the 12th and following paragraphs of Mr. Ricketts' letter above alluded to, the Governor General in Council is of opinion that it will be the most advantageous plan in every respect to maintain the existing arrangement under which Meer Ghalib Ulee Khan is vested with the charge of the treasuries of the Nizamut, and Raee Gungadhur controls the offices of account as Naeb Dewan. In confirmation of these appointments, you will be pleased to confer Kheluts on both the above individuals, and to charge the same in your contingent bill.

47. The Governor General in Council does not think that the proposition for raising Meer Ghalib Ulee to the permanent situation of Dewan should be encouraged; on the contrary, in conferring the Kheluts above sanctioned, it may be advisable to be careful that both are of precisely the same degree.

48. With

* The new house for the Valida Begum seems to have been built entirely from funds provided from the deposits of the Nizamut treasury.

48. With respect to the matter stated in the 15th paragraph of Mr. Ricketts' letter, the Governor General in Council conceives it by no means improbable that the opposition and jealousies excited by the elevation of Ameer-oon-Nissa Begum may be fomented underhand by the party heretofore so decidedly opposed to her. She trusts they will disappear when the parties are convinced of the inefficacy of such intrigues to affect the determination of Government in regard to this arrangement. It will, of course, be your duty to avoid encouraging the existing disunion by too readily listening to the disparaging communications regarding each other which will for a time be eagerly obtruded on your attention.

49. The report promised by Mr. Ricketts on the arrangement of the Deorhees, consequent on the promotion of Ameer-oon-Nissa, will, of course, be anxiously expected.

50. It is the intention of the Governor General to address a letter direct to his Highness on the subject of the arrangements proposed above. This will be prepared and forwarded to you for delivery in the course of a few days. In the meantime you will have the opportunity of making yourself fully master of the intention of Government, and it has, hence, not been thought necessary to delay the dispatch of this letter until the preparation of that document. It will, of course, be proper to delay any direct communication with his Highness on the subject until its arrival.

I have, &c.
(signed) *H. T. Prinsep*,
Persian Secretary to Government.

Fort William,
28 February 1823.

EXTRACT POLITICAL DESPATCH from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of India in Council, dated 24th April (No. 17) 1840.

4 to 33, also letter, dated 12 June (No. 4) 1839, paras. 24 to 31.
Political letter from the Government of India, dated 21 August (No. 61) 1839.
Moorshedabad Nizamut.

4. THE palace which had been so long constructing for the Nazim, at the expense of the deposit fund, is now completed, and although it is to be regretted that an edifice on so great a scale, and so little suited to the present position of the Nawab of Bengal, has been erected, we are glad to find that in the opinion of the Special Committee, who were appointed to inspect the work, its plan, and execution, are highly honourable to the professional abilities of Colonel M'Leod.

5. The credit due to that officer is the greater, as with the exception of one young officer, Lieutenant Cunningham (who was placed at his disposal during a small portion of the time, in consequence of his own unadvoidable absence); he had no European assistance, and the building was, as he says, designed and executed by himself, "entirely through the agency of natives." We consider it a circumstance of no little importance, that the possibility of executing work of such a description by native agency has been established, and we trust that the experiment, so successfully made, will be a source of much saving of expense hereafter in the department of public buildings, as well as of permanent benefit to India, by training the native workmen to the highest description of skilled labour in this important branch of industry.

6. With reference to the conclusive testimony afforded in favour of Colonel M'Leod's exertions, by the report of the committee, that officer has, in a Memorial addressed to us, requested re-consideration of our orders (issued at an early period in the progress of the work), reducing the allowance assigned to him, from 1,500 rupees per month (the rate fixed by Government) to 1,000 rupees.

7. The principal motive which induced us to issue this order was a disapprobation, not so much of the amount of the allowance as of the principle on which it was given. The Bengal Government of the time had departed from the usual practice of leaving a part of the remuneration of the officer entrusted with a public work to be received after its completion, and had assigned to Colonel M'Leod his whole remuneration, in the form of a fixed allowance, thereby giving him an interest, not in expediting, but in delaying its termination. This principle we, from no distrust of Colonel M'Leod's integrity or activity, but from a sense

sense of public duty, felt bound to discountenance. But it was far from our intention to deprive Colonel M'Leod of any part of his just reward, and the papers now before us, as well as the correspondence of the intermediate period, has satisfied us that the amount which will be received by him, if his present request be acceded to, will not be excessive, while the protraction of the work beyond the time originally allowed has been the effect of circumstances beyond his control. We have much satisfaction, therefore, in complying with the prayer of his Memorial, by sanctioning the grant to him of the full allowance of 1,500 rupees per mensem from the date from which it was reduced by our orders, being the 1st of April 1833, to that of his succeeding to the office of chief engineer, namely, the 24th November 1836.

8. The report of the Committee has, moreover, set at rest the question respecting the Emambarat. It appears that, from its extremely dilapidated state, this building cannot be repaired nor suffered to remain as it is without imminent danger to human life. That its contiguous and obtrusive position, with respect to the new palace, renders its removal particularly desirable, and that there is no reason to apprehend serious objection from any portion of the family to the removal of the old building, and the construction of a new one. We accordingly approve of your having sanctioned this measure, in the execution of which we need hardly point out the necessity of a strict regard to an economical expenditure of the funds from whence this disbursement will be made.

9. The construction of this, and the other buildings which remain to be executed, has, we observe, been entrusted to the Executive Engineer at Berhampoor, to whom a salary of 300 rupees a month has been granted from the deposit fund. On the same principle which dictated our former orders in the case of Colonel M'Leod, we object to this salary, and desire that it be discontinued, and that any extra remuneration which may be assigned to Lieutenant Goldie from the deposit fund, be deferred until the completion of the work, or his removal to another situation.

10. To prevent the repetition of the gross neglect which appears to have occurred for many years in respect to the condition of the buildings belonging to the Nizamut, we sanction the appointment of a native Darogah to take charge of the buildings, and be responsible for their due preservation, under the supervision of the Executive Engineer. The salary proposed by Colonel M'Leod, of 150 rupees per month, though high, may not be excessive.

11. The principles which have been laid down by the Deputy Governor for the disposal of stipends, on the death of the stipendiaries, have our concurrence. We think, with him, that the stipends of mere dependants should never, without strong special reasons, be continued to their descendants; and that when members of the family itself die without direct heirs, their stipends should lapse to the deposit fund, rather than pass to their nearest relations, unless they have left dependants whose support would naturally devolve upon some other members of the family, to whom, in that case, an increase might be granted adequate to the burden so imposed upon them. It is very correctly stated by the Deputy Governor, in Mr. Prinsep's letter to Colonel Caulfield, dated 18th July 1838, that "through the deposit fund, and by occasional grants in the manner usual, more good will result to the members of the Nizamut than if the whole amount set apart for that family were frittered away in petty allowances to impoverished dependents."

12. It appears, however, to us that these views require a more liberal application of the deposit fund to the relief of individuals whose distresses are not produced by misconduct than is at present practised. For example, when an inundation laid a great part of the city of Moorshedabad, and of the surrounding country, under water, and the agent reported that among the sufferers were many of the Nizamut family, who would "require assistance to enable them to repair the damage their houses have sustained by the inundation,"* the Deputy Governor returned for answer, that he did not think "the public money could advantageously be employed in relieving the distress occasioned by the inundation."† The deposit fund, however, is not "public money," but a part of the assignment secured by treaty to the family, which part is allowed to accumulate for

* Letter of 5th September 1838.

† Letter of 12th September 1838.

for its general benefit. The accumulation already proceeds at a more rapid rate than the demands on it, and will proceed still more rapidly now that the fund is to derive the benefit of all lapses which may take place. We think, therefore, that not only grants in favour of the dependents on the Nizamut should be freely made from the fund in cases of general calamity like that just alluded to, but that a revision of the general allowances of the family should occasionally take place, with a view of increasing the provision for those of its members whose stipends from subdivision or other cause are not adequate to their rank, or to the claims on them, or whose conduct entitles them to a mark of approbation from Government. Thus administered, the fund might be made in some measure an instrument of moral discipline, which appears tobe much required, and for which no other obvious expedient presents itself. [The paragraphs of this Despatch not inserted in this Return relate to other subjects.]

COPIES of the FIRMAUN OR SUMNUD of 1765 of the Emperor of *Delhi*, Shah *Aalum*; conferring the Nizamut of *Bengal*, *Behar*, and *Orissa*, on the Nabob *Nudzam ul Dowlah*:—Of LETTER dated the 21st day of July 1786, from the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General of *India* in Council:—Of LETTER dated the 20th day of February 1834, from *C. E. Trevelyan*, Deputy Secretary to the Government of *Bengal*, to *H. Paulin*, Esq., Attorney to the Honourable the East India Company:—And, of a PROCLAMATION of the Deputy Governor of *Bengal*, dated the 19th day of December 1838, and published in the 'Calcutta Gazette' of the same day.

India Office,
16 March 1871.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in Political and
Secret Departments.

FIRMAUND from the King Shah *Aalum*, granting the Dewanny of *Bengal*, *Behar*, and *Orissa* to the Company, 1765.

AT this happy time our royal Firmaun indispensably requiring obedience, issued; that whereas, in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the English Company, we have granted them the Dewanny of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussel Rubby of the Bengal, year 1172, as a free gift and ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exemption from the payment of the customs of the Dewanny, which used to be paid by the court. It is requisite that the said Company engage to be security for the sum of 26 lakhs of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla Behauder, and regularly remit the same to the royal Circar; and in this case, as the said Company are obliged to keep up a large army for the protection of the Provinces of Bengal, &c., we have granted to them whatsoever may remain out of the revenues of the said Provinces, after remitting the sum of 26 lakhs of rupees to the royal Circar, and providing for the expenses of the Nizamut. It is requisite that our royal descendants, the viziers, the bestowers of dignity, the Omrahs high in rank, the great officers, the Muttaseddees of the Dewanny, the managers of the business of the Sultanut, the Jaghirdars and Croories, as well the future as the present, using their constant endeavours for the establishment of this our royal command, leave the said office in possession of the said Company, from generation to generation, for ever and ever. Looking upon them to be assured from dismission or removal, they must, on no account whatsoever, give them any interruption, and they mnst regard them as excused and exempted from the payment of all the customs of the Dewanny and royal demands. Knowing our orders on the subject to be most strict and positive, let them not deviate therefrom.

Written the 24th of Sophar, of the 6th year of the Jaloos, the 12th of August 1765.

Contents of the Zimmun.

Agreeably to the paper which has received our sign manual, our royal commands are issued, that in consideration of the attachment and services of the high and mighty, the noblest of exalted nobles, the chief of illustrious warriors, our faithful servants and sincere well-wishers, worthy of our royal favours, the

English Company, we have granted them the Dewanny of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, from the beginning of the Fussul Rubby of the Bengal, year 1172, as free gift and ultumgau, without the association of any other person, and with an exception from the customs of the Dewanny, which used to be paid to the court, on condition of their being security for the sum of 26 lakhs of rupees a year, for our royal revenue, which sum has been appointed from the Nabob Nudjum ul Dowla Behauder; and after remitting the royal revenue and providing for the expenses of the Nizamut, whatsoever may remain we have granted to the said Company.

The Dewanny of the Province of Bengal.
The Dewanny of the Province of Behar.
The Dewanny of the Province of Orissa.

SECRET DESPATCH from Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor General in Council, *Bengal*; dated 21 July 1786.

Nabob of Bengal's stipend. Munny Begum.

19. We have lately received a letter from the Nabob Mobareck ul Dowlah, a copy of which is enclosed, requesting an addition to his stipend. This letter was delivered to us by Sir John D'Oyley. By its not having been conveyed to us through the usual channel of the Governor General and Council, we are deprived of the benefit of your opinion to assist us in our final determinations thereon, and therefore can only, for the present, direct you to pay every favourable attention to his representations. As we have reason to believe his disposition is pliable, and his attachment to our interest steady; you will take care to provide for his support and dignity, either by efficacious checks, which may secure to his Excellency the clear and undiminished receipt of the real stipend allotted to him, or by an economical arrangement of his household, dependents, and other expenses, or even by an immediate augmentation of his stipend, having a due consideration of his real necessities, and at the same time an attention to the embarrassments of our own affairs.

20. You will represent to His Highness, that from a regard to the amity and firm union which subsisted between his father Meer Jaffier Ally Cawn and the English Company, and the friendly dispositions which have happily subsisted with his several successors in the Subadarry, and particularly the present Nabob Mobareck ul Dowlah, we have the most sincere desire to contribute to his ease, honour, and happiness. But, whilst we are actuated by these sentiments of respect and friendship for his Excellency, we are obliged to regret that the incumbrances left upon the revenues of Bengal, by the great exertions we made to protect our own possessions and those of our allies, must at present disable us from maintaining the dignity of the Subadar to the full extent of our wishes, and in a manner suitable to his high descent and situation.

21. In the conduct of this business you will adopt such measures as shall seem expedient, in order to examine into the real state of the Nabob's finances, and to ascertain with precision the number and rank of the relations of the three former Nabobs, who from the custom of the country, look up to the present Nabob for their support. It will at the same time be necessary to ascertain as accurately as possible the real expense of the Nabob's household, and the exact amount to which these expenses might, with consistency, be confined under proper regulation and without unnecessary parade. The report on this investigation you will communicate to us, with your opinion thereon, that we may be enabled finally to determine on the nature and extent of the connection to be established and maintained between us and the Nabob of Bengal. You will always keep in view the claims he has upon us by treaty, and necessity will dictate to you a due consideration to the present state of our own affairs.

22. We observe from the 68th paragraph of your inspection letter by the "Rodney," dated 9th January 1786, that you have made an alteration in the situation of the Resident at the Durbar, by substituting a commission of 5 per cent., to be charged upon the stipends paid through his office, in lieu of all the established allowances heretofore drawn by the Resident. We are sorry to observe, in the motive you assign for this arrangement, a doubt of your being able to reduce your

your revenue establishment within the sum of 72 lakhs of rupees. Nor can we approve of so considerable a charge being imposed upon the Nabob, whilst he is representing the inadequacy of his stipend to his necessary expenses; and to produce a salary to an office of small importance, greater than is enjoyed by many of the most consequential offices in our service.

23. Indeed, we do not perceive any necessity for continuing one of our covenanted servants as resident at the Nabob's Durbar, at least not with the distinct and expensive establishment hitherto allotted to it, and if you should think it expedient to keep up an office under that name, we apprehend it might very properly be united in the person of the Collector of the Moorshedabad District, or in that of the gentleman who presides in the Duwany Adawlut of Moorshedabad, in case you should have judged a separate Adawlut for the city of Moorshedabad advisable in pursuance of the 86th paragraph of our revenue letter of the 12th of April 1786. But as the Nabob must be certainly competent to the discreet direction of all those matters which can fall under his cognizance, and all the departments of Government, as well judicial as revenue are transferred to Calcutta, there can be no proper functions for a resident at the Durbar as an active officer.

24. You will observe that there are other points in the Nabob's letter submitted to our consideration, particularly as to the re-establishment of his authority in the city of Moorshedabad; upon which we have to observe to you that no material objection occurs to us against allowing the Nabob to hold the exclusive administration of criminal justice, according to the Mahomedan Laws over the inhabitants of the city of Moorshedabad, subject to the general regulations of justice as established throughout the provinces. Moreover, we consider it but as a suitable appendage of that dignity which, under all the existing circumstances of the British Possessions in India, it is just and politic to sustain in the person of the Subadar of Bengal.

25. An application has been made to us by Mr. Hastings in behalf of Munny Begum, the widow of the late Meer Jaffier, a copy of whose letters we likewise enclose. It is our wish to alleviate, as far as all the circumstances of our affairs will permit us, the distresses of all the relations of Meer Jaffier, and enable the present Nabob and his family, under an economical system to be adjusted by you, to live comfortably and happy. But as the real situation of Munny Begum will of course be included in your inquiries, and in the report upon the general subject of the Nabob's family and expenses, we shall forbear, for the present, to make any further observations thereon, than to direct that an independent stipend be allotted for her support; subject, as in the other case to our future consideration and approval.

26. We cannot conclude this subject without expressing our dissatisfaction at the mode adopted by several of the Princes of India in corresponding with us in any other way than through the medium of the respective Governments, and employing our servants to be their agents in Great Britain. The Nabob of Oude, the Nabob of Bengal, and the Rajah of Tanjore have at this time persons who call themselves agents, residents in London, in the persons of three of our own servants; Mr. Halhed for the first, Sir John D'Oyley for the second, and Mr. Ross for the third.

27. You will take every opportunity of conveying to all the Princes of India the earnest wish we have so often repeated, that their communications to us should be made through the channel of our regular Governments in India, and that we can pay no regard to communications made in any other way. And we strictly prohibit our servants from accepting any such agency for the Princes of the country, declaring at the same time that we shall consider it as a forfeiture of all future claims to our favour.

28. We positively direct that you do, on no account, withhold from us any letters which any of those Princes shall think proper to write to us, and whatever letters you may receive from them, addressed to yourselves, must be regularly entered in your book of country correspondence, and transmitted to Europe by the first opportunity.

[The paragraphs of this Despatch not included in this Return relate to other subjects.]

From *C. E. Trevelyan*, Esq., Deputy Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to *H. Paulin*, Esq., Attorney to the Honourable the East India Company, dated 20th February 1834.

Sir,

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th instant, forwarding copy of the Advocate General's opinion regarding the question of the liability of the Nawab Nazim to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

2. In reply, I am desired to transmit, for the information of the Advocate General, copy of a communication which has been received on the same subject from the Governor General's Agent at Moorshedabad, and to state as follows:

His Honor in Council is decidedly of opinion that the Supreme Court has no right to exercise jurisdiction over the Nawab Nazim of Bengal, and should the attempt to move the court to adopt this course of proceeding be persisted in, it is requested that the Advocate General will adopt every necessary legal means for resisting it.

4. It will be observed, from the Treaty, of which a copy is annexed, that his Highness the Nawab has been recognised by the British Government as an independent prince, and that the national faith is pledged "for nothing being proposed or carried into execution derogating from his honour." In order to prevent his being liable to any indignity from subjecting his person or property to the processes of the zidub courts, Regulation 19 of 1825 was passed, prescribing certain rules under which alone he could sue or be sued in those courts. With regard to the Supreme Court, the case is very different. As the Government has no power to regulate the proceedings of the court towards persons acknowledged to come within its jurisdiction, if the liability of the Nazim were to be admitted there is no degree of indignity which might not be inflicted upon him by its ordinary processes, in contravention of the pledged national faith, and of the respect which is obviously due to the representative of our oldest ally on this side of India.

5. Without intending to limit the discretion of the Advocate General as to the grounds of objection which should be taken up, his Honor in Council would wish every possible exertion to be made to establish the right of the Nawab Nazim to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court. Any further information which can be procured from the Government records here or at Moorshedabad, shall be furnished to you on your requisition, and the vakeel of his Highness the Nizam, stationed at the Presidency, will likewise be directed to place himself in communication with you.

6. The case of Rajah Hurrinath Rai, referred to by the Advocate General, does not appear to his Honor in Council to bear any analogy to the present. Rajah Hurrinath Rai was a subject of the Government from whose gift he derived his title, while the Nawab Nazim of Moorshedabad is a prince whose independence has been recognised by a treaty with one of his predecessors.

I have, &c.

Council Chamber,
20 February 1834.

(signed) *C. E. Trevelyan*,
Deputy Secretary to Government.

Fort William, Political Department, 19th December 1838.

PROCLAMATION.

BY order of the Government of India, the Deputy Governor of Bengal notifies to the public, and to the Allies of the British Government, and to all friendly Powers, that the Nuwab Shooja-ool-Moolk, Itisham-ood-Dowlah, Humayoon Jah Seyud Mubaruk Ulee Khan Buhadoor Feeroz Jung, having departed this life at Moorshedabad, on the 3rd October 1838, his son, the Nuwab Syyud Munsoor Alee Khan, has succeeded to the hereditary honours and dignities of the Nizamut and Subadaree of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; and his Highness is hereby

hereby declared, under the authority of the Government of India, to be the Nazim and Soobadar of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and to have assumed and to exercise the authority, dignities, and privileges thereof, under the style and title of Moontizum-ool-Moolk Mohsen-ood-Dowlah Fureedoon Jah Syyud Munsoor Alee Khan Buhadur Nusrut Jung.

Published and proclaimed by his Honor the Deputy Governor of Bengal.

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*
Secretary to Government of Bengal.

GENERAL ORDER by the Honourable the Deputy Governor of Bengal, under date the 19th December 1838.

THE Honourable the Deputy Governor of Bengal has been pleased to direct that a salute of 19 guns be fired from the ramparts of Fort William at 12 o'clock this day, in honour of the accession of his Highness Syyud Munsoor Ali Khan to the Musnud of the Provinces of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and that the above Proclamation be read at the head of all the troops in garrison at sunset this evening, under a salute of three volleys of musketry.

(signed) *H. T. Prinsep,*
Secretary to Government of Bengal.

EAST INDIA (NAWAB NAZIM).

COPIES of MEMORIAL of the Nawab *Nazim* of *Bengal* to the Secretary of State for *India* in Council, dated 28 July 1869; of LETTERS from the Secretary of State for *India* in Council to the Governor General of *India*, notifying the dispatch of such Memorial; &c.

(*Mr. Haviland-Burke.*)

COPIES of LETTER, dated 14 January 1862, of No. 28, from the Officiating Secretary of the Government of *India* to the Secretary of the Government of *Bengal*; &c.

(*Mr. Harvey Lewis.*)

COPIES of FIRMAUN or SUMNUD of 1765 of the Emperor of *Delhi*, Shah *Aalum*, conferring the Nizamut of *Bengal*, *Behar*, and *Orissa* on the Nabob *Nudzam ul Dowlah*; &c.

(*Mr. Downing.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
23 *March* 1871.

Under 4 *oz.*

EAST INDIA (EX-NAWAB OF TONK).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 28 March 1870;—*for*,

"COPY of PAPERS relating to the MEMORIAL of the Ex-Nawab of *Tonk*:"

"And COPY of or EXTRACTS from any other CORRESPONDENCE relating to his Affairs."

India Office,
4 April 1870.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary Political and Secret Department.

(Mr. Stacpoole.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
24 *March* 1871.

CONTENTS.

From	To	Date	Page.
Governor General - - -	Secretary of State - - -	23 Sept. - 1867	1
Secretary of State - - -	Governor General - - -	15 Nov. - „	4
Ditto - - - - -	- - ditto - - - -	21 May - 1868	5
Ditto - - - - -	- - ditto - - - -	25 June - „	5
Governor General - - -	Secretary of State - - -	13 March 1869	6
Colonel Keatinge - - -	India Government - - -	15 Feb. - „	6
Captain Bruce - - - -	Colonel Keatinge - - -	10 Feb. - 1868	6
Colonel Keatinge - - -	Captain Bruce - - - -	14 Feb. - „	7
Captain Blair - - - -	Colonel Keatinge - - -	26 June - „	8
Ex-Nawab of Tonk - -	Secretary of State - - -	18 Jan. - 1869	9
Secretary of State - - -	Governor General - - -	10 Aug. - „	29
Messrs. Prichard and Nasmith -	Mr. Merivale - - - -	4 Aug. - „	29
Mr. Merivale - - - -	Messrs. Prichard and Nasmith -	30 Sept. - „	29

COPY of PAPERS relating to the MEMORIAL of the Ex-Nawab of *Tonk*; and, COPY of or EXTRACTS from any other CORRESPONDENC relating to his Affairs.

(Foreign Department.—Political.—No. 148.)

The Governor General of India in Council to the Secretary of State for India.

Simla, 23 September 1867.

WE have the honour to forward for your consideration copies of the papers regarding a treacherous and cold-blooded murder perpetrated in the house of Hukeem Surwur Shah, one of the ministers of the Nawab of Tonk, on the persons of Thakoor Rewut Singh, the uncle, and 14 other relatives and followers of the Chief of Lawa, a dependency of Tonk.

2. The facts connected with this painful tragedy, as ascertained after a careful inquiry on the spot by the Political Agent of Harowtee, Captain Bruce, are as follows:—

3. There have for a long period existed disputes between the Chief of Lawa, who is a tributary of Tonk, and the Nawab's Durbar. Towards the end of July, the Chief of Lawa received letters from Hukeem Surwur Shah, couched in conciliatory language, and inviting him to come to Tonk, where he would be honourably received and the pending claims adjusted.

4. It may be premised that the Chief, being himself weak and incompetent for the management of his estate, leant for support and guidance on his uncle Thakoor Rewut Singh, who was the real manager of the chiefship, and as such, obnoxious to the Tonk authorities.

5. Accompanied by his uncle, and a body of his relatives and retainers, the Chief, according to the invitation, proceeded to Tonk, which he reached on the 29th July. Either on the following day, or on the 31st July, the Thakoor Rewut Singh visited the Hukeem, and is said to have returned satisfied with the interview.

6. On the evening of the 1st August, about nine o'clock, a messenger came from the Hukeem to summon the Lawa Chief to his house. The reason assigned for so unseasonable a summons seems to have been that the Nawab was about to set out on a tour for Seronje, and that arrangements required at once to be made for the proceedings of the following day, on which (as the Lawa witnesses affirm) the Nawab pretended that he would confer a Khillut on the Chief.

7. The Chief did not go himself; but deputed his uncle, Rewut Singh, and his cousin, Bijey Singh, with certain of his officers and retainers, in all 16 persons, to visit the Hukeem. It should be stated that the Hukeem discharges the business connected with the Dacoitee and Thuggee Department, and that a considerable body of sepoys is quartered in his house.

8. Of the Lawa party which went to the house of the Hukeem, there is but one survivor, and he, though giving his statement in a straightforward manner, cannot throw much light upon the incidents which followed. Thus much appears certain, that on reaching the Hukeem's house, Thakoors Rewut Singh and Bijey Singh, with two of the Kamdars, or Lawa officials, were conducted up a staircase to the apartments of the Hukeem, from which they never returned alive. The remainder of the party stayed in the court-

yard of the house below; after a short interval they were set upon by an armed band, and apparently shot down. One man alone escaped. He was arrested, and kept by the Nawab in confinement, until liberated at the call of the Political Officer. On the side of Tonk, one Mussulman was killed, and (apparently) one Hindoo, while several were wounded; the wounds of the Tonk party being all sword cuts.

9. Meanwhile, a force had surrounded the house in which the Chief and his followers were residing, and which, on hearing the firing at the Hukeem's house, they had closed; desultory firing was kept up between the troops and the Chief's followers for two days, when the assailing party was called off.

10. A body of troops also started from Tonk the same night, with scaling ladders, for the investment of the fort of Lawa.

11. Such are the facts, taken mainly from the evidence on the Lawa side. It will be seen that they are traversed by the witnesses brought forward by Tonk. These endeavour to prove that Rewut Singh's party spontaneously went to the Hukeem's house during the day of the 1st of August, and demanded an interview; that the Hukeem, being sick, refused to see the Thakoor, who accordingly went away in anger; that the same evening he returned with a body of armed followers, who forced their way into the Hukeem's courtyard; that high words ensued between them and the guard; that the turban of one of the Thakoor's men was accidentally knocked off, when a general melée ensued, in which the Thakoor and nine others of the Lawa party, and a Mussulman and six Hindoos on the Tonk side, were killed; that the Nawab, fearing the Chief might create further mischief, had his house surrounded, and also despatched to Lawa some troops, which, being fired upon, returned to Tonk.

12. Our Agent, Colonel Eden, has carefully analysed the evidence brought to the support of these assertions, and has fully shown that it is contradictory and palpably fabricated; while the counter-statement is consistent, and in every sense to be in the main relied upon.

13. The reports of Captain Bruce, who conducted the inquiry on the spot, are to the same effect; but these officers differ in the view they take of the intentions of the Hukeem, and the complicity of the Nawab.

14. Captain Bruce acquits both the Nawab and the Hukeem of any predetermination to sacrifice the lives of the Thakoor and his party. He thinks the Hukeem's object was treacherously to arrest the persons most obnoxious to his authority; and then, by surrounding the Chief in the house in which he resided, and by occupying the fort of Lawa, to bring this troublesome vassal to terms; this treachery he thinks was perpetrated with the connivance of the Nawab himself. The loss of life he attributes to the indiscretion and "bungling" with which the plan was carried out.

15. The conclusion of our Agent, Colonel Eden, is very different. He holds that, "whilst there is no evidence to support the conclusion that a massacre was not intended, there is very strong reason to believe it was;" and that a sufficient motive existed in the desire to get rid of the able manager on whom the young, weak, and inexperienced Chief relied. The impression of Captain Roberts, the assistant Agent, who made a preliminary investigation, appears to lie in the same direction: "From all I have heard" (he writes from Tonk, within little more than a week after the tragedy), "I have no doubt in my own mind that the Lawa party were treacherously inveigled and attacked. At first I thought the Nawab was not cognisant of the affair, but I have since changed my mind, for it could not have been done without his knowledge."

16. We have read and considered with care and anxious deliberation all the evidence in this case: and it is with pain that we have come to the conclusion that the view taken by our Agent is fully substantiated; that the uncle and cousin of the Lawa Chief with their followers were basely and treacherously murdered by Hukeem Surwur Shah; and that this was done at the instigation of the Nawab himself.

17. We are unanimous in the opinion that it was for this purpose the Chief and his followers were summoned from Lawa to present themselves at Tonk.

We

We do not credit that the Chief's uncle repaired of his own motion on the night of the tragedy to Surwur Shah's house; it seems certain that he was summoned. Nor do we believe that it was intended simply to seize him and his followers; on the contrary, we feel convinced that it was intended to murder him. Had this not been the case, it would have been easy for Surwur Shah, with the men at his disposal, to have seized the Thakoor and his followers even had they resisted. The whole probabilities of the case, to our mind, are against the Nawab and Surwur Shah. The letters of Surwur Shah to the Lawa Chief are quite inconsistent with the relations formerly subsisting between them, and were evidently intended to lure the Chief and his people into the power of the Nawab. And we fully agree with our Agent that Surwur Shah would never have acted as he did, excepting under the direct orders of the Nawab.

18. Such being our conviction, we proceed to consider what course of action the conduct of the Nawab has rendered necessary.

19. It is the opinion of Colonel Eden that what has passed proves conclusively that the Nawab is utterly unfit to be entrusted with the lives of others, and that both on this ground, and also as a signal punishment for the outrage, he should be removed from authority. In these views we fully concur, and also in the proposal that the Nawab's son, now a boy of 10 years of age, be nominated to the Government, the administration being conducted during his minority by Sahibzada Ibadoollah Khan, the present Nawab's uncle. A stipend would be assigned for the Nawab, and his residence appointed elsewhere.

20. Under any circumstances, Lawa must be altogether detached from Tonk, and the tribute of 3,000 rupees, hitherto discharged, be no longer paid to that State. We are of opinion that Lawa might then be placed under the direct control of the political Agent at Jeypore; suitable pensions for the heirs of the deceased will also be determined, chargeable to the Tonk State.

21. The surrender of Hukeem Surwur Shah will be demanded; and he will be retained as a political prisoner. We also propose to demand that all the sepoys attached to the Hukeem's office shall be discharged, as being implicated in the murderous attack.

22. Finally, we propose to reduce the salute of the ruler of Tonk from 17 guns to 11.

23. We are satisfied that these measures are not only required to satisfy the ends of justice, but that they will be received with approval throughout Rajpootana, the people of which are appalled at the treachery and audacity of the Nawab's action.

24. In all these views we are unanimous. Our only doubt has been whether it was expedient at once to carry them into effect, or to wait until we have ascertained whether they meet with the approval of Her Majesty's Government. Upon the whole, we have thought that it will be best to wait. No serious injury will arise from a postponement of our action, while there may be some advantage. A couple of months hence will be a better season for the advance of the troops, the presence of which will be required at the deposition of the Nawab. The possibility of any difference of opinion between Her Majesty's Government and ourselves will also be avoided.

25. Under these circumstances, we beg that we may be favoured with an expression, by telegraph, of your views upon the course to be adopted; and that this communication may be made at the earliest possible date.

We have, &c.
(signed) *John Lawrence.*
W. Mansfield.
G. N. Taylor.
W. N. Massey.
H. M. Durand.
G. U. Yule.

(No. 186—Political.)

The Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India in Council.

India Office, 15 November 1867.

1. I HAVE considered in Council the painful circumstances connected with the barbarous murder of Rewut Singh, uncle of the Chief of Lawa, and his followers, by Hukeem Surwur Shah, in the city of Tonk, on the evening of the 1st August last, as reported in your foreign letter, dated 23rd September, No. 148, 1867.

2. Whether, as Colonel Eden believes, the murder was contemplated from the first, or whether, as Captain Bruce supposes, the original intention was to arrest the Thakoor and his followers, and to seize Lawa, it is plain that a deliberate act of gross treachery, which resulted in the assassination of 15 persons, has been committed, and that the Nawab must have been himself a party to it. You are unanimously of opinion that the view taken by Colonel Eden is fully substantiated, and I see no reason to doubt that you have arrived at a right conclusion.

3. You have, in these circumstances most rightly, considered it incumbent on you to mark your sense of the Nawab's conduct, in such a manner as make a permanent impression on the native chiefs.

4. You propose:—

To depose the Nawab (assigning him an allowance and a place of residence) and to nominate to the Government his youthful son, during whose minority the administration will be in the hands of the present Nawab's uncle, Ibadoolla Khan.

To confine Surwur Shah, as a political prisoner, for life, dismissing from employ all others concerned in the massacre.

To release Lawa from its subjection and tribute to the Tonk State, placing it under the control of the Political Agency of Jeypore; pensions to be granted to heirs of the murdered people of Lawa from Tonk revenues.

To reduce the salute of the Tonk ruler from 17 to 11 guns.

5. Her Majesty's Government approve of these measures. They trust that the Political Agent will use his influence to secure for the people of Tonk, during the minority, an efficient administration, free from the admixture of foreigners, whose ascendancy has proved so disastrous to the Nawab. You will, no doubt, adopt measures to ensure the dismantling of the Fort of Goordhanpoora, and the disbandment and dispersion of the large number of Wullaitees hitherto entertained by the State.

9. I shall await with interest the report of your proceedings consequent on this Despatch, and on my telegraphic message of the 31st October.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

(No. 84.—Political).

The Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India in Council.

India Office, 21 May 1868.

1. I HAVE read, with much interest, the correspondence forwarded with the letter of your Excellency's Government, No. 24, of the 7th of February 1868, relating to the measures taken for the deposition and removal of the Nawab of Tonk, and the subsequent arrangements for the administration of the country, until it can be confided to the hands of the Ex-Nawab's son, as sanctioned in my Despatch of 15th November last.

2. The

2. The papers now before me relate how the duty of interposition has been performed. It is a source of much gratification to Her Majesty's Government that the removal of the Nawab was effected without bloodshed, and that the tranquillity of the country has not been in any way disturbed. A liberal provision is to be made for the Nawab from the revenues of the country, and he is to reside, with a limited retinue, at Benares. These arrangements Her Majesty's Government approve.

3. On the removal of the Nawab, your Excellency's representative in Rajpootana proceeded to make arrangements for the administration of the State. It appears that the young chief, who had been at first stated to be a boy of tender years, was asserted to be not less than 16 or 18 years of age, and afterwards it was reported by Colonel Keatinge that "the Nawab elect was apparently a youth of 20 or 21 years of age." The Ex-Nawab stated that his son was of age, but that he had had no training in affairs of State, and he requested, therefore, that some British officer might be appointed to superintend the administration of the country, until the young chief should have attained sufficient experience. The same request was advanced by the uncle, Ibadoollah Khan; and, though your Excellency would have "preferred that the administration should be entrusted to one or more of the leading men of the State, enjoying a freedom of action, and feeling a sense of responsibility, such as is hardly possible so long as they are accustomed to lean on the advice of a British officer resident on the spot," you yielded to the solicitations of the elder members of the young Nawab's family, and consented to the appointment of Lieutenant Blair to superintend, for a time, the affairs of the Tonk State. A Council of Regency was, however, ordered to be appointed under Ibadoollah Khan, each member being entrusted with the management of a particular department of the State.

4. Her Majesty's Government approve these arrangements, and trust that, at no distant period, the young Nawab will become sufficiently acquainted with the administrative business of his territory to take the management into his own hands.

5. These proceedings appear to have been carried out, from first to last, in a manner very creditable to your newly appointed Agent, Lieutenant Colonel Keatinge.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

(No. 105.—Political).

The Secretary of State for India to the Governor General of India in Council.

India Office, 25 June 1868.

In continuation of my Despatch of the 21st ultimo, I write to inform your Excellency's Government that, having considered in Council your Foreign Letter of the 28th April, No. 70, respecting the future maintenance of the deposed Nawab of Tonk, I approve the arrangement whereby his annual allowance is fixed, for the present, at 60,000 rupees. I gather from the papers, that you reserve it for future consideration whether, in the event of the increased revenues of Tonk authorizing such an augmentation, you may raise the stipend to a higher amount.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Stafford H. Northcote.*

(No. 83 of 1869).

Government of India.—Foreign Department.—Political.

To his Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, K.T., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Duke, Fort William, 13 March 1869.

WE have the honour to refer you to the correspondence noted on the margin, especially to Sir S. Northcote's Despatch of 15 November 1867, relative to the deposition of the Nawab of Tonk for his complicity in the murder of Thakoor Rewut Singh and his followers, and to transmit herewith a Memorial, in original, to your Grace's address from the Ex-Nawab, in which he appeals against the decision of the Government of India in his case.

To Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, dated 23 September 1867, No. 148.
From Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, dated 15 November 1867, No. 186.

2. We also forward a copy of a letter, with enclosure, from our Agent in Rajpootana, dated 15 February last, No. 26 P., under cover of which the Memorial was received.

3. We need hardly say that there is nothing in the Memorial which should lead us in any way to modify the opinion of the Government of India already expressed on this case.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Mayo.*
H. M. Durand.
H. S. Maine.
John Strachey.
R. Temple.

No. 26 P., dated 15 February 1869.

From Lieut. Colonel *R. H. Keatinge*, C.S.I., V.C., Agent, Governor General, Rajpootana, to *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esquire, Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department.

I HAVE the honour to forward a Memorial, with enclosures, from the Ex-Nawab of Tonk, to the address of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

Government is already in possession of the details of this case; I will therefore confine my remarks to three points which I think require comment.

The allegation contained in paragraph 68 is incorrect. This will be apparent from the perusal of a copy of a letter No. 20-7P., from the Political Agent, Harowtee, to my address, and my reply thereto (herewith enclosed), which explains the circumstances under which a Memorial from the Ex-Nawab was brought to my notice.

With reference to paragraph 66, I would draw attention to Captain Blair's report on the Tonk State for 1867–68, and my remarks thereon, which will convey a correct impression of the administration of the Ex-Nawab.

I enclose copy of a letter from Captain Blair, detailing certain circumstances which incidentally came to his knowledge in the month of July; this is, I presume, what is alluded to in the concluding portion, or paragraph 61, of the Memorial.

No. 20-7 P., dated 10th February 1868.

From Captain *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent, Harowtee, to Lieut. Colonel *R. H. Keatinge*, C.S.I., V.C., Agent, Governor General, Rajpootana.

I HAVE the honour to submit, for your orders, a Memorial prepared by the Ex-Nawab, and addressed to Her Majesty in Council, setting forth, as though from the nobles and people of Tonk, an appeal for the reinstatement of Mahomed Ali Khan in the chiefship, on grounds which are detailed at length therein, and to state, for your information, that this document has been placed officially before me by the Council of Regency, who received it with a request, as contained in the covering letters herewith enclosed, calling upon them to affix their seals to the paper; and they have begged very earnestly for my advice as to what course they should, under the circumstances, pursue.

2. Pending the receipt of your reply, the favour of which I would solicit by return if possible, I have, for obvious reasons, declined to offer any opinion, one way or the other; for

for, whilst I would desire studiously to avoid the semblance of personally discountenancing any spontaneous expression of the feelings of the people in a matter so nearly affecting their own interests, it appears to me my duty to Government to point out that this memorial, as dictated by the Ex-Nawab, and, if signed, subscribed under pressure of apprehension for the future, is no real indication of their wishes.

3. There is much contained in this paper which the supposed memorialists would undoubtedly be very glad if their signatures could restore, but there is possibly more which, of their own free will, they would not endorse; and the inclinations of the members of the regency in the matter may be taken as a fair criterion of what the popular feeling would be.

4. The Council acknowledged before Mr. Blair and myself, that the views expressed in this appeal were not their views, but that, if such a document as that to which they were called upon to affix their seals were submitted, and by possibility proved successful, and it were subsequently to transpire that they had declined to sign it, the consequences would be most serious to them; and that they, by a refusal, would incur this risk without any counterbalancing contingency advantageous to them, inasmuch as they bear no malice to the deposed Nawab; and if their voices could be of service to him, it would do no harm to them, possibly the reverse.

In other words, it is evident to me that they would rather not sign the paper, but, unless discouraged so to do, dare not refuse to sign it.

5. That this should be so is, after all, not to be wondered at; but it becomes a question how far we can interfere in such a matter. Personally, I should be entirely averse to dissuade them from any appeal against a decision arrived at on my own investigation; but the Government would, I venture to think, be placed in a false position in having to deal with a memorial which is avowedly dictated and signed under quasi-compulsion; for there can be but one opinion, if the officers of influence and status here are thus actuated by fear, so much more will their inferiors be, and pressure will be unsparingly used to make the prayer appear an universal one.

6. If the people really desire what the Ex-Nawab would take it for granted is desired, it is competent for them to prepare an appeal in their own words, expressive of their own wishes. The document herewith submitted is not such an one; and I would put it to your consideration whether some steps should not be at once taken to restrain Mahomed Ali Khan from openly corresponding on State affairs save through the prescribed channel of communication.

7. The subject being an important one, I would, in conclusion, again solicit the favour of early instructions in the matter, which I shall here await. The return of the enclosures is begged.

No. 47 P., dated 14th February 1868.

From Lieutenant Colonel *R. H. Keatinge*, C.S.I., V.C., Agent, Governor General, Rajpootana, to Captain *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent, Harowtee.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge your letter, No. 20-7 P., of 10th instant, giving cover to a petition to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, prepared and sent by the Ex-Nawab of Tonk to certain members of the executive council of Tonk for their signature and that of the people generally.

2. I beg of you to state to the Council that, in placing this document before you, they have but performed their duty.

3. You must impress upon them that they must on no account continue to communicate with the Ex-Nawab, and that they are, under no circumstances, to affix their signatures to papers prepared by him, or to induce others to do so.

4. Such a course, if permitted, would embarrass the whole government of the State; would render the position of the young Nawab most difficult; and would continue to Mahomed Ali Khan in a great degree the powers of a ruler without its responsibility.

5. If any of the nobles or people of Tonk, unemployed under the present Government, desire of their own free will to petition for the restoration of the Ex-Nawab, they are at perfect liberty to do so, and no steps should be taken to prevent them; but such documents must not be prepared or signed by members of the Executive Council or Officers of the State now in employment; any person wishing to see an end of the present ministry has no business to continue in service under it.

6. I enclose the vernacular papers sent for my perusal.

No. 109, dated 26th June 1868.

From Captain *J. Blair*, Assistant Agent, Governor General, on Special Duty, at Tonk, to Lieut. Colonel *R. H. Keatinge*, C.S.I., V.C., Agent, Governor General, for the States of Rajpootana.

Copy received on 2nd instant, under your office docket, No. 210, of 13 May 1868.

I LEARN from the Memorial of the Ex-Nawab of Tonk, dated 27th February last, to the address of his Excellency the Viceroy, that he appeals against the decision arrived at in his case, reiterating the statement originally preferred, that Rewut Singh and his followers fell in open fight, and were not entrapped and murdered. Under the circumstances, I think it right to report to you the following circumstances, which have incidentally come to my knowledge:—

2. A question having arisen as to the rightful owner of the house in which the tragedy occurred, I was asked by the Regency Council to visit the building, which, I may mention, I had never visited before. I did so on the 23rd instant, in company with Sahibzadah Ahmed Yar Khan and the Durbar Vakeel. In walking over the building the conversation naturally turned to the unhappy event of last August: stains of blood on the floor, where Rewut Singh was said to have fallen, were pointed out to me. I also observed in a small side room the marks of three bullets having pierced the walls.

3. Had other evidence been wanting, the locality of these indisputable signs of strife would alone have gone far to throw doubt on the veracity of the story set forth in defence; and I will therefore endeavour to explain to you their position in the building.

The building is a large native house, with the upper story partially finished; outside there is a spacious open yard or compound surrounded by a high wall. From this yard the house has three entrances, one in the centre, and one on either side, all of which are closed with doors. The side entrances lead to the private apartments. After passing through the central door, one steps into an oblong-shaped, unpaved, open court, at the end of which is an open "Dewankhana," or a kind of verandah supported on a double line of pillars, with a blank wall at the back and sides. The court itself, as well as the "Dewankhana," is commanded from the flat roof of the wings of the building. It was into the court that Rewut Singh and his followers were first ushered on their arrival at the house.

4. On the right hand side of the court, near the upper end, two or three steps lead up to a door, and passing through this, and, if I remember right, through a second door, one finds oneself in another court, also with a "Dewankhana" at the end. Both this court and "Dewankhana" are on a small scale, and are commanded from above.

On either flank of the "Dewankhana" are small closets; a blank wall forms the back.

It was in this "Dewankhana" and in the side closets that the stains of blood were pointed out to me, and I also observed three bullet marks on the walls of one of the closets. They had been clearly shots fired from the "Dewankhana" through the open doorway.

5. I may mention that Rewut Singh's bravery when he was set upon is openly talked of in Tonk. He is said to have cut down several of his assailants, and the others, not daring to approach the desperate man, had resort to fire-arms. The blood in the different closets would seem to indicate that the Thakoor and three others murdered immediately with him ran into the closets to escape the fire, and were there slain.

6. Be this as it may, it is manifestly in the highest degree improbable, had a fracas occurred at the gate of the outer Court, as represented by the Ex-Nawab, that Rewut Singh or any of his followers, who were vastly overpowered in number by their opponents, could have succeeded in getting so far into the house, putting aside the absurdity of the idea of their attempting to place themselves in a situation from which escape was impossible.

7. It had also come to my notice that the deceased Goolab Khan was no relation whatever or connection of the Tonk family; he was simply a Jemadar of Wulaitees. I think the Ex-Nawab called him a relation or a Sahibzadah in his khureeta to the Agent of the Governor General, with the view, it is said here, of making his death a matter of importance.

8. I may mention that it is notorious in Tonk, and is openly stated by every one here, that Goolab Khan was the only individual on the part of the assailants who was killed on the occasion, instead of seven, as set forth by the Ex-Nawab. This can be most conclusively proved now, though, when Captain Bruce made his investigation, it was a different matter; no one then dared to speak the truth. A terrible example of the danger of opposing the Ex-Nawab was still blood-red before all eyes.

A simple examination of the muster rolls of the troops in the service of this State at the time would establish this point, for those said to have been killed were also said to have been in the service of the Durbar. I could do this if you desire it, in which event I beg I may be informed of the names of the men reported to have been killed.

9. Residing at Tonk I have necessarily heard many particulars of the manner and circumstances under which the treachery was planned and the massacre transacted, for the matter is generally spoken of. The very exclamations of Thakoor Rewut Singh when being butchered are made a matter of conversation; and it seems to me, therefore, little short of marvellous that the Ex-Nawab should still attempt by hard swearing to foist on the Government a story so utterly false and incredible.

I enclose a rough plan of the building drawn from memory. It will convey a fairly correct idea of the place where I found the stains of blood, &c.

PETITION, dated 18th January 1869.

From *Mahomed Ali Khan*, the deposed Nawab of Tonk, to Right Honourable Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India, India Office, London.

1. THAT your petitioner was ordered by a letter from the Government of India, dated 14th November 1867 (Appendix A.), to abandon his throne and country and to take up his abode at Benares, where your Petitioner now is.

2. This measure of severity was dealt out for alleged complicity in the death of the uncle and several followers of the Chief or Thakoor of Lawa, a crime of which your Petitioner avers his complete innocence.

3. Your Petitioner having complied at once with the order of the Government of India, then petitioned the Government to be allowed to have copies of the reports and proceedings upon which the action of the Government had been based, for up to that time your Petitioner had never so much as seen a single report, and consequently had been debarred from replying to the arguments by which the Governor General's Agent attempted to prove his guilt, and your Petitioner, being thus condemned as it were on an *ex parte* statement, was forced to succumb to his fate, and to trust to the sense of justice which he has been taught to believe lies near the heart of every English ruler, although it may be temporarily obscured by the arts of designing persons and the machinations of political cabals.

4. Your Petitioner, in answer to his prayer for copies of papers, has received those specified in the margin, and he is now, for the first time since his misfortune, in a position to reply to the charge brought against him by the Governor General's Agent and the Political Agent of Harowtee, and he humbly prays that this appeal, being, as it is, the first defence he has been able to make, may be laid at the foot of Her Majesty's Throne, and that that which under the British constitution is not denied to the humblest and meanest criminal, a fair and impartial enquiry, where both sides are represented, may be accorded to him.

1. No. 1085-59 P., dated 6 September 1867, from Colonel Eden, Governor General's Agent for the States of Rajpootana, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with copies of depositions taken by Captain Bruce, the Political Agent of Harowtee.

2. No. 97-16 P., dated 26 August 1867, from the Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Governor General's Agent.

3. No. 148, from the Viceroy in Council, to the Secretary of State for India, dated Simla, 23 September 1867.

4. No. 186, from the Secretary of State for India, to his Excellency the Governor General of India in Council, dated 15 November 1867.

5. No. 158 E., dated 14 September 1867, from the Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Secretary to Government of India, Foreign Department, with depositions.

5. The facts which are undisputed are that, on the 1st August 1867, Thakoor Rewut Singh, the uncle of the Lawa Chief, Dheerut Singh, accompanied by several followers, proceeded to the house of Hakeem Surwur Shah, one of your Petitioner's late Ministers, and Superintendent of the establishment for the suppression of Thuggee, where the Thakoor and several of his followers were slain.

It is alleged by the Lawa party that sixteen men accompanied the Thakoor Rewut Singh, he having proceeded by invitation conveyed from the Hakeem Surwur Shah by one Lutchmuna, a chuprasee or messenger; that on arrival Rewut Singh the Thakoor and three others were conducted upstairs to an upper room, the remainder of his followers being in the court-yard below; that after the lapse of half an hour, the whole party were set upon by the sepoys belonging to the Thuggee Department and killed, with the exception of one Megh Singh, who escaped with a wound, the Thakoor and the three men who accompanied him having meantime been slaughtered in the upper room by order of the Hakeem Surwur Shah.

On your petitioner's side it is shown that the Thakoor having visited the Hakeem's Office during the day, where he could not see him on account of his illness, had left with angry words and threats; that after nightfall the Thakoor accompanied by a large party of armed men, repaired to the Hakeem Surwur Shah's house uninvited, and being stopped at the outer gate and refused admittance, they resorted to violence; the gate was pushed open or knocked down, and in the scuffle which ensued a Thakoor's turban was knocked off, upon which swords were drawn, and in the mêlée, the guard, being the stronger party and fighting in defence of their post, overpowered the Rajpoots, who were driven away with the loss of ten killed, the wounded being carried off; the loss on the Tonk side being seven killed and several wounded. Among the slain were the Thakoor Rewut Singh, of Lawa, and Sahebzadah Golaub Khan, the officer in command of the guard.

6. From the report of Colonel Eden, the Governor General's Agent, dated 6th September 1867, and the letters of the Political Agent, Harowtee, Captain Bruce, dated 26th August 1867 and 14th September 1867, now for the first time shown to your Petitioner, it is clear that while Captain Bruce, who was the officer deputed to carry out the investigation on the spot, came to the conclusion that an attempt had been made by the Hakeem Surwur Shah to seize by treachery the persons or the arms, of the Thakoors which resulted in bloodshed, and that there had been no premeditated design at violence on his part, the Governor General's Agent concluded from the report submitted by Captain Bruce that the death of the Thakoor and his followers was the result of a premeditated plan formed by your Petitioner and carried out by Surwur Shah. A perusal of the papers and your Petitioner's reply to the accusation will convince Her Majesty's Government that neither of these conclusions is warranted by the facts of the case.

7. A candid consideration of the subject and a perusal of the papers will also show, as your petitioner believes, a very marked bias on the part of the Governor General's Agent

against your petitioner and in favour of his enemies, a bias also shared in by Captain Bruce, and exhibited in both instances by the rejection of all evidence as untrustworthy which is favourable to your petitioner, and by the acceptance of all evidence, even loose, vague statements and hearsay, when it tells against your petitioner.

8. The extent to which the Governor General's Agent was under the influence of designing and self-interested men, your petitioner's enemies, and thereby biassed against your petitioner, is apparent from the fact that although Captain Bruce, who conducted the enquiry and beheld the demeanour of the witnesses, states his belief that the whole tragedy was the result of an attempt to seize the arms of the Thakoors, and that there was no intention of murder (and even this conclusion your petitioner could have disproved if he had been allowed an opportunity), yet the Governor General's Agent having nothing to go upon besides Captain Bruce's report, adopts a conclusion totally different, and accuses your petitioner of the crime of a deliberate assassination.

Also by the fact that immediately after the report of the affray reached him, he dismissed from the court of the Agency your petitioner's vakeel or representative*, which can be proved by his khurreeta, dated 12th August 1867, herewith annexed in original, with its translation (Appendix B.), and admitted a representative from Lawa, a thing unheard up to that time, so that, in effect, he closed up all channels of information except one.

Also by the fact that he represented your petitioner's son and heir to be a boy 10 years of age, the result of which has been the transference of the power and authority in the State to Ibadoolah Khan, who has been appointed, under the orders of the Government, head of the Regency, he being badly disposed towards your petitioner and one of the prime movers of the cabal against him; whereas your petitioner's son and heir is 22 years of age and fully capable of conducting his own affairs; he, moreover, attended the Governor General's Durbar in 1866 at Agra, at which time his beard was grown, and he had, moreover, a son born to him three years ago. Notwithstanding which your petitioner understands that very recently, on the occasion of the birth of a second child, it has been intimated to the Government of India that the child now born is the eldest son, the Governor General himself having sent a letter of congratulation, and a salute of 105 guns having been fired at Tonk, agreeable to the orders of the Governor General's Agent.

9. Both the Governor General's Agent and the Political Agent, Captain Bruce, give great weight to the assumed probability that evidence in your Petitioner's favour would be easily produced, while that in favour of the Lawa Chief would be furnished with hesitation, inasmuch as at the time your Petitioner was seated on the throne. But in effect the tendency was the other way, for your Petitioner, the representative of a race of Mahomedan conquerors, surrounded by Rajpoot Hindoo States, who have for the past two generations looked upon the existence of the Tonk Principality with the utmost jealousy and hatred, was an object of class enmity to every Rajpoot Chief in Rajpootana, while the Lawa Chief is connected with many of the most powerful and the oldest houses, and has the support and countenance and sympathy of the other Hindoo Chiefs, and of late years of the Governor General's Agent. And even Captain Bruce, the Political Agent of Harowtee, who is unwilling to admit anything that tends to the favour of your Petitioner, yet at paragraph 15 of his letter, dated 14th September 1867, admits that, "if he may believe public report, the Lawa party were well supported from without."

10. Your Petitioner submits that it is utterly inconceivable that any man in his senses would concoct a plot having for its object the assassination of a number of men whose death could be no possible object to your Petitioner or anyone else, and had your Petitioner harboured the murderous design of destroying the uncle of the Lawa Chief, the crime might have been consummated in a thousand ways with infinitely more certainty and infinitely less chance of detection than by the clumsy process attributed to him.

11. Your Petitioner is aware that it is not safe to argue on probabilities in a case of life and death, and that criminals often in the commission of crime exhibit carelessness of consequences, and still more overlook in their calculations some one link in the chain of circumstantial evidence which tends to their detection. But in your Petitioner's case his guilt has been concluded from presumption, and it is therefore but just that the probabilities of the case should be allowed as much weight in his favour as is accorded to them when arrayed against him.

12. No valid motive has been assigned to account for your Petitioner's action on the theory of his guilt, for as he had nothing to gain by the slaughter, so had he nothing to gain by the seizure of the Thakoor's uncle, in whose behalf he must have known the authority of the Governor General's Agent would have at once been exercised, whereas the action of the Rajpoots in attacking the guard at the gateway is in accordance with the turbulent habits of the race, and such affrays may occur at any time.

13. If, instead of your Petitioner's guilt being assumed, the fact of the Lawa party being the assailant is admitted, it will be found that the conclusion is not only borne out by the evidence, but is in accord with all the probabilities of the case; whereas, on the other hand, the story told by the Lawa witnesses can only be credited by doing violence to the ordinarily recognised principles of human action, and adopting conclusions from premises that are themselves assumed.

14. The tendency of the turbulent Rajpoots to acts of rapine, violence, and bloodshed is well known, but the readiness of the Lawa men to resort to violence with the utmost disregard

* It is the custom for a vakeel or representative from each independent Sovereign of Rajpootana, but never for a subordinate Thakoor, to remain always in attendance on the Governor General's Agent for the purpose of forming a channel of communication between the Government and each independent State.

gard of life has been shown in very recent times, for, to go no further back that 1840, they plundered 5,200 rupees from certain tradesmen, and in 1844 they harboured Sawunt Singh and other rebels concerned in a dacoitee with loss of life in Marwar, and refused to give them up; again in 1845 they harboured and protected other murderers and assassins, and in 1855 plundered certain Multanee travellers and killed them and refused to surrender the assassins, and in 1864 they attacked and plundered the resting house at Goordhunpoora, where 13 lives were lost, the records relating to which occurrences are all in the office of the Governor General's Agent; and when such deeds of lawlessness and violence were committed by them, is it to be received as a statement incredible and improbable that they should have attempted similar violence in the present instance?

15. The readiness of the Wulaitees (Pathans, Stipendiaries) to resort to violence when attacked, is also fully admitted by Captain Bruce in paragraphs 77 and 78 of his letter (No. 97-16 P.), 26th August 1867, and with such elements of strife at hand, it cannot be wondered at that the violence on the part of Rajpoots should have been met by violence on that of the Wulaitees, and although your Petitioner, as ruler of the Tonk principality, was doubtless under every obligation to maintain peace in his own capital as far as he could, yet when the peace was broken by the Lawa Thakoor and others who fought in their own defence, the guilt of premeditated assassination ought not to be laid to your Petitioner's door, without strong proof that that which is the most probable explanation of the affair, was, in effect, not the true one.

16. That your Petitioner was anxious for a full and free investigation is shown by the fact that immediately on Captain Bruce's arrival to conduct the inquiry, he suspended and arrested Surwur Shah, lest it should be supposed his influence had been exerted to prevent the truth from transpiring. And immediately on the occurrence of the affray, the very next day a full and searching inquiry was instituted by your Petitioner's own officers.

17. The chief witness on the Lawa side is Megh Singh, who says he was the only survivor, and great stress has been laid and the utmost credence placed on all he says. But it ought not to be forgotten that he is himself a criminal and an accomplice in the crime of murder, and every way interested in procuring the exoneration of the Lawa party, and laying the blame upon your Petitioner, for it is only by establishing this that he escapes the punishment due for taking part in a murderous assault. His evidence therefore ought to be subjected to the strictest scrutiny, instead of having been received, as it has been, unquestioned.

18. It is not in accordance with the recognised principles of the law of evidence that the statement of an accomplice should be held of more weight than that of 24 eye-witnesses, amongst whom were three independent witnesses, residents of Jeypore and elsewhere; nor is there any valid reason why the evidence of the men who were wounded in the affray, and must therefore have been present, should be rejected as trustworthy. Under any circumstances, their evidence is entitled to at any rate as much credit as that of Megh Singh.

19. Megh Singh, No. 8, himself admits that the party were stopped by a sentry, and this not only corroborates the statement of the wounded men, but it shows that the story told by the Lawa men that the Thakoor had been summoned by a messenger who accompanied them to Surwur Shah's house (*vide* depositions of Sheo Nath, No. 7, and Dhan Singh, No. 4) was false, for had it been the case, and had there been a premeditated plot to lure the Rajpoots to destruction, they would have been received with every mark of courtesy and prompt attention, and not denied admittance.

20. Megh Singh also declares that he was the sole survivor. It will be shown further on that there were a great many other survivors of the Lawa party. But if it were a premeditated plan to slaughter the whole party, it is impossible to believe that a witness like Megh Singh would have been allowed to escape. He himself alleges he owed his escape his being mistaken for a Wulaitee by reason of the shape of his turban, which is manifestly false, for he states that his sword was snatched from him and he was wounded in the head and ran away, yet that he escaped with his life because he was mistaken for a Wulaitee. Again, if he had been so mistaken, he would not have been attacked at all, and if he was attacked in pursuance of a predetermined plot to slaughter the whole party, his assailants would assuredly not have permitted him to escape alive and tell the tale. Moreover, it is incredible that he should have been mistaken for a Wulaitee on account of his head dress, and yet he was wounded by a sword cut on the head. He admits he was captured on the road as he was running away, and if there had been a premeditated plan to slaughter the whole party, there was nothing in the world to prevent the Tonk sepoys from putting him to death then.

21. The story that the message inviting the Thakoor at that hour of the night was taken by Lutchmuna, chuprasee, is not entitled to credit, because if he had gone, he would assuredly have been recognised by the Thakoor himself, Dheerut Singh, with whom he is stated to have had an interview, and by the guards who admitted him, viz., Dhan Singh, No. 4, Rewut Singh, No. 5, and Sheo Nath, No. 7; whereas the only persons who profess to recognise him are, Pope Singh and Veejay Singh, who were not on duty at the Thakoor's house as the others were, and had therefore no such opportunity of seeing Lutchmuna, as the guard who conversed with and admitted him. Moreover, it is shown by the evidence of the two Potails (petty officers), Baz Khan and Jeewun, of the village of Yousoofpoora, that two days prior to the event, and on the evening of the affray, Lutchmuna, chuprasee, was at the village of Yousoofpoora.

Your Petitioner earnestly solicits attention to the following reply to the most important paragraphs of the Report of Colonel Eden, the Governor General's Agent, No. 1085-59 P., dated

dated the 6th September 1867, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, this being the first opportunity he has had of replying to it:—

Colonel Eden's Letter.

Reply.

Vide Enclosure C. Witness No. 1.

Paragraph 5. "In support of this statement, we have first the evidence of Hakeem Surwur Shah, who deposes to effect that Rewut Singh, accompanied by a party of attendants, came to his office and residence during the day of the 1st August; that, as deponent was unwell, he sent the verbal message above alluded to, on receipt of which, Rewut Singh went away in a rage; that he (Surwur Shah) became insensible about 5 P.M., and so remained till next morning, when he learnt that Rewut Singh had presented himself the preceding evening, and that on being refused admittance, a *fracas* had ensued, as before related.

22. The evidence of Surwur Shah and Ameen Mahomed, No. 2, is confirmed by that of Moojeebollah, while the depositions of Abdool Hakeem Khan and Moula Bux to the same effect, which were taken, have been altogether omitted.

Vide Enclosure C. Witness No. 2.

6. "The second witness, Ameen Mahomed, corroborates in almost the same words, the statement of Surwur Shah: regarding the mid-day visit of Rewut Singh, and of the Thakoor having gone away in a passion after receiving the verbal message of the evening visit, and of the *fracas* which then ensued, deponent knew nothing.

Vide Enclosure C. Witness No. 5.

Vide Yacoob Ahmed Khan's statement, who states he was ordered *next morning*.

9. "The fifth witness, Faiz Mahomed, deposed to having gone to the Hakeem's house on hearing of the disturbance, and to having there met Yacoob Ahmed Khan (witness No. 3), and to having ordered him immediately to go and apprehend such of Rewut Singh's men as had escaped. Deponent further stated, that 16 Hindoos were killed, and one Mahomedan; that the bodies of the former were burnt next morning by Shahab Khan; that the names of the six Hindoo sepoys of Tonk that were killed, were Luchmun Singh, Ram Singh, Shewloll, Kulloo Ram, Bhageerut, and Hurree Ram; on being questioned as to the places of residence of these men, he stated he knew nothing about them, and further, on being asked whether it was or was not the custom to send the bodies of persons meeting a violent death to the native doctor of the dispensary for examination; deponent replied in a prevaricating manner, which may be held, however, as admitting that such is the custom in Tonk, and that in the present instance, it was not acted up to.

23. The discrepancy between this witness and No. 3, has been here misrepresented, because witness No. 3, did not state that he was directed in the morning to go and apprehend the fugitives, but that *in the morning* it became known that Lawa had lost 10, and Tonk seven. This reference to the next morning has no connection with the order to apprehend the fugitives.

24. It was not the custom of Tonk to send corpses to the native doctor for examination. A reference to the native doctor's books would have made this clear if there were reasons to doubt the question. But it was the law in Tonk, that bodies of criminals should not be given to their relatives. That of Sahebzada Golaub Khan, a relative of your petitioner, and the officer of the guard, was given to his relatives, but without any orders.

Vide Enclosure C. Witness No. 6.

10. "Sixth witness, Abdool Humeed, narrates having heard firing, and that, on going to the locality, he saw some dead bodies, and that he heard a *fracas* had taken place owing to a 'puggree,' having been knocked off.

25. The evidence of this witness, an independent man, unconnected with either party, is of much value, and in this paragraph of the Report but scant justice has been done to it. On being aroused by the noise of the disturbance, he went to the spot, but was not allowed inside the gate, but he saw the bodies lying *on the threshold and opposite the gateway*

Colonel Eden's Letter.

18. "Such, then, is the evidence in support of the Tonk version of the case; the witnesses all hold together, and tell the same tale, with almost suspicious exactitude. Of its kind, the evidence is very perfect; I would now proceed to analyse it.

19. "To commence with the causes which led to the summons of the Thakoor to Tonk, I would invite attention to the Nawab's reasons assigned in the papers marginally noted to my address;* therein it is stated that the Thakoor was called to be reproved for his insubordination, for the non-payment of his tribute, for oppressing the villagers near Lawa, &c. Compare this with the letters from Surwur Shah to the Lawa Thakoor, desiring him to come to Tonk. In these the Nawab is represented as anxious to honour and reward the Thakoor, as desirous of granting him a jagheer, urging the Thakoor to come to Tonk quickly as the Nawab was going to Seronge. Here there is a palpable falsehood at starting; and bearing in mind the persistent manner in which the Nawab has endeavoured to ruin the Thakoor, the sudden wish to honour and reward him would, had nothing happened, have been very singular, but, regarded in the light of the tragedy which has occurred, cannot fail to leave the strongest suspicions that Surwur Shah's letters of invitation were the first steps of the snare into which the Thakoor was cunningly duped.

Reply.

gateway of the Thuggee Office, which was the spot where the affray took place, according to the Tonk statement.

26. The evidence which is briefly detailed in the seven preceding paragraphs is passed over lightly and discarded, because the witnesses all *hold together.* But their statements are remarkably straightforward, and the inference to be drawn from the Governor General's Agent's remark is, that if their account had contained discrepancies, it would have been more worthy of credit. Unless such evidence is disproved, it assuredly ought to be received, at any rate, with as much attention as that of the Lawa witnesses.

27. It is sufficiently clear that the reason why the witnesses Nos. 19, 20, and 21, Girdharee, Roor, and Nanoo, were induced to join the Thakoor's party, was, that the Thakoor was meditating either violence or the possibility of an affray, and so collected as many followers as he could.

28. The tone of this paragraph is excessively unfair towards your petitioner, because it is notorious that the Thakoors of Lawa have always been turbulent and unruly subjects, and as the Thakoor was now opposing the introduction of various measures designed for the good of the State, such as schools, police, &c., your petitioner endeavoured to conciliate him, and offered compensation if he would withdraw his opposition to the tax your petitioner was desirous of imposing for these purposes, because his opposition encouraged others, and it was at the instance, in the first place, of Hakeem Surwur Shah that your petitioner attempted the plan of conciliation.

29. In 1865, your petitioner had, in accordance with an order, dated 24th July 1865, from the Governor General's Agent, erected earthworks at an expense of three lakhs of rupees opposite the fort of Lawa, whose Thakoor was then in arms against him, and the batteries were ready to open, when Captain Blair arrived with a khurreeta from the Governor General's Agent, dated 26th January 1866, and, contrary to existing treaties, interfered, so as to cause the recall of your petitioner's troops, leaving the fort of Lawa standing, and without even calling on the Thakoor to pay the expenses of the expedition. After this, your petitioner surely

* 1. Khureeta from the Nawab of Tonk, dated 2nd August 1867.
2. A note from Tonk Vakeel, enclosing perwanna from Nawab of Tonk, dated 6th August, translations of which were submitted to Government with this Office Despatch No. 970-52, dated 12th August 1867, *vide* Enclosure A., letters dated 22nd July and 27th July 1867.

Colonel Eden's Letter.

20. "The next point we have to consider is, whether Rewut Singh did or did not visit the Hakeem's office during the day of the 1st, as stated, and whether, if he did, any quarrel then occurred.

"That Rewut Singh did visit the office either on the 31st July or 1st August is admitted on all sides; it cannot, however, be shown so clearly whether any high words did pass on that occasion. Surwur Shah and Ameen Mahomed (1st and 2nd Tonk witnesses) state that Rewut Singh got in a passion and went away after using harsh or abusive language. On the other hand, there is the evidence of Thakoor Dheerut Singh, as well as of Dhan Singh and Rewut Singh, to show that Thakoor Rewut Singh came back very pleased with his interview, which would scarcely have been the case had there been a quarrel; and if we remember the tenor of the Hakeem's letters of invitation to the Thakoor dated but a few days previously, the most natural conclusion is that, as stated by the deceased Rewut Singh to Thakoor Dheerut Singh, the promises made in them were verbally reiterated. I may here remark that the value of Surwur Shah's evidence can be in some manner tested by referring to the stated date of the interview. He has deposed that it took place 10 days subsequent to the Thakoor's arrival at Tonk, whereas his letter of invitation pressing the Thakoor to come, and with which the latter complied, is dated 27th July, so that the truth of the unanimous statement of the Lawa witnesses, that they reached Tonk on the 29th July, can scarcely be doubted, and hence the interview must have taken place two or three days after their arrival, most probably the former, instead of 10 as affirmed by Surwur Shah.

Vide Enclosure C. Witnesses Nos. 1 and 2.

Vide Enclosure B. Witnesses Nos. 1, 4, and 5.

Vide Enclosure A.

21. "We now come to the visit of Rewut Singh to the Hakeem's office about 9 p.m. on the 1st August. The Tonk witnesses seek to establish that Rewut Singh proceeded there uninvited, and brought on the collision by his own violence.

"But, on the other hand, there is the concurrent testimony of the witnesses marginally cited to prove that, on the evening in question, a chobdar came from Hakeem Surwur Shah to call Thakoor Dheerut Singh, who sent his uncle, Rewut Singh, accompanied by Beejay Singh, the two Lawa Kamdars, and some attendants. This of itself would be sufficient to throw grave doubts on the statements put forth by the Tonk witnesses; but coupling it with other concomitant circumstances attaching to the case, the Durbar's version of the story becomes so improbable as to be utterly unworthy of credence.

No. 1. Dheerut Singh.
„ 2. Pope Singh.
„ 3. Beejay Lall.
„ 4. Dhan Singh.
„ 5. Rewut Singh.
„ 6. Ghasee Singh.
„ 7. Sheo Nath Singh and others.

Reply.

surely ought not to be blamed, or suspected of sinister motives, because he adopted conciliatory measures.

30. The statement is corroborated by the evidence of three other witnesses, two of whose depositions, though taken, have not been attached, viz., Abdool Hakeem Khan and Moula Bux. The mistake made by Surwur Shah in the date of the interview is urged as an argument for discrediting his statement, while at paragraph 18, the accord in the story of the witnesses on the Tonk side generally is put forward also as a reason for rejecting their testimony. The Hakeem at the time was ill, and his illness was of such a nature as to affect his memory, viz., paralysis, and a medical examination now would show this. The Hakeem's illness has, indeed, been denied, but it will be shown incontestably below.

31. There are very grave discrepancies in the story told by these witnesses to which the Governor General's Agent makes no allusion whatever, and this evidence only requires to be critically examined with some attention to show that the witnesses could not possibly have been telling the truth. Pope Singh, No. 2, says that the cause of the invitation was the presentation of a "khillut" (honorary distinction, dress, &c.). The next witness, Beejay Lall, No. 3, perceiving the absurdity of a "khillut" at that time of night, mends the story, and says they were invited because a "khillut" was to be given in the morning. The Thakoor himself, Dheerut Singh, No. 1, says it was to "confer about a khillut;" yet Beejay Lall was deputed at that time of night to a banker to get the money for a "Nuzzur" (offering from an inferior)! If invited in a friendly way to confer about the presentation of a "khillut," it is incredible that the Thakoor would have gone with a *posse comitatus* of 16 armed men. It is equally incredible that, as Dheerut Singh, No. 1, says, the Thakoors would have gone in state with so large a party, they being on foot. That Rewut Singh *did* go with a large following, is certain, and it is equally certain he would have gone on horseback, and this accounts for the presence of the syces who ran away, and of Byree Lall, who was near the horses "and wounded by a bullet in the thigh," he being palpably in the street, and wounded there by a stray shot, which shows that the conflict took place *near the gateway* and in the street, and not inside the court-yard, as stated by the Tonk witnesses. Moreover, the attempt made by the syces to describe what occurred, (though they describe what they could not have seen if it had occurred, witness No. 15, Goupaul Singh) shows that they were of the party and anxious to exonerate themselves and their master from all blame.

32. The

Colonel Eden's Letter. *Reply*

32. The reasons for disbelieving the story of the summons being conveyed by Lutchmuna chuprasee, have been fully detailed above, at paragraph 21, reasons which it does not occur to the Governor General's Agent to notice at all.

33. There is the utmost possible discrepancy in the different statements as to the number of men who accompanied the Thakoor Rewut Singh. Dheerut Singh, No. 1, and Beejay Lall, No. 3, give the names of 16 men in exactly the same order. Dhan Singh, No. 4, gives the names of two other men, Golaub Singh and Gobind Singh, which makes 18, and Megh Singh, the alleged sole survivor, particularly mentions Siree Lall, who went upstairs, and this makes 19. Dhan Singh also mentions another, Byree Lall, who escaped, and this makes 20. Girdharee, Roor, and Nanoo (Nos. 19, 20, and 21), whose evidence is rejected without any good reason, and who all say they went, make 23, and if the three syces who returned to Lawa the next day, and said they had escaped, and told circumstantially the whole story as detailed by the other witnesses, be reckoned, they make 26. But of these, the three syces, Girdharee, Roor, Nanoo, Megh Shing, and Byree Lall, are alive, and this leaves 18 said to be slain, whereas there were only 16 Hindoo bodies found.

34. Captain Bruce, the Political Agent, in his letter of the 14th September 1867, paragraphs 8, 9, 10, 11, though totally unable to account for the discrepancy in the statements, yet, without alleging any valid reason, rejects the Tonk statement and accepts that of Lawa. But even he finds it necessary to admit one Hindoo body as belonging to Tonk, so that the Lawa witnesses make out 18 Hindoos slain, which, with the one Captain Bruce credits to the Tonk side, makes 19.

35. But while it is quite certain that if the Lawa witnesses had been telling the truth, there would be no discrepancy upon so important a point as the number and identity of those slain, we find, if we take the enumeration of Dheerut Singh, No. 1, and that of Beejay Lall, No. 3, and compare it with that of Dhan Singh, No. 4, who gives the names of three men, Gobind Singh, Golaub Singh, and Byree Lall, not mentioned at all by Dheerut Singh and Beejay Lall, while the two other witnesses, one of whom, Dheerut Singh, is the Takoor himself, name four men, Beejay Singh, Gooljee, Ummurbhajun, and Hunwunt Singh, not mentioned at all by Dhan Singh, No. 4, we shall find that the statements are inconsistent and irreconcileable. Whereas, that there were six Thuggee sepoys killed on the Tonk side is supported by infinitely stronger testimony than that adduced to sustain the Lawa story, for the names of the six Thuggee sepoys killed on the Tonk side were found duly enrolled in the muster roll of the Buksheekhana books, and three of their bodies were seen and *recognised* by their next of kin (which was the case with none of the Lawa men). Out of the whole six Hindoos killed on the Tonk side, the next of kin of four deposed to their death, and the absence of the next of kin of the other two was satisfactorily accounted for. (*Vide* Captain Bruce's letter, 14th September, paragraph 7, and depositions attached thereto, No. 3, C. I.)

The following witnesses of the Lawa party profess to give a list of the names of the men who were killed. Dheerut Singh, Thakoor, No. 1, Beejay Lall, No. 3, Dhan Singh, No. 4 (second deposition), Rewut Singh (second deposition), Sheo Nath (second deposition), Ghasee (second deposition), but their lists do not agree, some being mentioned by one witness and others by another.

The second depositions were taken by Captain Bruce about the 13th September, and if the men had really been killed, there could surely have been no doubt after that lapse of time who they were who fell.

36. It will be obvious, from an impartial examination of this part of the case, that, in order to make their story consistent, the Lawa witnesses have resorted to different statements as to the killed, and it is equally obvious that, endorsing their story, both the Governor General's Agent and the Political Agent have been obliged to resort to many suggestions and suppositions, neither Colonel Eden nor Captain Bruce adopting the same theory to account for the singular discrepancies; whereas, if the matter be viewed in a perfectly impartial manner, it will be seen that, by the explanation given by Tonk, the whole difficulties disappear, and the pieces take up their proper position on the board in a perfectly rational and consistent manner, *viz.*, that violence was first offered by the Lawa party; on the cry being raised to defend the gate, the Lawa party were, after a sharp conflict, defeated, and fled, taking care to carry off their wounded, lest their evidence should tell against them, but leaving their dead on the ground.

37. There is no reason for surprise or incredulity in the fact that the wounded on the Tonk side were all Mahomedans, while of the slain one was a

Colonel Eden's Letter. *Reply.*

Mahomedan officer, and the other six Hindoos; although this has been represented as telling heavily against the truth of the Tonk story, for in the Thuggee department by far the greater majority of the sepoys are Hindoos, and at the outset of the encounter, when the alarm was suddenly raised, the men would naturally have rushed to arms, and the majority of those engaged would have been Hindoos, and nothing is more likely than that they should have fallen.

It appears that none carried fire-arms, except, perhaps, Rewut Singh himself, *vide* enclosure.

22. "It is quite certain that had Rewut Singh been silly and hardy enough to attempt to insult or attack Surwur Shah at Tonk itself, he would have taken a stronger party with him and better armed, and he would not have been accompanied by the kamdars Moonna Lall and Lalljee, elderly infirm men, unused to carry arms.

23. "Nor does it appear at all likely that the collision was brought on gradually arising from a brawl, for, had such been the case, the wounded would have formed a far greater portion to the number killed. As it was, every man in the Lawa side appears to have been killed outright then and there, excepting Megh Singh, who attributes his own escape to the circumstance of his having had his turban fortunately tied like an Affghan.

Vide Native Doctor's evidence, Enclosure D.

24. "I am very sceptical as to the number of the casualties which are stated to have occurred on the Tonk side. One Mahomedan and six Hindoos are said to have been killed and nine Mahomedans wounded; of the latter, four were only scratched, reducing the number of those really hurt to five.

"The bodies of the six Hindoos in Tonk employ, stated to have fallen, are said to have been burnt next morning, so that the Political Agent was unable to ascertain beyond all doubt by seeing the corpses whether they ever had any real existence. There are grave doubts on this point. It is most extraordinary that all the six Hindoos should have been killed, whilst their Mahomedan comrades should have escaped with the proportion of one killed to five wounded. *These six Hindoos, too, appear to have been singularly friendless; no one even seems to know their homes, and there was no one even in Tonk of their own religion who would perform the last funeral rites,* for, according to the showing of the Tonk witnesses, their bodies were burnt by a Mahomedan, one Shabab Khan.

38. It is clear, as shown above, that a very large party accompanied the Thakoor; and the argument that two of the party were elderly and infirm, and unused to carry arms, as the Governor General's Agent says, though in effect it is well known all Rajpoots are accustomed to carry arms and to the use of them from childhood, is of no weight against the irresistible evidence we have as to the great strength of the party. As it is, *upon their own showing*, they were attacked unawares, their leader having been decoyed away with three attendants, yet they managed to kill the officer of the sepoys and severely wounded several others. The fact of there being no wounded men captured (save Megh Singh) is easily accounted for by the certainty that they would carry off their wounded. Besides we have evidence (Dhan Singh, No. 4) that another escaped, Byree Lall, who, in spite of a bullet wound in the thigh, ran all the way to Lawa by a circuitous route, the direct route being 20 miles from Tonk.

39. That the wounds of the Tonk sepoys were not slight is amply shown by the Report of the Native Doctor (Appendix C.), who 35 days after the affray, wrote to say that the four wounded men were only then just recovering, and their wounds had had to be sewn up, and the Political Agent says in paragraph 42 of his letter of the 26th August: "That very serious fighting did take place, there can be no question from the nature of the wounds received by some of the Tonk sepoys, several of whom had six or seven sword cuts; one, indeed, though twice brought to me to give evidence, was unable to speak, the whole of his face, nose, mouth, and chin, having been sliced off.* The Governor General's Agent in the face of this argues at paragraph 22, that the Thakoor could not have intended violence, because he took so weak a party. And it must be recollected that, besides these wounded, there was the Mahomedan officer, a relative of your petitioner, killed; one Hindoo sepoy killed, admitted by the Political Agent at paragraph 10, of his Second Report, dated 14th September, not to mention the six Hindoos, according to the Tonk version, killed outright.

40. The Political Agent was not on the spot till 15 days after the occurrence; it is therefore impossible he could have seen the bodies. The bodies of the Hindoos *were burnt in strict accordance with the custom at Tonk, by Mokundah, Sheonarain, and Gunput, Brahmins, whose regular occupation was that of burners of the dead,* and whose depositions are recorded in Captain Bruce's Second Report of the 14th September. No other course could have been taken. The bodies of Rewut Singh and Beejay Singh were not demanded by their relatives, but they were burnt apart in one spot; those of their followers, eight in number, in another spot; and the bodies of the six Hindoo

* This man has since died.

Colonel Eden's Letter. *Reply.*

Hindoo sepoys of the Tonk side, apart by themselves in another spot, and in the presence of the next of kin of some of the deceased. The deceased on the Tonk side were not the *friendless beings* the Governor General's Agent represents, for out of the six, the relatives of three were present, and recognized the deceased (*vide* depositions of Davi Singh, Sham Singh, and Buldeo Singh, in Captain Bruce's Second Report, 14th September), while the next of kin of the fourth, Duljee, gave his evidence as to the loss of his deceased son. The absence of the next of kin of the other two was satisfactorily accounted for (*vide* paragraph 7 of the Second Report), while their names and descriptive rolls were all duly entered in the muster rolls of the establishment, as appears in the same depositions, Captain Bruce having on the spot, *and without any previous notice*, sent for the book to examine it. And their female heirs prayed Captain Bruce to request the Nawab to fix pensions for them. The representation, therefore, by the Governor General's Agent in paragraph 24, is wholly contradicted by the best possible evidence that could be adduced in any like case. That the relatives of the deceased Tonk sepoys should be present, while those of the Lawa men were absent, is precisely what we might have expected. It is true that the next of kin of several of the Lawa killed did appear, but none of them saw the deceased, nor recognised the bodies.

25. * * * * *

I "entertain a very strong conviction that 16 Hindoos were killed, but instead of 10 belonging to Lawa and six to Tonk, the whole were of the Lawa party.

"On referring to the evidence of Dheerut Singh*, we find he gives the names of 15 persons as having accompanied Rewut Singh, and in a subsequent part of his deposition, he states, all except Megh Singh were slain. Here we can at once account for 15 Hindoo corpses, leaving a discrepancy of but one.

"But on turning to the evidence of Megh Singh †, the only surviving eye-witness on the part of Lawa, it will be observed that one Siree Lall ascended the fatal staircase, in Surwur Shah's house, together with Rewut Singh and Moona Lall, and this statement is repeated in the memorandum attached to the plan of the building.

26. "We may, therefore suppose that he too was slain. Siree Lall's name is, however, not amongst those mentioned by Thakoor Dheerut Singh; *probably it was an oversight:* and if, therefore, I am correct in this surmise, we have the full number of 16 corpses. I have telegraphed to Mr. Bruce to make enquiry on this point without delay; his answer may be received ere I close this Despatch: should it confirm my supposition, I need hardly add that more conclusive evidence against the statements put forward by Tonk could not possibly be forthcoming. It establishes that the whole of the Tonk eye-witnesses have perjured themselves, and that not a word of reliance can be placed on what has been urged by the Durbar.

27. "It will be observed that amongst the Tonk witnesses there are two individuals ‡, from whom, as being unconnected with Tonk, valuable information might be looked for. I refer to Girdharee, No. 19 and Roor, No. 20. They profess, on the casual acquaintance of one of the Lawa kamdars, to have accompanied Rewut Singh on the evening of his fatal visit to Surwur Shah's house. The kamdar no longer lives to disprove the statement, but it is extraordinary that neither of these witnesses can recognise, or be recognised by, any person attached to the

41. The Governor General's Agent makes up the number of Lawa men slain by adding Siree Lall to Rewut Singh's party of 16, according to Thakoor Dheerut Singh, out of whom one, Megh Singh, escaped, that is to say, by accepting every word spoken by the Lawa witnesses and rejecting all the Tonk evidence. But your petitioner has shown in paragraph 33, that the total names recorded by the Lawa witnesses as having accompanied Rewut Singh, amount to at least 19, because Dheerut Singh enumerated by name 16, Dhan Singh, No. 4, adds, three, Gobind Singh, Golaub Singh, and Byree Lall, and Megh Singh adds Siree Lall, in all 20, but including Buldeo and the other three syces and Girdharee, Roor, and Nanoo, who say they were there, in all 27 !

* *Vide* Evidence B., Witness No. I.

† *Vide* Enclosure B., Witness No. 8.

42. The Governor General's Agent rejects the evidence of Roor, Girdharee, and Nanoo, who *said they were present* because *no one recognised them.* But the fact that two only of the Lawa party, and not even those with whom he is said to have conversed and the Thakoor himself included, could recognise the chuprasee, Lutchmuna, is not held to invalidate the evidence as to the fact of Lutchmuna being sent to decoy the Thakoor's party to destruction. Surely a principle observed in one case ought to be held applicable in another. Another reason for

‡ *Vide* Enclosure C.

Colonel Eden's Letter.

Lawa Thakoor, although by their own showing they were at the Lawa Thakoor's house before starting with Rewut Singh. The improbability of their being asked by Purohit Lalljee to accompany Rewut Singh for no ostensible purpose is apparent, and the utter failure of Roor to prove the circumstances under which he met and made the Purohit's acquaintance, as recorded by the Political Agent at the foot of this witness's deposition, is sufficient to cause us to reject their testimony, nor must we overlook the fact that these two witnesses had been in confinement in the Tonk kotwalee, seemingly without any cause whatever, where doubtless threats and bribes were not wanting to secure their silence or co-operation.

Vide foot-note by Political Agent on Roor's deposition, No. 20 of Enclosure C.

29. "I now proceed to the reasons which have been assigned for despatching troops to Lawa and for surrounding the Thakoor's house at Tonk for some days. It seems unnecessary to do more than express my entire concurrence in the conclusions arrived at by the Political Agent, Harowtee, in his 32nd paragraph, and again in his 51st and 52nd paragraphs.

"There can be no doubt that the surrounding of the Thakoor's house and the despatch of troops to Lawa were part of a preconcerted plan.

Reply.

discrediting Roor, No. 20, is that he could not point out the tobacconist's shop or stall, where he said he purchased tobacco (*vide* deposition and Captain Bruce's note in his First Report dated 26th August, where he records that on sending a chuprasee with Roor to identify the shop, there was nothing of the kind to be seen).

It is stated that it was at a "fair" that this took place, and it is perfectly well known that it is the custom in India in all fairs for tobacconists and other dealers to erect temporary stalls for the sale of their commodities during the day, and when the fair is over they remove them. It is therefore not to be wondered at that no stall was found, but it would have been most extraordinary if it had been there.

43. The Governor General's Agent also, and without any grounds, boldly assumes that these men, *viz.*, Girdharee, Roor, and Nanoo, had been tampered with, because they had been in confinement in the Tonk kotwalee. But Megh Singh also had been in the Tonk kotwalee all the time, and if the three were bribed, surely it may be supposed the fourth would have been similarly dealt with, and if he was not, there is no ground for assuming the other three were.

44. The Governor General's Agent has again hastily adopted a conclusion unfavourable to Tonk, because it is obvious that, if your Petitioner had designed to capture the fort of Lawa, he would not have sent troops without guns. Gopal Singh, No. 15, is clear on this point that no guns were sent.

Mendhi Ally, the Naib Moonshee of the agency, states that, on the morning, the 2nd August, at Dotana, he heard guns, and that villagers told him of a force of 300 or 400 Wullyatees having been sent against Lawa; now, Dotana is to the north-east of Tonk, and Lawa is 20 miles to the west of it. If the villagers, therefore, did make such a statement, it must have been some vague report they had heard, and the movements of bodies of men are always much exaggerated by villagers in India, and if the Moonshee's story is true that he heard guns firing at Lawa, they must have been Lawa guns, because Gopal Singh the Thakoor in charge of the fort said there were none with the Tonk troops. Gopal Singh says, "if guns were brought on this occasion, they must have been left at Goordhunpoora," and the fact of your Petitioner not despatching any, shows that there were no preparations made to capture the place.

Bundee Ally, the compounder, states he saw elephants with ladders proceeding to Lawa, but does not mention guns.

Jawahur Lall, the Naib Moonshee, Harrowtee agency, in his letter dated 7th August, (*vide* Captain Bruce's First Report, dated 26th August), and who writes from Lawa, where he was sent to make inquiries, implies that the Tonk troops had no guns.

The story, therefore, of the predetermined design of capturing Lawa, is wholly unsupported.

45. The conclusion adopted by the Political Agent in his 52nd paragraph, 26th August, and endorsed by the Governor General's Agent in paragraph 29, is wholly at varience with the experience of other officers in India, who know that as a rule, it takes much less time to get native troops under way than it does British troops, with their elaborate commissariat and camp arrangements. This is patent to every one who has ever seen or heard anything of Indian campaigning. Besides which, if Byree Lall, with a bullet wound in the thigh, could yet reach Lawa during the night by a circuitous route, is there anything extraordinary in the statement, that the Tonk sepoys marching by the direct route, could reach it during the night? Moreover, it is a mistake to say that troops were despatched in the sense of a military expedition; only as many armed men as could be collected on the spur of the moment, were sent after the fugitives.

Colonel Eden's Letter.

31. "I would now advert to the evidence on the part of Lawa. We have first cordial invitations from Surwur Shah* to Thakoor Dheerut Singh to visit Tonk, which the Thakoor complied with, reaching Tonk on the 29th July. On or about the 31st, Rewut Singh, uncle and manager of the young Thakoor, visits Surwur Shah, and returns home well pleased, informing him that their grievances are to be settled. On the evening of the 1st August, a messenger comes from Surwur Shah to the Thakoor, saying that, as the Nawab† was about to start for Seronje, the Thakoor would be presented with a khillut the following day, and requesting the immediate attendance of the Thakoor at the Hakeem's house, in order that suitable arrangements might be made. Dheerut Singh at once deputes his uncle, Rewut Singh, his cousin, Beejey Singh, with his kamdars and some attendants, whilst at the same time Beejey Lall, one of the kamdars, proceeds to a banker's house to obtain money for a suitable "nuzzur."‡ Of the party started for Hakeem Surwur Shah's house, there is but one witness living to tell the tale.

"On arriving at the gate the party was challenged by a sentry, who remarked that the hour was an unusual one for a visit,§ but goes to announce them, whilst they themselves sit down and await his return.

"He returns and conducts Rewut Singh, Beejey Singh, and two kamdars up a staircase, the attendants remaining below; after an interval of about half an hour, they were suddenly set upon and cut down by a number of Wullaitees, all being slain outright but the deponent Megh Singh.

"The noise of firing had no sooner reached the ears of Dheerut Singh, and those who had stopped with him,‖ than they found the house in which they were residing, the doors of which they had promptly closed, fearing treachery, surrounded by troops, demanding them to yield, and early next morning a considerable body of Tonk troops appeared before Lawa, and kept up a little desultory fighting for two days before they were recalled.

34. "His Excellency in Council will not fail to observe that the Nawab's own uncle and his own brother secretly admitted to Mr. Bruce the truth of the conclusion arrived at; they only endeavoured to palliate¶ the conduct of the Nawab and Hakeem Surwur Shah in so far that they deny there was any intention of butchering Rewut Singh and those who accompanied him, and declare that the arrest of the party was all that was desired; that through failure or bungling in execution such deplorable results ensued.

Reply.

46. The statement that Rewut Singh returned pleased from the interview with the Hakeem, as here relied upon, is wholly opposed to two things, 1st, to the fact related by Gopal Singh, Thakoor at Lawa, that a *chumar* arrived there on the evening of the 1st, whose statement was corroborated by another messenger on the 2nd, who "left prior to the affray," to the effect that sentries were placed over the Thakoor's house in the city, and that the aspect of affairs was "not encouraging;" and 2ndly, to the fact that, when firing was first heard, Dheerut Singh said at once—"It looks like treachery; arrange for our defence quickly" (*vide* Dhan Singh, No. 4). Witnesses Nos. 5 and 7 also say that, on hearing the firing, they prepared for defence and closed the door.

47. Your Petitioner deprecates most strongly weight being given to statements made by his relatives. His uncle, Ibadoolla Khan, had been displaced from his office for embezzlement and oppression by your Petitioner, and the villages he had seized and forfeited. The "own brother" here alluded to is Obedoolla Khan, your Petitioner's brother by another mother, who was dismissed from his office of Naib eight months previous to the occurrence for misconduct: he complained against the dismissal to Captain Bruce, who himself gave the letter to your Petitioner; the letter of complaint ought to be now in the office of the Tonk Durbar, and if it has been made away with, the facts are perfectly well known in Tonk. Another brother, Abdoolla Khan, since deceased, claimed the throne on the demise of your Petitioner's father, Wuzeeroodowla, and the papers relating to this case are all in the Agent's office, or that of the Tonk Durbar. The statements, therefore, of many of your Petitioner's relatives are the very last that should have been attended to. These are the very people who have benefitted by your Petitioner's misfortune, and the designs of Ibadoollah Khan are patent from the means he has used to persuade the Governor General's Agent to place him at the head of the regency, and to represent your Petitioner's eldest son as a minor, whereas he is 22 years of age, and fully competent to manage his own affairs, notwithstanding which, he is kept in a state of pupilage. In addition to which the statements of these people are a repetition of vague reports and mere idle tales, which are accepted only when they are unfavourable to your Petitioner. The hypocritical attempts of these men to "palliate," as the Agent says, the conduct of Surwur Shah and your Petitioner, are easily seen to be nothing but the result of deep design and self-interested motives to ensure his ruin by poisoning the ear of the Agent with false estimates of your Petitioner's character.

* *Vide* Enclosure A.

† *Vide* Evidence of Dheerut Singh and others.

‡ *Vide* Enclosure B. Witness No. 3.

§ *Vide* Evidence of Megh Singh, Enclosure B. Witness No. 8.

‖ *Vide* Evidence of Dheerut Singh, Pope Singh, and others. *Vide* Evidence of Gopal Singh, also Mendhi Ally. *Vide* Enclosure B., Witness No. 15, and Enclosure E.

¶ *Vide* Paragraphs 57, 58, 59, and 60 of Political Agent's Report.

Colonel Eden's Letter.

35. "The Political Agent, leaning chiefly on what he heard from native gentlemen at Tonk, has accepted this view of the case, though he considers Surwur Shah must be held answerable for the wanton sacrifice of life that occurred, since he failed to take such precautionary steps for effecting the arrest of the party as the peculiar circumstances of the cases demanded; it being almost a matter of certainty that without due precautions bloodshed would assuredly ensue.

Vide Paragraphs 72, 73, and 74 of Political Agent's Report.

38. "Again, the circumstances of the massacre, as detailed by Megh Singh, preclude us from believing that anything short of wholesale butchery was intended. The party were not summoned to surrender, or directed to throw down their arms, or even overawed by superior force, but they were suddenly set upon and cut down without any warning whatever. Further, had Golab Khan and his Wullyatees received orders to arrest, not to massacre, the party, and admitting that the Rajpoots fought to a man rather than be captured, I look upon it as a matter of certainty that some few whilst cut down, and placed *hors de combat*, would have survived the conflict a few hours; all were, however, killed outright, but Megh Singh, and his escape I attribute to providential good fortune, rather than to the mercy of his assailants; probably he was not observed as being alive until the noise of the disturbance drew people to the locality, when to have killed him in cold blood would certainly have been noticed, and would have upset the story put forward by the Tonk Durbar.

39. "In short, it appears to me that, whilst there is no evidence whatever to support the conclusion that a massacre was not intended, there is very strong reason to believe it was, and I am of opinion that Captain Roberts in his demi-official letter of the 9th ultimo, submitted to Government on the 14th idem, correctly estimated the causes and arguments which induced the perpetration of so foul an outrage on humanity.

40.—"Thakoor Deerut Singh is young, weak, and inexperienced, and has been entirely guided by his uncle, Rewut Singh, a stout old soldier, who was until 1865 employed in the Ulwar State as commander of abody of cavalry; when, however, the Nawab threatened his nephew, the head of the family, he resigned the Ulwur service and proceeded to Lawa, where he has been the most vigorous and able advocate in support of the young Thakoor's rights; I believe, therefore, that the Tonk Durbar trusted, by cutting him off, together with Beejey Singh and the Lawa kamdars, to sweep all those of sufficient weight and influence to offer any opposition.

Reply.

48. Captain Bruce in paragraphs 59 to 62 of his letter of 26th August records a mass of vague reports and hearsay evidence, upon which the Governor General's Agent relies. Of the authorities quoted by Captain Bruce, one, the Agent of the banking house of Muthra, was defeated in a claim for a lakh of rupees he raised against your Petitioner, and your Petitioner was forced to take measures of severity against the firm on account of their dishonest conduct, and therefore this witness, who only repeats vague reports, is ill-disposed towards him. Another, Zhor Ally, was dismissed by your Petitioner for fraud, and for assisting the rebels in 1857, and other offences, and yet he is relied upon as a gentleman of respectability! And Zhor Ally's son, Mahomed Naeem, was punished severely by your Petitioner for theft of stamps, and forgery and embezzlement in 1866. And the Lawa Chief and his family have for generations past been heavily indebted to the Muthra firm.

49. The Governor General's Agent here starts with assuming the whole case against your Petitioner. There was no reason why the Rajpoots should have been called on to surrender or lay down their arms, because they were the attacking party. It was *they* who attempted to take your Petitioner's people by surprise, and give no quarter, but they were happily overpowered, otherwise there is no doubt they would have slain every one in the place.

50. The Governor General's Agent looks upon it as a "matter of certainty" that there must have been some wounded survivors, and beyond a doubt he is correct in this conclusion, and therefore it is clear that your Petitioner's explanation is the true one, *viz.*, that they carried off their wounded, except Megh Singh, who says he *offered no resistance and ran away directly, and was subsequently* captured. The theory set up by the Governor General's Agent is totally contradicted by Megh Singh's own statement, which the Agent *could scarcely have read*, as he (Megh Singh) says he ran away and was "caught on the road," when, if the Tonk people had been very anxious to leave no surviving witness, it is quite certain they might very easily have killed him.

51. That four men should have ascended a staircase, leaving Megh Singh and some ten or more seated below; that after half an hour, no sound having reached the ears of those below to lead them to suppose there was anything amiss up-stairs, they should have been set upon suddenly by a number of men who tried to kill them, is altogether such an utterly improbable story, that it ought to be at once rejected, unless supported by the strongest evidence. It is contrary to all experience of human nature, and to the instincts of the races concerned, and not to be accounted for by any possible motive. There was no call for aid from the Thakoor, no suspicion that he was in jeopardy, nothing to arouse the passions! What was to be gained by slaughtering these men?

Again, whose assassination is it your Petitioner is accused of designing? The Governor General's Agent says Rewut Singh's, and at paragraph 40 of his report he enters into various

Colonel Eden's Letter. *Reply.*

various reasons why your Petitioner should have desired the death of Rewut Singh. But the messenger was sent to summon Dheerut Singh, as Dheerut Singh himself says; could your Petitioner certainly know that though Dheerut Singh was summoned, Rewut Singh would go?

Again, if your Petitioner's design was directed against the life or liberty of Rewut Singh, why should the letter of invitation sent to Lawa not have been confined to Rewut Singh, and especially when Dheerut Singh postponed his journey for several days owing to sickness, and every excuse was thereby offered for inducing Rewut Singh to come in his place? Would not your Petitioner have availed himself of it, and solicited Rewut Singh's attendance (*vide* paragraphs 21, 31, and 33 of Colonel Eden's letter)?

Again, if it be endeavoured to show that the design were to seize the person of Rewut Singh owing to his being, as it is stated, the mainstay and support of his nephew, the Thakoor Deerut Singh, while the fort was captured, there is the same question to be answered; could your Petitioner certainly know that though one was summoned the other would go? Moreover, the Thakoor Dheerut Singh is not by any means the inexperienced youth he is represented. He is upwards of 30 years of age, active, intelligent, and well able to look after his own affairs; but the theory is so ill-supported by the evidence, that it is not worthy of attention; for a compounder is brought forward to state that he saw elephants and scaling ladders going with the Tonk troops! Your Petitioner ventures to assert that, in the experience of the oldest political officer in Rajpootana, no one ever heard of a force being sent against a force without guns. The story of the compounder about elephants and ladders is just such a tale as a man ill-informed on such matters would make up. Is scaling the walls of fortresses (and the Lawa fort, be it recollected, was strong enough to resist a regular siege of many months in 1865–66), so common in Rajpoot warfare, that scaling ladders would have been part of the equipment of an army proceeding against it, and not guns?

Some stress has been laid upon Captain Roberts's report in paragraph 27, Captain Bruce's letter, 26th August, and in paragraph 15 of letter from the Government of India, No. 148, 23rd September 1867, but Captain Roberts was at Tonk on his way through for a few hours in the evening only; he made no investigation, and the information he picked up was from vague reports sedulously circulated by your Petitioner's enemies, and the designing men who conspired against him to blacken his character, and to seize his throne.

And at paragraph 15 of the letter from the Government of India, No. 148, 23rd September 1867, it is stated that Captain Roberts, writing from Tonk a little more than a week after the event, states that at first he held your Petitioner blameless, but afterwards changed his mind. There is no reason alleged for this change of opinion, but it is known that Captain Roberts was then on his way to Jeypore and Ulwur, and it is more than probable that he changed his mind in consequence of influence exercised upon him by the chiefs, who, being Hindoos and Rajpoots, were all disposed to favour the Lawa Thakoor.

42.—"The author and prime mover in this tragedy has been undoubtedly Hakeem Surwur Shah; from the first he has been the instigator of the Nawab in his uncalled-for action against Lawa.

"He is notoriously a bad and wicked man,* and his attempts to prove he was ill during the night of the massacre by suborning the native doctor, only further tend to establish his connection with the crime.

52. Now your Petitioner begs particular attention to the evidence of Bheekoo Singh, the native doctor, who is represented as one of the principal witnesses against your Petitioner, from his reputed respectability and assumed impartiality. All that he states regarding the affray is mere hearsay; but it will be observed that he deposed that an attempt was made to suborn him, that he produced certain perwannas or written orders from your Petitioner which he said were brought to him after the affray, but antedated, and that he was solicited to state that he had attended the Hakeem Surwur Shah, but would not tell an untruth, &c. (*vide* his deposition). To show how false this statement is, your Petitioner appends (Appendix D.), a letter from Bheekoo Singh, in original, with a translation, dated 28th July, which shows that *he had then visited the Hakeem* three times, that he thought him seriously ill, but could do little, because he, the Hakeem, would not follow his advice. It was in answer to this letter that the perwanna which he said was antedated, and which he adds he was solicited fraudulently to produce, was written, and a copy of that perwanna is annexed with a translation (Appendix E.). And lest it should be said that this letter is not genuine, three other letters of Bheekoo Singh are annexed, taken at random out of a large number which your Petitioner had at various times received from him, so that the signature may be compared (Appendix F.). And to show further how

* *Vide* Native Doctor's evidence, also of Political Agent's Report.

Colonel Eden's Letter. *Reply.*

how all the subordinates of the Political Agent's offices are in league against your Petitioner, Captain Bruce, in his paragraph 65 of his letter, dated 26th August, states that these perwannas had been made over to him, "but had been abstracted somehow from his bundle of papers." They were abstracted, there can be no sort of doubt, by Bheekoo Singh, aided by the subordinates of the office, who had found out that your Petitioner had the means of exposing his falsehood by the production of the letter (Appendix D.).

Fortunately, and it is strange how little fortuitous circumstances sometimes aid the cause of justice and innocence, Captain Bruce adds that the abstraction of the papers was of little consequence, "as he had mastered their purport, and there was little harm done."

Bheekoo Singh therefore not only has given false evidence, but has been guilty of bringing a false and very serious charge against your Petitioner's officers; he has taken advantage of his position and of his influence as a man of education, of the favour of his superior officers, to poison their minds with falsehoods against your Petitioner. His subordinate, the compounder, is a willing tool in his hands, and the exposure of this fraud ought to show the character of the evidence which has been adduced against your Petitioner,

Beekhoo Singh describes the events most particularly. If Megh Singh, as stated, was the only survivor, and he was in confinement, from whom did Bheekoo learn all the particulars?

53. It is thus shown that Bheekoo Singh, native doctor, was in the plot against your Petitioner, and his officiousness in going unsolicited to Captain Bruce (*vide* that officers note to his deposition) is a further proof of his inimical disposition towards your Petitioner, and of the use which the conspirators thought to make of his position and influence with the officials.

It will not be overlooked that, unfavourably disposed as is Bheekoo Singh and his subordinate, the compounder, to your Petitioner, yet the latter states (so far as anything stated by them after this exposure is worthy of attention) that the conflict was in the street.

43. "It is somewhat difficult to determine how far the Nawab has been implicated in this disgraceful affair. If he were weak and indolent, it might be imagined that the treacherous plot was concocted without his connivance and wish; but he is, on the contrary, the most vigorous ruler in Rajpootana, and jealous of the power of his ministers. Surwur Shah has certainly great influence over him, but I feel convinced the Hakeem would never have attempted to carry out the plot without the consent and approval of his master; and we may further rest satisfied that this deed of blood would never have been committed unless all the actors had been assured of their chief's tacit consent, and were promised his full support whatever happened. The Nawab's subsequent conduct and action fully support this belief; not the slightest regret has been expressed for what occurred, but, on the contrary, witnesses have been suborned and false statements set forth, and Surwur Shah and his myrmidons backed to the fullest extent.

"The Nawab's connivance in the scheme to entrap the Lawa party by treachery has been admitted by his nearest relations, and is fully borne out by the evidence; and the mind that can approve of one kind of foul play has not far to step when acceding to another.

54. The statement that your Petitioner felt no regret for the fearful occurrence is calculated to lower him in the opinion of all right-thinking men, but the imputation is most undeserved, and shows how ready the Governor General's Agent was to adopt any conclusion unfavourable to your Petitioner, for Captain Bruce, at paragraph 3 of his letter, 26th August, states that your Petitioner "expressed deep regret for what had occurred, and assured me (Captain Bruce) he would abide by my advice, &c." Moreover, your Petitioner had taken all the steps he could to apprehend and punish those concerned in the affray, but when Captain Bruce came and took up the matter, he, of course, left all in his hands.

Your Petitioner has plainly shown, in the matter of Bheekoo Singh, that so far from suborned evidence being set forth by him, the very contrary is the case, and the assertion that the whole tragedy was the result of a plot on his part rests on nothing but bare assumption, and the statement of certain members of your Petitioner's family, who were actuated by the basest designs and the most self-interested motives.

51. "However marked our action may be in this case, we shall receive the full approval of public feeling in Rajpootana. The news of the massacre sent a thrill of horror throughout these States, and the deed is compared to the diabolical tragedy perpetrated by the Nawab of Tonk's grandfather, the freebooter Ameer Khan, at Nagon, in A. D. 1808, when the Maharaja of Jeypore

Vide page 149, vol. 2, Tod's Rajasthan.

55. In this paragraph the Governor General's Agent has recorded an event which did not occur, viz., the murder of the Maharaja of Jeypore, but this being altogether foreign to the present case, your Petitioner only alludes to it to show how even facts which never took place are adduced to strengthen the case, and raise ill-feeling against your Petitioner.

56. The

Colonel Eden's Letter.

and many nobles were treacherously butcheted.

Reply.

56. The Governor General's Agent remarks, and his Excellency the Governor General in Council endorses the remark, that the punishment meted out to your Petitioner will have a wholesome effect, and be warmly approved throughout Rajpootana. But, in effect, however the chiefs and princes may disguise their real feelings, the occurrence has filled them with dismay and distrust, for there is not a reigning chief in Rajpootana, or throughout India generally, whom the story of your Petitioner's fall has reached, but feels that his throne and his liberty are at the mercy of any cabal about the Court, who may easily gain over the subordinates about the Agency, and then get up an affray in the precincts of the Palace or the Court, when loss of life will ensue, and then, by means of tutored witnesses and other arts well known to political intriguers, the guilt will be laid at the door of the reigning chief, as the guilt has in this case been at your Petitioner's.

57. Your Petitioner will only further allude to paragraphs 63 to 66 of Captain Bruce's letter of the 26th August, by which it is clear how much influence the statement of Bheekoo Singh, the native doctor and the compounder, had upon the mind of the Political Agent and the Governor General's Agent, and your Petitioner submits, that in a case of this kind private examinations and private interviews ought as much as possible to have been avoided, as being unjust to him.

58. The connection between your Petitioner and the commission of the alleged crime rests upon two presumptions: 1st, that the slaughter was the premeditated act of Hakeem Surwur Shah, carried out in pursuance of a plot; and 2nd, that he, Hakeem Surwur Shah, was acting under instructions from your Petitioner; and neither the one nor the other conclusion is supported by any trustworthy evidence.

59. Admitting, for the sake of argument, the guilt of the Hakeem Surwuh Shah, to make your Petitioner responsible for the crime of a subordinate officer is to act on a principle hitherto unknown and unrecognised in any civilised country in the world.

60. And, not content with misrepresenting your Petitioner's conduct and motives in this affair, his enemies, the further to bring him into discredit with the British Government and the public, circulated reports and statements which induced the British Government to set troops in motion against his capital,—a movement so utterly uncalled for as to excite the astonishment of all who witnessed it. Your Petitioner promptly obeyed the summons to leave his capital, and surrendered himself at Deolee many days prior to the date fixed. And when his son, whose hereditary rights have been considerably curtailed owing to his father's supposed guilt, who, though 22 years of age, is still strangely treated as a minor, alarmed at the reports which were abroad, fled to your Petitioner's camp *en route* to Benares, your Petitioner at once advised him to return, and to rely on the favour and protection of the Agent.

61. To show how active and fertile in resources are your Petitioner's enemies, your Petitioner draws attention to the report made by Captain Bruce in his letter, 26th August, as to the condition in which he found the premises where the tragedy is said to have occurred. "I could discover no marks of conflict on the walls, either in the inner enclosure or the outer, *but ample time had been given to remove or renovate all such traces.*"

It does not appear conclusively from this whether the Political Agent means to say he inspected the upper room, where the slaughter of the Thakoors and his three attendants is said to have taken place. If he did not, it is to be presumed he did not consider it necessary to do so, and whatever conclusion may be drawn from that, your Petitioner is entitled to it, for the absence of proof is always in favour of an accused person. But your Petitioner, who has been kept informed by private letters of all that has transpired in Tonk since his departure, has heard that two or three persons attached to the present Regency, and parties to the cabal against him, shut themselves up in the room where the assassination is said to have taken place, and, by means of firing pistols against the walls, hacking them with their swords, and sprinkling blood on the floor, have succeeded in imparting such an appearance to the place as would suggest the commission there of some tragedy, and that, after having thus prepared the place, it was inspected by British officers.

But 15 days had elapsed before Captain Bruce visited the place, and that was ample time for all traces to be removed, if there had been any traces which it was an object to conceal; nor is it at all probable that if such a crime had been committed the originators and instigators of it would not have taken the very simple step of removing all such traces. Should the apartment therefore be in the condition which it has been represented to be to your Petitioner, it will go a long way to show the depth of design and malignity with which your Petitioner's enemies have compassed his ruin and their own temporary triumph.

62. Your Petitioner next begs attention to Appendix G., which is a letter from Captain Bruce, political agent, to your petitioner, dated 5th August, and refers to a petition which had been sent to him from Tonk or Lawa by one of the Lawa followers, who professes to have accompanied the Thakoor and to describe minutely what occurred. The writer

professes to have been the *only survivor* of the party. But according to Lawa, Megh Singh was the only survivor. But Megh Singh was captured on the night of the affray, and kept in confinement till investigation. If Megh Singh was the informant, it will be seen that he gave a different account of the affair at two different times. If the informant was not Megh Singh, who was he? for Megh Singh was said to be the only survivor. From the letter of Captain Bruce repeating the contents of the letter relating the circumstances to him, it will be clear to any impartial mind that the narrator was relating facts, of which he could not have been cognisant according to his own account, and the letter goes very far to show that the outlines of the story were made up and communicated immediately to Captain Bruce, in order to make the first impression on his mind favourable towards Lawa.

The most implicit confidence has been placed on the evidence of Megh Singh, "the only survivor;" yet here is another "only survivor" writing so shortly after the event that his letter was received by Captain Bruce on the 5th August, giving an account irreconcilable with that of Megh Singh!

63. In the letter from the Government of India to the address of Her Majesty's Secretary of State, No. 148, dated Simla, 23rd September 1867, it is stated at paragraph 9 that "desultory firing was kept up between the troops and the (Lawa) Chief's followers for two days" in Tonk. Your Petitioner is unaware how this error could have crept into the report, for there is nothing to substantiate it on the record, nor did the occurrence take place.

64. Your Petitioner at paragraph 8, has alluded to the extraordinary circumstance that Colonel Eden, at a distance, with nothing to go upon beyond the evidence collected by Captain Bruce, and that officer's report, nevertheless adopts conclusions at variance with those of Captain Bruce. The report of Captain Bruce was not transmitted with the letters of the Government of India, 23rd September 1867, No. 148, but your Petitioner begs attention to paragraphs 72, 74, and 82 of that letter in which Captain Bruce concludes that Surwur Shah, and not your Petitioner, ought to be held responsible for what occurred, and at paragraphs 48 and 81, he acquits your Petitioner of any murderous design, and at paragraphs 77 and 78, he states what should have exonerated your Petitioner, showing that the unruly Walayates were under the control of Surwar Shah, and not your Petitioner.

65. Your Petitioner is well aware that so terrible a crime as that imputed to him, had he really been guilty of it, is one which the British Government would be bound to take notice of in the interests of the Princes and people of British India; but in deposing your Petitioner from his throne upon a presumption of his complicity with an alleged crime, is, your Petitioner would urge, a breach of the treaty ratified between the British Government and your Petitioner's ancestors, in common with other independent sovereigns of Rajpootana, and of the provisions of the proclamation under Lord Amherst, dated 10th January 1825, paragraphs IV., XIV. (Appendix H.), and opposed to the Circular Letter of Lord Ellenborough, 26th April 1842, and contrary to the terms of the provisions of the letter of Lord Elgin to your Petitioner, dated 28th January 1862, in which loyalty to the British Government is the only condition alluded to upon which your Petitioner's throne and independence is secured to him.

Your Petitioner does not urge these treaties and provisions as justifying the commission of a crime abhorred in the sight of God and man, of which he has been so unjustly accused, but to show that your Petitioner, innocent as he is of the charge of which he is accused, has, contrary to treaty and many repeated promises, all ratified by Her Majesty's Proclamation of the 1st November 1858, been deposed.

66. And although the general administration of your Petitioner's Government is a matter apart from his guilt or innocence of the crime of which he is accused, yet as so many attempts have been made to blacken your Petitioner's character as a ruler, and to bring him into disrepute with the Government, your Petitioner, in conclusion, begs to annex a very brief statement of some of those measures which he has carried out in his territories. Your Petitioner, on succeeding to the throne, found the state in debt about 200,000*l*. He immediately introduced measures of economy, paid off the debt, provided for the regular payment of the troops, constructed wells, tanks, roads, and other public works that conduced to the welfare of the people, and increased the revenues; he opened a market at Allygunge, in the time of famine, and by low rents populated it; he established charitable dispensaries, village schools, and libraries; he established efficient police, and put down highway robbery; he introduced a good administration of law, and used to hold office himself once a week to hear complaints and check abuses, and effected many other improvements, so that the fame of his administration attracted many thousands to settle in his territories.

67. In conclusion, your Petitioner earnestly hopes that a careful consideration will be accorded to this appeal. He regrets that it has been necessary to enter so much into detail, but a deep and dangerous plot in which so many are concerned in concealing the truth, and within whose meshes even the highest officials have become unwittingly involved, is not easily, though your Petitioner trusts it is now effectually, unravelled. Such plots are common in the past History of India, and many innocent men besides your Petitioner have fallen victims to them. But your Petitioner confidently relies upon that love of justice which distinguishes the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty, and would urge that, if it be supposed that a reversal of the sentence passed upon him is calculated to weaken

the

the hands of the Executive, it should be recollected that nothing can more strengthen the attachment of the princes and people of India to Her Majesty's throne than an indication that an appeal for justice is never uttered in vain.

68. Many of your Petitioner's relatives of his late officers and principal subjects drew up a petition praying for an inquiry into the charges made against him, and forwarded it to the Governor General's Agent, Colonel Keatinge, v.c., for transmission to the Government of India and Her Majesty's Secretary of State in February 1868, but the Governor General's Agent refused to forward it. This petition is annexed in original (Appendix K.), in order that Her Majesty's Government may see that the belief in your Petitioner's guilt was not by any means general in Tonk, as has been represented among those who had the best opportunities of forming an opinion, who would not have signed a petition praying for his restoration had they not known your Petitioner was innocent of the crime imputed to him.

69. Out of the six Tonk Hindoo sepoys killed, the next of kin of four have already recorded their evidence. There were two whose next of kin at the time of the investigation could not be traced. Of these two, your Petitioner has just heard, since the appeal was put in the printer's hands, that one has been found, the next of kin of Shewlall, as appears from a letter from Captain Bruce, Appendix I., although Captain Bruce did not consider it worth while to examine him, having, as he said, then closed the case. The only remaining one, the sixth Hindoo Tonk sepoy, was entered in the books as belonging to Oude merely, and the entry was not explicit enough to enable your Petitioner to trace him.

70. Your Petitioner having applied for permission to repair to England to prefer this appeal in person, and having been refused, prays that the advocate whom he has authorised to urge it for him may be recognised as his counsel and representative, and if it shall be found, as your Petitioner believes it will be when his defence has been heard, that he has been hastily convicted of a crime he never committed, the sentence passed upon him may be annulled, and that he may be restored to his former position, and the order for the dismemberment of his territory and the reduction of the salutes reversed.

And your Petitioner will ever pray.

APPENDIX.

List of Documents and Translations forwarded herewith.

(A.)—Letter from the Government of India, dated Lucknow, 14th November 1867, intimating to the Nawab that he was deposed.

(B.)—Letter and translation from the Governor General's Agent, dated 12th August 1867, intimating the dismissal of the Tonk Vakeel from the Agency.

(C.)—Letter and translation from Bheekoo Singh, native doctor, relating to the treatment of the wounded Tonk sepoys.

(D.)—Letter and translation from Bheekoo Singh, native doctor, dated 28th July 1867, intimating the illness of Hakeem Surwur Shah.

(E.)—Copy of written order and translation from the Nawab to Bheekoo Singh, native doctor, directing him to attend professionally Hakeem Surwur Shah, to which (D) is the reply.

(F.)—Letters in original from Bheekoo Singh, native doctor, to the address of the Nawab, filed in order to allow of the native doctor's signature being compared with that to letter D.

(G.)—Letter and translation from Captain Bruce, dated 5th August 1867, to the Nawab, intimating that the affray had been reported to him by one styling himself "the sole survivor."

(H.)—Translation of extracts from a proclamation dated 10th January 1825, from Lord Amherst, to the independent Chiefs of Rajpootana.

(I.)—Letter from Captain Bruce, to the Tonk Vakeel, intimating that as the next of kin of Shewlall, one of the six Hindoos slain on the Tonk side, was present, he was to be sent to him.

(K.)—Petition in original with the seals and signatures of certain persons, the relatives, late officers, and principal subjects of the deposed Nawab on his behalf, filed for the purpose of showing the signatures, a list of which is attached.

(A.)

Dated 14th November 1867.

From Viceroy and Governor General of India (demi-official) to His Highness the Nawab of Tonk.

I HAVE received your communications regarding the murder of the uncle of the Lawa Chief and a party of his followers.

It is with pain that I have come to the conclusion that this atrocity could not have been perpetrated without your Highness's knowledge, and, indeed, without your Highness's direct instigation.

It would not consist with the obligations and duties of the British Government towards Rajusthan at large, and towards Tonk in particular, to permit your Highness to retain the reins of Government after the stigma of so heinous a crime had attached itself to your name.

The Governor General in Council has accordingly resolved to depose you from the Government of Tonk, as the only adequate punishment for your offence, and to separate the Chiefship of Lawa now and for ever from the State of Tonk.

Your Highness's son will be proclaimed Nawab in your Highness's stead, and arrangements will be made for the administration of the country during his minority.

Your Highness will for the future reside at Benares, and my Agent will make arrangements with the Tonk State for supplying your Highness and such members of your family as your Highness may desire to accompany you with the means of a suitable maintenance.

(B.)

TRANSLATION of a Khureeta (Letter) from Colonel *Eden*, Agent to Governor General for the States of Rajpootana, to Nawab Mahomed *Ally Khan*, Nawab of Tonk, dated 12th August 1867.

I HAVE received your Khureeta of the 6th Rubee-ool-sanee (corresponding to 7th August 1867), regarding the affray in which Thakoor Reewut Singh, Beejay Singh with others met their death in the Tonk capital. In reply, I am to inform you that I am much distressed at this occurrence, and therefore I have dismissed your Vakeel, who was in attendance in the agency, until the particulars be ascertained. Captain Bruce, the Political Agent of Harrowtee, has been directed to investigate the case.

(C.)

Dated 5th September 1867.

From *Bheekoo Singh*, Native Doctor, Mohamadabad, to his Highness the Nawab of Tonk.

I MOST respectfully beg to inform your Highness that (through the mercy of God) four of the wounded persons have been cured, but they are very weak and reduced, therefore your Highness should permit them a week's leave to proceed to their homes and apply oil to their limbs.

The other five wounded persons are still under treatment, and I hope they will also soon recover. I need say no more.

List of the four wounded sepoys who have recovered their health is as follows :—

1. Ally Bahadoor Khan.
2. Mouladad Khan.
3. Mahomed Sayud Khan.
4. Mahomed Jaun Khan.

(D.)

Translation of a Letter from *Bheekoo Singh*, Native Doctor of Tonk Dispensary, to the Address of the Nawab, dated 28th July 1867.

ON receipt of your Highness's Purwannah, dated 21st Rubee-ool-awul, 1284 Hijree, corresponding to 24th July 1867, and the verbal messages sent by a chobdar to me to see the Hakeem, I went three times to Hakeem Surwur Shah and saw that his disease was without doubt serious: he is satisfied with the treatment of native physicians, and he has no confidence in my treatment, therefore I treated him with very little attention, and could not treat him as was necessary, because, unless a patient has confidence in the treatment of a doctor, how can he treat him as required.

(E.)

Translation of a Purwannah from the Nawab of Tonk, to the address of *Bheekoo Singh*, Native Doctor, dated 21st Rubee-ool-awul 1284, corresponding to 24th July 1867.

PRIOR to this a Purwannah was sent to you directing you to undertake the medical treatment of Hakeem Surwur Shah, who is seriously ill with the disease of paralysis, and cannot be cured by native physicians, therefore you are again directed to treat him to the best of your knowledge according to the English treatment, and further to visit him once every day.

(G.)

Translation of a Khureeta from Captain *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent, Harowtee, to Nawab *Mahomed Ally Khan*, Nawab of Tonk, dated 5th August 1867.

To-day I received a petition sent by one of the Lawa Thakoor's attendants, from the contents of which it appears that you had summoned the Thakoor of Lawa to Tonk for a settlement, and that he went accordingly. That Hakeem Surwur Shah invited him on the 1st August to his quarters with his attendants. That the Thakoor himself with a few followers remained in the house where he lodged, and that Thakoor Reewut Singh, the uncle of the Thakoor, with some followers went to the Hakeem's house. The Hakeem invited Reewut Singh alone to an upper story, while the others remained below in the kutchery. The Hakeem said some words in the Pushtoo language to the Wullaitee Pathans, upon which they killed Reewut Singh. To assassinate the others, the Hakeem had assembled about 400 Wullaitees—the sepoys discharged a volley and killed the attendants, amongst whom only the writer of this escaped. The house in which the Thakoor lodges has been surrounded by a regiment of cavalry and one of infantry. He is now in confinement, food and water disallowed, and he has been called on to surrender his arms. The Thakoor Dheerut Singh is the only Thakoor who has escaped, and he also is in danger of his life. Troops with guns and munitions of war for capturing Lawa have also been sent. In short, having invited the Thakoor to the Tonk capital, he used violence against him

On receiving the above information I became very sorry, and I have to inform you that I shall report this to superior authority.

(H.)

Extract from a Letter from His Excellency the Governor General of India, Lord *Amherst*, to the Chiefs of Rajpootana, dated 10th January 1825. Letter No. 28.—Central India Treaties.

Paragraph 4.—If any jageerdar should be guilty of rebellion or treason, or should resist your authority, or die without heirs, you are at liberty to confiscate his jageers. The British Government will maintain your rank and dignity as it was maintained in former times. It will attend to any of your representations, and will decide equitably upon them; you shall in no respect suffer injury.

Paragraph 14.—As long as you may continue in friendship with the British Government, there will be no interruption to you and to your heirs from generation to generation, and a grant to this effect, confirmed by the Supreme Government, will be delivered to you, which will be renewed at every succession to your estate when required. Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement thus made to you as long as your house is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the Treaties, Grants, or Engagements which record its obligations to the British Government.

(I.)

Memorandum, dated 11th October 1867.

From Captain *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent, Harowtee, to *Syed Fuzal Hosein*, Vakeel of Tonk.

Your report, informing me that from among the Tonk people killed in the Lawa affray, the next of kin of Shewlall killed on the Tonk side has presented himself at Tonk, and, if directed, will be produced; you are accordingly directed to send him here.

(K.)

LIST of SEALS and SIGNATURES attached to the original PETITION marked (K.).

1. Seal of Nawab Sooltan Jahan Begum.
2. Seal of Khasool Oomra Etmad-ool-Moolk, Shahebzadah Mahomed Khan Shumsher Jung, General of the Army.
3. Seal of Shaheb Muhel Begum Sahaba.
4. Seal of Nawab Padsha Jahan Begum.
5. Seal of Eyadool Oomra Mauzool Moolk, Shahebzadah Amed Khan, Bahadoor Sowkut Singh, Nazim of all Departments.
6. Seal of Shahebzadah Bukht Bulund Khan, son of Nawab Ameer-ood-dowlah Bahadoor.
7. Seal of Shahebzadah Mooneer Khan.
8. Seal of Shahebzadah Abdul Mujeed Khan.
9. Seal of Shahebzadah Hafiz Mahomed Akrum Khan, son of late Nawab Ameer Khan.
10. Seal of Shahebzadah Hafiz Mahomed Enaetoollah Khan, son of Hafiz Mahomed Jumal Khan.
11. Seal of Shahebzadah Abdool Hakim Khan, son of Shahebzadah Jullal Khan.
12. Seal of Shahebzadah Abdool Ruheem Khan.
13. Seal of Shumsool Oomra Nijomool Moolk, Shahebzadah Mahomed Khan Bahadoor, Juhwur Jung, late Dewan of Tonk State.
14. Seal not legible.
15. Seal of Mahomud Khan, son of Shahebzadah Hafiz Mahomed Jumal Khan.
16. Signature of Shahebzadah Mahomed Syud Khan, son of Shahebzadah Hafiz Mahomed Abdul Kureem Khan.
17. Signature of Shah Hameed Khan, son of Shahebzadah Hafiz Mahomed Abdul Kureem Khan.
18. Seal of Shahebzadah Hafiz Mahomed Mooneer Khan.
19. Seal of Shahebzadah Rooof Khan.
20. Seal of Shahebzadah Ameer Shah Khan.
21. Seal of Mirza Bahadoor Beg.
22. Seal of Shahebzadah Mahomed Kabeer Khan.
23. Seal of Shahebzadah Mahomed Khan, son of Shahebzadah Abdool Kureem Khan.
24. Seal of Syed Mahomed Isak.
25. Seal of Syed Mahomed Yakoob.
26. Seal of Syed Noorool Hoodah.
27. Seal of Syud Abdul Rahman.
28. Seal of Shahebzadah Mahomed Zafur Ally Khan, son of Shahebzadah Mahomed Bahadoor Khan.
29. Seal of Syed Mahomed Ibrahim.
30. Seal of Syed Mahomed Adil.
31. Seal of Nizam Ally Khan, son of Kassim Ally Khan.
32. Seal of Shahebzadah Mahomed Ibrahim Ally Khan, son of Mahomed Ally Khan.
33. Seal of Shahebzadah Mahomed Kifyatoollah Khan.
34. Seal of Shahebzadah Mahomed Mujeed-ool-lah Khan.
35. Seal of Shahebzadah Mahomed Ameer-ool-lah Khan.
36. Seal of Mahomed Akbur Khan.
37. Seal of Captain Akhtur Boolund Khan.
38. Seal of Khan Saheb Jullal-ood-deen Khan, son of Imteeajood Dowlah, Mahomed Anaj Khan Bahadoor Istkamut Jung.
39. Seal of Moostuffa Khan, son of Shahdeen Khan.
40. Seal of Shere Jung Khan.
41. Seal illegible.
42. Seal of Nasir Jung Khan.
43. Seal of Shew Buksh, son of Bhyro.
44. Seal of Shere Jung Khan.
45. Seal of Syud Abdool Ruhman, son of Kurreem Buksh.
46. Seal of Mowasee Khan.
47. Seal illegible.
48. Seal illegible.
49. Seal illegible.
50. Seal illegible.
51. Seal of Fyz Mahomed Shekh.
52. Seal illegible.
53. Seal of Bhowany Singh, son of Golab Singh.
54. Seal of Shekh Chund, son of Shekh Ghasee.
55. Seal illegible.
56. Seal of Gunga Ram, son of Nathoo.
57. Seal of Futteh Jung Khan.
58. Seal of Gholam Mahomed Khan.
59. Seal of Hajee Munnower Khan.
60. Seal of Mahomed Mohsim Khan.
61. Seal illegible.
62. Seal of Shekh Fukeer Mahomed.
63. Seal of Mahomed Hossein Khan.
64. Seal of Wazeer Khan.
65. Seal illegible.
66. Seal of Wully Mahomed.
67. Seal of Kheealee Ram.
68. Seal of Mahomed Oomur.
69. Seal of Mahomed Hussun Khan.
70. Seal of Mahomed Yakoob Khan.
71. Seal illegible.
72. Seal of Hunnooman Pershad.
73. Seal of Bhugwan Dass.
74. Seal illegible.
75. Seal of Elahee Bux, Darogah.
76. Seal of Golab Ally Khan.
77. Seal of Mirza Mahomed Ally Beg.
78. Seal illegible.
79. Seal illegible.
80. Seal of Mahomed Yaheea.
81. Seal of Mirza Abdul Azeez Beg.
82. Seal of Abdul Kadir, son of Sheikh Mehur Ally.
83. Seal of Hossein Bux.
84. Seal of Kooudum Sing, son of Nahur Sing.
85. Seal of Ajmutoolah Khan.
86. Seal of Ramlall, Set.
87. Signature of Ram Chunder, Kanoongoe.
88. Signature of Bukhtaur Lall, Chowdry.
89. Signature of Tirwur Doss, Surpunch Jumaat of Nagas in service of Jeypoor State.
90. Seal illegible.
91. Ummur Chund, Sharoff.
92. Seal of Mahomed Khan.
93. Signature of Jawahir Lall, son of Radha Kishen, Set.
94. Signature of Jawahir Lall, Set, grandson of Nathoo Ram, Set.
95. Signature of Hursook Dass, Set.
96. Signature of Heera Lall, Set, *alias* Luchman Narain, Set.
97. Signature of Sudda Lall Putwaree.
98. Signature of Ram Chund Puttail
99. Signature of Sudda Lall, Chowdry.
100. Signature of Gopaul, Surpunch of Chowdries.
101. Signature of Shew Chund Josee.
102. Signature of Sew Kurn, Set, Surpunch.
103. Signature of Sew Lall, Set.
104. Seal of Hussun Khan, son of Madaree Khan.
105. Seal of Fyzeellah Khan, son of Sadoolla Khan.
106. Seal of Mahomed Akbur Khan, son of Abdul Ruheem Khan.
107. Seal of Kubeer Shah, son of Rukeen Shah.
108. Seal of Shekh Ruheem Ally.
109. Seal illegible.
110. Seal of Shekh Abdul Ruhman.
111. Seal of Shekh Amanoollah.
112. Seal of Meerun Shah.
113. Seal illegible.
114. Seal of Mahomed Sahbeer.
115. Seal of Syed Nuseeroodeen.
116. Seal of Shekh Azizoollah.
117. Seal of Emamoodeen Khan.
118. Seal of Jumshan Khan.
119. Seal of Mazar Murtazza Khan.
120. Seal of Mahomed Furrutolla.
121. Seal of Emam Ally Khan.
122. Seal of Emam Ally Khan, son of Aziz Khan.
123. Seal of Mahomed Budroodeen Khan.
124. Seal of Moulvie Mahomed Auzim.
125. Seal of Kheealee Ram.
126. Seal of Syud Abdool Uzeez.
127. Seal of Mahomed Sullah Moollah.
128. Seal of Mahomed Hossein.
129. Seal of Shekh Yar Mahomed.
130. Seal of Hajee Syfoodeen.
131. Seal of Mirza Abdoollah Beg son of Hyder Beg.
132. Seal of Enaet Ally Khan, son of Mahomed Ally Khan.
133. Seal of Abdul Ruhman Khan.
134. Seal of Neerunjun Shah.
135. Seal of Bunday Gauree Shunker.
136. Seal of Mahomed Fyz Ally.
137. Seal of Ustum Khan, son of Rustum Khan.
138. Seal of Mahomed Kifiyatoollah Khan.
139. Seal of Shere Jung Khan.
140. Seal of Abdul Hameed Khan.
141. Seal of Syed Hyder Ally.
142. Seal of Moheeoodeen.
143. Seal illegible.
144. Seal of Hajee Elaheebux.

(Political—No. 165.)

'To His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council.

My Lord, India Office, 10 August 1869.

1. HER Majesty's Government have had under their consideration the Memorial of the Ex-Newab of Tonk, with the documentary evidence appended to it, which your Excellency has forwarded with your Letter, No. 83, of the 13th of March, in the Foreign Department.

2. After a careful examination of all the evidence advanced upon both sides' I cannot discern any sufficient grounds for departing from the opinion which your Excellency's Government has expressed with respect to the guilty complicity of the Newab in the murderous outrage, which resulted in his banishment to Benares.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Argyll.*

J. T. Prichard and *David Nasmith*, Esqrs., Barristers-at-Law, to *Herman Merivale*, Esq., Under Secretary of State for India.

Sir, 4, Garden Court, Temple, 4 August 1869.

As Counsel for Mahomed Ally Khan, the Ex-Nawab of Tonk, in his appeal to Her Majesty, through the Secretary of State for India, we should esteem it a great favour if you would, under sanction of the Secretary of State, cause the decision in the above case to be communicated to us, at the above address, so soon as it may be deemed not inconsistent with the interests of the public service that the decision should be promulgated.

The Under Secretary of State for *India* to *J. T. Prichard* and *David Nasmith*, Esqrs., Barristers-at-Law.

Gentlemen, India Office, 30 September 1869.

WITH reference to your letter of the 4th ultimo, requesting to be made acquainted with the decision arrived at by the Secretary of State for India in Council, relative to the Memorial of Mahomed Ally Khan, Ex-Nawab of Tonk, I am now directed by the Duke of Argyll to inform you, that he has, on a full consideration of all the circumstances of the case, and of the evidence adduced on both sides, failed to discover any sufficient reason for dissenting from the opinion recorded by the Government of India, as to the guilty complicity of the Nawab in the murderous outrage which resulted in his deposal and banishment to Benares.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Herman Merivale.*

EAST INDIA (EX-NAWAB OF TONK).

COPY of PAPERS relating to the MEMORIAL o the Ex-Nawab of *Tonk*; and, COPY of, or EXTRACTS from, other CORRESPONDENCE relating to his Affairs.

(*Mr. Stacpoole.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
24 *March* 1871.

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
Royal Asiatic Society.
CLASS

Under 3 oz.

EAST INDIA (BRITISH BURMAH).

FURTHER RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 26 April 1869;—*for*,

COPY

OF

MAJOR SLADEN'S REPORT

ON THE

BHAMO ROUTE.

(In continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 251, of Session 1868–9.)

India Office,
May 1871.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political and Secret Department.

(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
17 *April* 1871.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PAGE

Letter from the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, dated 30th June 1869 - - - - - - - - - - 3
Letter from Captain E. B. Sladen, Political Agent, Mandalay, dated 24th February 1869 - - - - - - - - - 11
From Captain Sladen, Political Agent, Mandalay, No. 193, dated 25th September 1868 - - - - - - - - - 119
From Captain Sladen, Political Agent, Mandalay, No. 194, dated 25th September 1868 - - - - - - - - - 120

APPENDICES.

From Captain Sladen, Political Agent, Mandalay } dated 22nd January 1868 - - 130
" " 23rd " - - - 131
" " 27th " - - - 131
" " 31st " - - - 132
" " 2nd February 1868 - - 132
" " 15th " - - - 133
" " 25th " - - - 134
Appendix A.—Proclamation - - - - - - - - 134
" B.—From the Governor of Momein to the English Ruler - - - - - - - - - 136
" C.—From the Panthay Governor of Nantin, dated 13th Labzeegyaw - - - - - - - 137
" D.—From the Governor of Momein, dated 9th day of the waxing of the moon, month of Nayoung - 137
" E.—From the Governor of Momein - - - - 138
" F.—Ditto to the Kakhyen Chiefs, dated 7th increase of the moon - - - - - - - - 138
" G.—Ditto - - ditto, dated Kasonglazan 14th - 138
" H.—Ditto to the Chiefs of Manwyne, dated Labzeegyaw 8th 1230 - - - - - - - 138
" I.—From Ooloquan to Ponsee Lauton Saubwa, dated 10th increase - - - - - - - - 139
" J.—From Governor of Momein to Shan Chief and Governor's Secretary, dated 14th Lazan - - 139
" K.—From Governor of Nantin to Kakhyen Chiefs - 139
" L.—Translation of a Chinese document on origin and establishment of Mahomedanism in China - 140
" M.—List of articles required by the Governor of Momein - - - - - - - - - 140
" N.—List of Chiefs who took the oath of fidelity at Bhamo, dated 12th September 1868 - - - 141
" O.—Instructions to Assistant Surveyor Moung Thazanoo, dated 17th August 1868 - - - - 141
" P.—Assistant Surveyor's report on the Southern Route across the Kakhyen Hills, dated 31st August 1868 141
" Q.—List of villages from Hotha to Samadee, dated 31st August 1868 - - - - - - - - 142
" R.—Approximate height of places visited by the expedition - - - - - - - - - 142
" S.—Translation of statement made by Moung Moh, dated 27th November 1868 - - - - - 143
" T.—Glossary of proper names in the report - - 143

* [From Chief Commissioner of British Burmah to Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., dated 21st June 1867, No. 127 P—54 P. S.
From Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, dated 18th July 1867, No. 712.
From Chief Commissioner of British Burmah to Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., dated 26th August 1867.
Demi-official from Chief Commissioner of British Burmah to Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., 26th August 1867.
From Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., to Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, dated 12th September 1866, No. 912.
From Chief Commissioner of British Burmah to Captain Sladen, dated 11th November 1867, No. 12 M.
From Chief Commissioner of British Burmah to Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., dated 11th November 1867, No. 14 M.
Translation of a Royal Edict.
From Colonel Fytche to Captain Williams, dated 12th November 1867, No. 16 M.
From Sir William Muir, K.C.S.I., to Colonel Fytche, dated 28th November 1867, No. 1150.
From H. F. Blandford, Esq., to Colonel Fytche, dated 29th November, 1867, No. 77.
From Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Dr. Anderson, dated 30th November 1867, No. 1005 A.

PAGE

From Captain Sladen to Colonel Fytche, dated 11th January 1868, No. 189.
From Officiating Secretary to Government to Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, dated 10th January 1868, No. 28.
From the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India to the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, No. 189, dated 23rd November 1867.
From the Right Honourable the Secretary of State for India to the Right Honourable the Governor General of India in Council, No. 207, dated 9th December 1867.
From the Under Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, to Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, dated 28th January 1868, No 101.
From the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah to the Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, No. 24, dated 1st February 1868.
From the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah to the Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, No. 31-418, dated 12th February 1868.
From Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., to Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, dated 29th February 1868, No. 225.
From Officiating Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, to Sir R. Alcock, K.C.B., dated 29th February 1868, No. 224.
From Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, dated 13th March 1868, No. 258.
From Right Honourable the Secretary of State to the Right Honourable the Governor General of India, No. 12, dated 8th February 1868.
From Chief Commissioner of British Burmah to Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., No. 72, dated 14th April 1868.
Telegram from Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., to Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, dated 15th April 1868.
Telegram from Chief Commissioner of British Burmah to Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., dated 19th April 1868.
From Lieutenant Colonel Frazer to Mr. Gordon, dated 30th May 1868, No. 247 C—26 C.
Telegram from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Mr. Gordon, dated 30th May 1868, No. 248 C—26 C.
Telegram from Secretary to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Mr. Gordon, dated 9th June 1868, No. 246 C—26 C.
From Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, No. 39-19, dated 2nd June 1868.] *
From Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, No. 39-61, dated 30th July 1868 - 144
From Mr. T. T. Cooper to the Editor of the "North China Daily News," dated 26th April 1868 - - - - - - - 144
From Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to the Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, No. 39-77, dated 19th September 1868 - - - - - - - - - - - 146
From Captain Sladen to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, dated 5th September 1868 - - - - - - - - 147
From Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, No. 1177, dated 13th October 1868 154
From Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, dated 30th October 1868, No. 39-94 154
From Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Captain Sladen, dated 30th October 1868, No. 39-96 - - - - - 156
From Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, dated 7th December 1868, No. 1413 157
From Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, dated 11th January 1869, No. 39-114 157
From Captain Sladen to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, dated 23rd December 1868, No. 229 - - - - - 157
From Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, dated 8th February 1869, No. 200 - - - - - - - - - 158
From Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, dated 12th February 1869, No. 39-125 158
From Captain Sladen to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, dated 16th January 1869, No. 252 - - - - - - - 159
From Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, dated 15th March 1869, No. 359 160
From Secretary to Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, to Secretary to Government, Foreign Department, dated 27th March 1869, No. 39-139 - - - - - - - - - - 160
Notification - - - - - - - - - - - 161

* The Letters within brackets, omitted in this Return, will be found in Parliamentary Papers, No. 28-I. of Session 1867, and No. 251 of Session 1869.

OFFICIAL NARRATIVE of the EXPEDITION to Explore the TRADE ROUTES to CHINA *viâ* BHAMO, under the Guidance of Major *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, Mandalay; with connected PAPERS.

MEMORANDUM by the CHIEF COMMISSIONER of BRITISH BURMAH.

From Major General *Albert Fytche*, C. S. I., Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, to *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department,—Foreign (Political) Department, dated Rangoon, 30th June 1869.

I HAVE the honour to submit, to be laid before the Right Honourable the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council, Major Sladen's Report of his expedition to explore the old trade routes between South Western China and Burmah, *viâ* Bhamo, together with its appendices, and 10 plans of towns and remarkable buildings visited by the expedition, and two manuscript maps. A report by Mr. Robert Gordon, C. E., attached as engineer officer to the expedition, is also annexed, together with a lithographed map of the routes surveyed by the party between Bhamo and Momein, drawn up by Mr. Gordon, and containing information regarding the country beyond the latter city and in other directions, compiled from all reliable sources that were available. The delay in the submission of the report is to be regretted; it has been caused by Major Sladen's illness since his return to Mandalay, and the delay in getting Mr. Gordon's map lithographed in Calcutta. Major Sladen's report reached me on 15th April last.

2. I have, in my several letters to the Government of India (contained in the appendices), described the progress of the expedition from time to time as reports reached me from Major Sladen; and as the accompanying report of Major Sladen speaks for itself, there is no occasion for my going into the subject at length, and little more than a brief *résumé* of what I have already written is required.

3. There are three principal routes from Bhamo, which, leaving the town of that name on the Irrawaddy, run in a north-easterly direction to Talifoo, the present capital of Western Yunan, passing over the Kakhyen hills, then through a narrow belt of Shan States, and, joining together at Nantin, proceed on to Momein, the border town of Yunan, whence by Yunchan (the centre of the trade in Western Yunan) the route passes on to Talifoo. Major Sladen succeeded in reaching Momein, and I consider, under the circumstances described by him, that he was right in not proceeding beyond that town.

4. The chief object for which the expedition was sent was to discover the cause of the cessation of the trade formerly existing by these routes, the exact position held by the Kakhyens, Shans, and Panthays with reference to that traffic, and their disposition or otherwise to resuscitate it; as also to examine the physical conditions of the routes. All these have, I consider, been satisfactorily obtained. Considerable delay occurred in the Kakhyen hills prolonging the period of absence of the expedition beyond that which was anticipated; but this is, I think, not to be regretted, as it has enabled Major Sladen to obtain considerable information regarding the Kakhyens, who, holding the hills, must always form an important element in any scheme for reopening the route, and has given them an opportunity of learning our real intentions, regarding which they would appear to have been falsely imbued by designing persons. Major

Sladen, throughout the difficulties he experienced from these people, showed great tact and command of temper, and wisely chose to wait patiently at Ponsee, despite the disadvantages in some respects of the delay thereby necessitated, until he received a reply to a communication he had, with much judgment, dispatched to the Panthay Governor at Momein, and which, when obtained, enabled him to advance with all the prestige of the direct support and encouragement of the Panthay Government, whose predominance was at once manifested by their rapid occupation of the route up to the base of the Kakhyen hills, and the altered tone towards Major Sladen of the Kakhyen and Shan chiefs as soon as they became aware of his friendly relations with the Panthay Government.

5. The trade by the Bhamo route as late as the year 1855 (the commencement of the rebellion of the Panthays against the Chinese authorities) was nearly half a million of pounds sterling, and all previous history of this line of commerce with which we are acquainted proves beyond doubt that there exists an important field for trade in these localities. The knowledge, too, acquired by the present mission, assures us that the parties most interested in this commerce desire a revival of the trade. It is, of course, useless for the Kakhyens to hold trade routes through which no trade flows, and they are quite alive to this fact. The Shan chiefs also, apart from some local jealousies caused by a wish to secure for themselves the advantages of having the route through their individual territories, would gladly see the old interchange of commodities renewed. The Shans are an enterprising race, and the unsatisfactory position they have occupied for the last few years, disunited and preyed upon both by Chinese and Panthays, and all the trade stopped, make them anxious for any arrangement which would be likely to lead to a more satisfactory state of affairs, and enable them to develope their natural industry. It would, doubtless, have been very interesting from some points of view had the party succeeded in reaching Talifoo, the head quarters of the Panthay Government; but it certainly appears that the Panthay authorities whom Major Sladen met at Momein were of sufficient importance and position to render their views and opinions a safe criterion of the favourable feeling of the Panthay Government towards the resuscitation of trade.

6. The Panthay rebellion was, no doubt, the primary cause of the cessation of trade by the Bhamo routes, but Major Sladen considers that there is some reason to believe that during the last five or six years, or since the comparative consolidation of Mahomedan rule within the province of Yunan, the non-resuscitation of trade by these routes is due to the King of Burmah, who, for political reasons, has restricted the trade to a long overland journey of two months, *viâ* Theinnee to Mandalay. He states: "What Burmah has always dreaded" (from our occupation of Pegu) "is that British interests would not be confined to British possessions, but that contingencies might arise which would give the foreigner the right of extending his influence to Upper Burmah, and to a point above and beyond the limits of the present Burmese capital. Such a contingency was always imminent as long as it could be made demonstrable in any way that Bhamo might again become the natural emporium of a direct overland trade between Burmah and China. The same objection did not hold good provided Mandalay could be made the mart for that trade instead of Bhamo, for in that case the intrusive foreigner would still be somewhat under control, and his operations for good or evil would not probably extend themselves in the same dangerous degree or direction as they seemed destined to do if allowed to ramify from an emporium on the extreme confines of the empire, and in direct contiguity with races which did not owe allegiance to his Majesty of Burmah. On this account the Chinese or Panthay caravans have been encouraged to come to Mandalay to the exclusion of Bhamo, and I most unhesitatingly conclude, from careful observation and from experience gained during the late expedition to Momein, that the causes which have actuated the Burmese Government in its deliberate discouragement of all communication with China *viâ* Bhamo have arisen in a great measure out of an instinctive and almost superstitious fear that the extension of British influence beyond the capital of Burmah would prove fatal to Burmese supremacy, and destroy the vaunted exclusiveness of the Burmese Government. Other predisposing causes have not been wanting in inclining the King of Burmah to hug this political conservatism,

conservatism, and to enforce it, to the detriment of his subjects and at an enormous loss to his own private and public exchequer. One of these reasons is, that he knows that the vast increase of commerce, which would be created by a resuscitation of the Bhamo route, would necessitate the presence of a fleet of English steamers on the Irrawaddy above or to the north of his capital. His own avowed objection to such a contingency is, that the steamer, being English, would come into collision with hostile influences, and that differences and complications would necessarily follow between the British Government and his own. The real cause for kingly apprehension and anxiety is, that the advent of the steamers above the capital would afford to crowds of oppressed and disaffected subjects the same opportunities of fleeing his country as those of which they have so largely availed themselves of late years, by means of steamer traffic between the capital and the British frontier."

7. This possibly may have been the case formerly. A studied exclusiveness has been the characteristic of the Burmese Government, but this must gradually wear out, as it has done and is doing elsewhere. There are now at Mandalay many Burmese who have been to Europe and India. There are, of course, great numbers who can compare the state of the province of Pegu under Burmese and under British rule. The comparative prosperity of the towns, and wealth of the peasantry, the stimulus given to cultivation and manufactures, and the great activity of our export and import trade, all are exercising an influence in favour of the administration which has produced such results. The Court, previous to the last treaty, had shown great distrust of and thwarted all our attempts to send an expedition *viâ* Bhamo, as also great jealousy of English steamers plying between Rangoon and Mandalay; but since the ratification of that treaty, at least *outwardly*, his Majesty the King of Burmah seems fully aware of the advantages that must ensue from a re-establishment of the extinct trade which formerly existed with Burmah in that direction; and as far as our steam communication on the Irrawaddy is concerned, the Burmese Government have become accustomed to it, and found from experience its great advantages. Before the beginning of 1867 only four English steamers with merchandise had ever been up to Mandalay from Rangoon, but now there is a regular communication every 10 days to and fro by the vessels of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Steam Company, and the trade has so rapidly increased, that steps are being taken for very shortly establishing a weekly line of communication. That great obstructions have been thrown in the way of the present expedition, there is, however, no doubt; but the King has shown by *his own acts* that he has endeavoured to further the interests of the expedition to the best of his powers, and that the difficulties that have been met with have more probably emanated from the underhand and crooked proceedings of Burmese officials and their satellites, from an apprehension that their perquisites will cease if foreigners engage in the traffic, and from the intrigues, too, of Chinese merchants and others, both at Bhamo and Mandalay, who are naturally indisposed to welcome foreign competition in a trade which is now all their own, and whose opposition to the expedition had been fully anticipated.

8. The Government have sanctioned an Assistant Political Agent being stationed at Bhamo, and I hope shortly a subsidy will be granted to the above-mentioned company to induce them to extend the voyage of their steamers on to Bhamo. The open navigation of the Irrawaddy river has been held in view by the Supreme Government since 1862, and the treaties of that year and of 1867 will be largely inoperative if the Government do not take every opportunity of pushing on the commercial policy which promises so much both for the King's territories and for British Burmah. If we aim at binding up the interests of the two countries by the free interchange of commodities, and by the impetus thus given to the producing power of the territories, rather than by political compacts, which, from the constitution of the Burmese Court, cannot have, at least for a far distant period, that complete and substantial security which attaches to treaties with European powers, we should use our best endeavours rapidly to extend trade with Upper Burmah, and especially in the shape which will appeal most forcibly to a comparatively backward nationality. Our trade with Burmah proper is already two-and-a-half millions sterling; what need to hesitate in adopting the most liberal view of any scheme which will develope trade that has doubled in four years? The vast political importance of all

means of rapid locomotion is now practically conceded. They break down prejudices; they create new wants; they quicken and liberalise the national opinion; they lead to a peaceful rather than a warlike phase of thought; and all these useful objects are precisely what we should desire to see having effect in Upper Burmah.

9. The expedition having only reached the frontier town of Momein, Major Sladen has been precluded from speaking with any authority regarding the trade statistics of Yunan, and I think he has acted wisely in refraining from any attempt to do so. The great mineral wealth of the country is, however, known, as also the enormous wealth of the neighbouring provinces of Sechuen and Kwei-chow, the most populous in China, and their gigantic trade in tea, silk, rhubarb, tobacco, sugar, hemp, oil, varnish, and other commodities, and that vast capacity of all those provinces to consume European manufactures, a large proportion of the whole of which trade we shall gain when once the route by Bhamo is fully re-opened. Mr. T. T. Cooper, in his late endeavour to traverse the through route from China *viâ* Thibet to India, in a letter to the "North China Daily News" from a place named Tai-tsian-loo, on the extreme western frontier of China, fully corroborates the importance I have attached to the resuscitation of the trade by Bhamo. In it he states that the "present trade between Chung-king and Yunan and Kwei chow is only temporary" (with Hankow) "on account of the closure of the Bhamo and Tali route, and as sure as this route is opened, so sure will Burmah take to herself the trade of these two provinces, and if, as is probable, British merchants establish themselves at Ava" (this has already been done), "then a rivalship for the trade of Sechuen between China and Burmah merchants seems almost certain, the result telling probably in favour of the latter both in exports and imports. Trade by this route has flourished before without European enterprize, and as soon as it is re-opened, the trade between Hankow and Chung-king will be lessened one-third."

10. The good effects of the visit of Major Sladen and his party should be promptly and vigorously followed up, and the Assistant Agent (whose appointmen has been sanctioned) be dispatched to Bhamo without delay, to strengthen the belief in the reality of our intentions, and to maintain communication with the Shan Chiefs and Panthay Government, and continue also to influence the Kakhyens towards giving facilities for save transit of goods. I feel certain that on the prompt action of Government depends a question of the very highest Imperial importance. Our sea-borne trade with China is being actively competed for by America. The hot haste with which the Government of Washington have pushed on the completion of the Atlantic and Pacific railroad, and the dominance they have lately advanced in China's diplomatic relations with other courts, all point to a determination on the part of America to secure, if possible, the command of the Chinese market. The present obstacles of difficult communication they have solved, or are in a fair way of solving, and the necessity now remains only of adapting their exports to the Chinese requirements. Will this be possible without vitally affecting our commercial superiority?—Further, will America long submit to our holding the commanding position we derive from our opium exports, and the hold we thus have on the exchange? It is here that the question touches India in a tender point. The derangement of our opium revenue means a most serious crisis in Indian finance, and were American interference to affect our sea-borne opium, the routes through this province would become, on this account alone, of the highest importance. In the case of such a contingency, and for obvious collateral reasons in themselves, I consider it highly prudent on Imperial grounds that we should be in a position to substitute a western ingress to China for the present sea-board approach, destined to be disproportionately shared, if not entirely absorbed by America. I observe, also, that the American Government, not content with the Pacific railroad, has officially recommended to the European States the great enterprise of a ship canal to be constructed across the Isthmus of Darien.

11. The Engineer officer originally attached to the expedition was Captain J. M. Williams, of the Madras Army, who thought fit to return from Ponsee, or

or after the expedition had proceeded a distance of only 40 miles from Bhamo. His report on the northern route as far as Ponsee has already been submitted to Government, with my letter No. 39–37, dated 11th July 1868. It contains a very meagre report on a portion only of one route, and any importance which it might have possessed has been nullified by the accompanying report of Mr. Robert Gordon, C.E., Executive Engineer of the Upper Pegu and Arakan roads, an officer of well-known active habits and great personal energy, to whom, immediately on information reaching me from Mandalay of Captain Williams's abandonment of the expedition, I telegraphed to proceed as rapidly as possible to Bhamo and follow the track of Major Sladen's party. Every assistance was given by the Burmese Government (whom I addressed on the subject) to facilitate Mr. Gordon's advance, and he came up in an extraordinarily short period with Major Sladen at Muangla or Maingla, on the return of the expedition from Momein. His report is succinct and clear, and is as full as can be expected under the circumstances: his journey, being a hurried one throughout, did not admit of careful surveys being made. Had Captain Williams remained with the expedition, his opportunities would have been far greater, and during the stay of the party at Momein (which Mr. Gordon did not reach) he would have had the advantage of making full inquiries regarding the through routes from Momein to Talifoo, eastward to China proper, as well as westward to India; as also regarding any east and west routes from China to India to the north of Talifoo, and which, according to the written instructions issued to him, formed one of his principal duties, apart from the report on the physical condition of the routes actually traversed by the party.

12. Mr. Gordon explains in his report that between Bhamo and Momein lies a range of hills, lying in a north and south direction, and forming a spur from the Himalayan range of mountains. Bhamo is on the west of the spur and Momein on the east. In travelling between the two places it is obligatory to cross this range, which is pierced by three valleys, through which traffic has been conducted between the two towns. The northern, Sanda valley or Ponlyne route, is formed by the Taping river, a tributary of the Irrawaddy, into which it flows a few miles above Bhamo; the general direction of the rivers being from north-east to south-west. On its north side it is bounded by high hills, and on the south by the Shamaloung range, which separates it from the centre valley. The centre, Hotha valley or embassy route, is formed by the Namsa river, a tributary of the Taping, into which it flows at a point about 45 miles east of Bhamo. Its northern boundary is the southern boundary of the Sanda valley, and its southern boundary is a spur of hills from the Shamaloung renge, which spur forms also the northern boundary of the Muangwan valley, southern or Sawuddy route. Through this last-named valley runs the Nam-wan river, which apparently takes its rise in the Shamaloung range. The southern boundary of this valley is formed by the Myne-wun mountain range. The three rivers running through the valleys have all one general direction, that is, from north-east to south-west.

13. Mr. Gordon, in the first instance, marched from Bhamo, through the northern or Sanda valley, as far as Muangla or Maingla, a distance of 90 miles from Bhamo. Leaving Bhamo, he crossed the Taping river near its junction with the Irrawaddy, and kept along its right bank for a distance of about 20 miles. The road then left the river, the distance between them varying until the village of Ponlyne was reached, distant 30 miles from Bhamo, and about four miles from the Taping. The elevation reached was 1,814 feet, being at the rate of a little more than 60 feet per mile from Bhamo. The next place reached was Ponsee, 40 miles from Bhamo, and not far from the river, the elevation being 2,719 feet. About half-way between the two villages, the Nampoung stream, an affluent of the Taping, was crossed, necessitating a descent from Ponlyne of 1,241 feet, and an ascent to Ponsee of 2,127 feet. Three miles beyond Ponsee the Sanda valley commences, and at a distance of 11 miles Manwyne, with an elevation of 1,900 feet, was reached. The route lay apparently near the river up to this point, and was still on its right bank. The next place reached was Sanda, situate about six miles north of the Taping river. It stands upon an affluent bearing its name, and which flows into the Taping river at a distance of 10 miles from the town. The affluent is crossed

close to the town. This town may be presumed to be the central town of the valley. Its elevation is 2,912 feet, or about 100 feet above the elevation of Manwyne. Beyond Sanda, and at a distance of about 16 miles, Muangla is reached with an elevation of 2,091 feet. Beyond this point Mr. Gordon did not go, as he was met by Major Sladen returning from Momein.

14. The general impression derived from Mr. Gordon's report on the Sanda valley is not an unfavourable one. With the exception of the steep descent and ascent from the Nampoung stream between Ponlyne and Ponsee, there seem to be no difficulties of any magnitude, and what difficulties there are appear to be within the first 40 miles from Bhamo. Mr. Gordon points out that, by removing the line of road from its present crossing of the Nampoung stream, the steep gradients would be avoided by passing over the affluent some miles higher up.

15. The line of road marched over by Mr. Gordon apparently runs, for the greater part of its length, over high ground adjoining the Taping river, and, after leaving Ponsee, would seem to pass over fairly level ground. He states that dry-weather roads follow each bank, and he would recommend any new line of road, if narrow, to follow the course of the river. The length of such a line would possibly be much greater and the cost of bridging for the purpose would be heavier than on the high ground, but then the rise throughout would be gradual. The relative merits of a line along the foot of the hills, and bordering the river, and of a line carried on the existing track, are not easily determined in the absence of more data than are available, though Mr. Gordon seems to think a road running on the high ground could be constructed for 1,000 *l.* a mile, or between Bhamo and Momein for 90,000 *l.* The cost of a road on the river's edge would probably be greater, as much blasting would be necessary, together with extensive bridging. Perhaps the Government of India, from the experience gained in the construction of the Simla and Thibet road, might be able to approximate to the probable cost. One advantage of the high level road would be in the opening out of the country it would lead to, tending to increase cultivation and population. These results would directly affect the extent of the merchandise carried along it. On the whole, I am disposed to think that the advantages are in favour of the high line road. There seems to be abundance of material for the bridges and metalling of the road.

16. On his return from Muangla to Bhamo, Mr. Gordon came through a portion of the Hotha valley. He appears to have marched from the former place back to Manwyne, and then to have crossed the Shamaloung hills to Hotha, 3,749 feet above the town of Bhamo, and 1,749 feet above Manwyne. Between Hotha, which from the map appears to be about the centre of the valley, and his next halting-place, Namboke, both of which have nearly the same altitude, the distance is about 12 miles. The exact character of the country passed over is not clear from Mr. Gordon's description. Between Namboke and the next halting-place, Ashan, a distance of about seven miles, the country appears to be very mountainous. One point of the road was recorded as 4,650 feet above Nantin, which is equivalent to 7,218 above Bhamo. Between Ashan and the Nampoung stream, a distance of about five or six miles, there is a descent of 958 feet, and from this there is no record of the intermediate places reached until arrival at Hotone, the elevation of which is 2,450 feet. This place appears to be in nearly the same parallel of longitude with Ponlyne in the Sanda valley, which is less in elevation by about 600 feet than Hotone. Between the Nampoung stream and Hotone the ground is described as hilly, though easier than the ground over which the usual journey is made. From Hotone the descent towards the Taping is described as rapid and difficult.

17. It seems clear from this description of the portion of the Hotha valley marched through that the advantages for traffic purpose are all on the side of the Sanda valley. The elevations to be crossed in the Hotha valley far exceed the elevations met with in the Sanda valley, and furthermore, it seems certain that ground higher than that in the vicinity of Momein would have to be passed over. The population also is much less, and, owing to the rugged nature of the country, is not likely to increase. Mr Gordon has summed up the demerits

demerits of the Hotha valley route very carefully in the 36th paragraph of his report, and also, as far as can be judged, he shows fully why this route is not an advisable one.

18. Of the third, or Muangwan valley, Mr. Gordon reports but little, and that only on hearsay. I doubt the expediency of dwelling upon his remarks.

19. The remaining paragraphs of the report are taken up with the consideration of the country lying between Momein and Yunchan. The existing traffic crosses the Salween river by an iron bridge, which testifies to the commercial activity that must have formerly prevailed. Even now Mr. Gordon is able to report that 30,000 mules pass yearly between the two cities. Of course no engineering opinion can be formed on the country lying to the east of Momein, as nothing as yet is known regarding it.

20. From Mr. Gordon's report it appears that he considers the northern route along the Sanda valley to be the most advisable one, as far as physical difficulties are concerned, and that the central, Hotha valley, or embassy route, for the purposes of a road constructed on scientific principles, cannot compete with either the northern or southern routes. He does not speak so confidently of the latter as of the former route, as he had not the same opportunities for observing it; but on the whole he is of opinion "that a good road with easy gradients can be made without great expense through either the Sanda or the Muangwan valley." No difficulties greater than are ordinarily met with in constructing hill-roads exist in the Kakhyen hills, and the country compares favourably with the Arakan mountains opposite Prome, over which a 12-foot road has been constructed 100 miles long, 90 of which are in the mountains. Mr. Gordon has had this road under his charge for three years, and can affirm that in the 30 or 40 miles of hilly ground necessary to pass over to reach the Sanda valley from the plains, there are no greater difficulties than are met with on the Prome and Tounghoo road.

21. Major Sladen, in his remarks regarding these routes, states that "it would be immature to puzzle ourselves which is the most practicable in an engineering point of view, until we are prepared to entertain a definite scheme of road improvement, or even railroad communication—that trade to an almost unlimited extent is now possible by any of the present existing routes without reference to their engineering capabilities, and that the determination of either of these three routes as a thorough route for general traffic must depend for some time to come on questions of policy and general expedience, rather than of special adaptability or physical disqualification;" and prefers the Hotha valley, central or embassy route, to the other two, for all present purposes of commerce and communication.

22. From both the reports of Major Sladen and Mr. Gordon we gather, therefore, that the present routes are available for traffic by means of mules as formerly; that between Bhamo and Momein no physical difficulties of any kind exist to the construction, by one or other of these valleys, of either a road built on scientific principles for wheeled carriages, of a tramway, or of a railway; that the length of such would only be 130 miles, or probably less; and that labour and good material for road making are available in the country to any extent that may be required.

23. The vitality of the Bhamo route for traffic, which it maintained for centuries among all the disturbing influences of the flow and ebb of the Chinese and Burmese power, indicated that, somehow or other, the line in that direction possessed some practical advantages over other through routes, and induced me to press the subject of its exploration on the Government of India. So much, however, has been written regarding the route, proposed by Captain Sprye from Rangoon to Canton *viâ* Kyang-hung, that the present papers might, perhaps, be considered incomplete if all mention of it was omitted.

24. When I proposed the expedition to Bhamo, a survey had just been completed from Rangoon as far as the borders of our own territory for a line of railway from Rangoon to Kyang-hung, and thence on through the mythical city of Esmok to Canton. It was with no intention of interfering with this survey that that proposal was made. My proposition to re-open traffic by the

Bhamo route with the provinces of South Western China stands upon a different footing altogether,—in fact, the two schemes are perfectly distinct. The object of the Bhamo expedition is to re-open a temporarily closed trade by a line of country already known, and from which, if successful, the most advantageous results must *at once* flow; whereas the object of the survey is to discover a route by which a railway *might* be constructed, and even if pronounced feasible and advisable, it would take at least a generation to complete. I have myself always looked on the Kyang-hung line as a most quixotic scheme as a route for trade; but as the survey of the country from Takau ferry on the Salween river *viâ* Kyang-tung on to Kyang-hung on the Cambodia river, a distance of about 200 miles, would be of great scientific and political value, I would still advocate its continuation, at any rate as far as that city. We have already a fair general knowledge of the country from the British frontier through the Shan States tributary to Burmah up to the Takau ferry, but the tract of country lying between the Salween and Cambodia rivers is unknown.

25. When Captain Sprye's scheme was *first* proposed, there was something in it both plausible and attractive. To connect Rangoon with Canton by a railway running through a country with, as it was supposed, no insuperable obstacles, very naturally commended itself to notice. Canton was then, and had been for many years, the great centre of foreign trade with China. From that port nearly all the tea, silk, and other valuable produce was shipped, and there all the European goods were imported. It was naturally believed in consequence, that Quangtung and Quangsi were the great producing and consuming districts of the empire; but on the opening of Shanghai to foreign trade this fallacy was exposed, and it was completely dispelled by the opening, in 1860-61, of Hankow and the other ports on the Yangtse river, which showed that the foreign trade that had centred in Canton had been flowing, not in its *natural but in a forced or artificial* channel, and that the great bulk of what was shipped from Canton was really produced in Sechuen, Kwei-chow, and other provinces drained by the Yangtse, and that this produce had actually been carried up that river in boats to a point where it is separated from the Canton river, or one of its affluents, by a steep range of hills, through a pass in which the produce was carried by porters down to the southern stream, and from thence to Canton in boats. By the same route also imports found their way to the place of consumption. So soon as the Yangtse ports were opened, all was changed; trade began to flow down the Yangtse, and nearly the whole trade of Canton ceased, except what may be considered its legitimate trade, that is, exporting the productions of Quangtung and Quangsi, and the supplying of these provinces with European goods. The trade of Canton at one time sunk so low, that it was, I believe, seriously proposed to abandon it altogether as a place of European trade.

26. I will now glance rapidly at the bearing which these facts have upon the routes *viâ* Kyang-hung and Bhamo. First, then, as regards connecting Rangoon and China by a railway *viâ* Kyang-hung and Esmok, the only Chinese markets of importance that would be reached by such a line of railway would be those in the extreme south of Yunan, in Quangsi and Quangtung; but as has been shown, the foreign trade of the last two named provinces is comparatively small, and as they are well known to have already such easy and cheap communication with Canton, it would be in vain to hope that commerce could be diverted to what must be a much more expensive outlet. The southern portion of Yunan, too, is very poor compared with the central and north-western portion of the province; and the trade with the Shan States, also by this route, would be less than by the Bhamo route, the states to the northward being wealthier than those to the southward. Turning now to the route *viâ* Bhamo, Momein, and Tali, we find that there is a commercial highway used by Burmese and Chinese merchants from time immemorial, leading through the richest part of Yunan, and tapping Sechuen and Kwei-chow, which, as has been said before, are the wealthiest and most populous provinces in China. Although Sechuen is bordered by the Yangtse, still the difficulties of the route towards Chung Ching, the great central mart on its banks, are said to be great, and the mouth of the river is so far distant that the carriage of goods is very costly. The navigation of the river between Chung Ching and Hankow is moreover extremely disastrous to trade on account of the total loss of many junks and their

their cargoes in the dangerous rapids and whirlpools, and besides which, goods passing through such a great number of separate districts (in each of which heavy taxes are levied), the cost of the produce is greatly enhanced before it finally quits the country, and we may very reasonably suppose with Mr. Cooper that we may share at least one-third of this vast trade when the Bhamo route is fairly re-opened.

27. Dr. J. Anderson, Conservator, Indian Museum, whose services as surgeon and naturalist to the expedition were placed at my disposal by the trustees of the museum, is highly spoken of by Major Sladen. Dr. Anderson has, it is understood, made a large collection of valuable specimens of natural history, and of the products and manufactures of the several localities visited, the whole of which were sent to Calcutta, as I was unwilling that his cases of specimens should be opened at Rangoon, for they might have been injured in re-packing, and the different specimens were not then arranged. They have, however, no doubt, been all classified by this time, and I would suggest that a complete series of his collections may be sent me for deposit in the Phayre Museum at Rangoon. I have not yet received Dr. Anderson's official report. On its receipt it will be immediately dispatched to your address.

28. Lieutenant Bowers, R.N.R., attached to the party as commercial agent, appears to have been of great assistance to Major Sladen, and his varied knowledge and experience of special utility to the expedition.

29. Major Sladen himself is deserving of the highest commendation for his skilful conduct of the expedition. He has shown throughout sound judgment and discrimination in his intercourse with the various authorities with whom he had to deal, and in the many novel and delicate positions in which he was placed; and it is owing to his great tact and judgment that the expedition was brought to the successful termination it has been.

CAPTAIN SLADEN'S REPORT.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, *Mandalay*, to Major General *A. Fytche*, C.S.I., Chief Commissioner, *British Burmah*, and Agent to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General; dated 24th February 1869.

I DO myself the honour of informing you, with reference to your letter, No. 12 M, of November 1867, that the exploring party which was ordered to proceed under my command *viâ* Bhamo to the borders of South-Western China, commenced its journey from Mandalay on the 13th January 1868.

Captain E. B. Sladen, Leader.
Captain J. M. Williams, Engineer.
Dr. John Anderson, Medical Officer and Naturalist.
Captain A. Bowers } Mercantile Representatives.
T. Stewart, Esq. - } Mercantile Representatives.
F. N. Burn, Esq. - } Mercantile Representatives.
One Native Doctor, one Police Inspector, 50 armed Police

2. The narrative of the expedition has already been told, in a somewhat fragmentary form, in my several letters (as per margin), private and demi-official, which were dispatched from time to time, as opportunities offered, during our protracted absence beyond British territory. I shall endeavour, in the present official report, to beat out the whole of the material at my disposal into the form of a simple and consecutive record, by which to reveal the objects of the expedition, and to trace out its progress and results in the order they occurred, without any studied attempt at classification, and with a seeming disregard, perhaps, of the mere conventional restraints of ordinary official correspondence.

Letters Dated			
Bhamo,	22nd	January	1868
,,	23rd	,,	,,
,,	27th	,,	,,
,,	31st	,,	,,
,,	2nd	February	,,
,,	15th	,,	,,
,,	25th	,,	,,
Ponsee,	28th	April	,,
,,	10th	May	,,
Bhamo,	5th	September	
,,	12th	,,	

3. It will be necessary too, as the narrative proceeds, to quote to some extent from my rough diaries; and in many places I may be led to adopt the diary system altogether. But all matters of a purely evidential or explanatory character will be submitted in the form of an appendix, so as to interfere as little as possible with the consecutive nature of the report itself.

4. I may further state, once for all, by way of introduction, that I have carefully abstained from all scientific and statistical details which did not appear to come within the scope of my duties or relationship to the expedition. All such information may be looked forward to with confidence in the reports of those members of our party to whom the scientific details of the journey have been happily entrusted.

5. It has long been a matter of special notoriety to those acquainted with the affairs of Upper Burmah that its commercial prosperity has depended for many generations past on the means afforded of prosecuting overland trade with the southern and western provinces of the Chinese empire.

6. Most of the gold that for centuries past has been lavishly expended in the decorative arts of this country and in the adornment of its interminable pagodas, and all the silk which from time immemorial has helped to feed the looms of its principal industry, found its way from China to Burmah by an overland route from Yunan, which struck the Irrawaddy at the old central mart of Bhamo.

7. In return for this wealth, Burmah exported raw cotton from amongst her indigenous products, and supplied woollen cloths and piece-goods, imported, yet sparingly, from a British market.

8. But for more than a dozen years past, or from a time which is somewhat remarkably coincident with the British occupation of Pegu, internal trade with China had either entirely ceased, or was prosecuted only to an extent which was inappreciable in estimating the wealth, the capabilities, or the requirements of the countries to which that trade naturally belonged.

9. It is no new theory at the present time, as regards the origin or design of the present expedition, to have ventured upon a solution of causes which from their very apparency (it would seem) have hitherto baffled or deterred every attempt to account for the cessation of trade by the old caravan route between Bhamo and the Chinese province of Yunan.

10. Every merchant who has ever been led to speculate on establishing himself in Burmah since the British occupation of Pegu in 1852, has had his attention keenly fixed for several years past on vast fields for commercial enterprise in the fertile openings of Upper Burmah, the Shan States, and Western China.

11. But when a substantial scheme had been set on foot for penetrating this same Western China by a route or railway which was to be projected from a Rangoon terminus, it became a matter of very significant import to consider whether the direct route from Rangoon, so energetically advocated by Captain Sprye, was the route *par excellence*—which was to be made practicable at any cost—or whether special means were not available for arriving at precise data upon which to justify and consummate the idea of reviving an old overland trade route, which had always been recognised as the natural outlet, by which the commerce of China had hitherto worked a channel for itself into the provinces of Burmah.

12. Hence originated the expedition of 1868, which, involving as it did the exploration of unknown territory lying within and beyond the northern confines of Upper Burmah, could only have been prudently undertaken by a party of British officers, under a full assurance that they enjoyed the confidence of the Burmese Government, and would profit by its active support in removing the primary difficulties of a somewhat hazardous and tentative undertaking.

13. Having concluded a second treaty with the British Government, the time seemed to have come when the King of Burmah and his ministers had been led by experience to renounce for ever the primitive state of exclusiveness by which they had hitherto hedged in their country and denied themselves the benefits of free commercial intercourse with neighbouring states. It was, therefore, an opportune moment for making known the requirements of the British Government, and of obtaining the consent of the King of Burmah to the dispatch of a party of British officers to explore the old caravan route between the upper waters of the Irrawaddy and south-western confines of Yunan. This consent

was

was given with a cordiality which called forth the thanks and acknowledgments of his excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, and afforded an indubitable ground for belief that that cordiality would be continued, and that those acknowledgments would not be too lightly esteemed.

14. For several weeks before the expedition left Mandalay, the King, the chief minister, and other officials of the Burmese Government, had been repeatedly urged to bear in mind the great importance of the expedition; and, at my special solicitation, written orders were despatched to the Governor of Bhamo, and to the heads of the several towns and villages which lay in our route, to anticipate our arrival and make provision for several known requirements.

But irrespective of these outward assurances of support, held out by the officials themselves, other indirect evidence was not wanting of an apparent desire on the part of the Burmese Government to place no direct obstacles in the way of our progress, as long at least as that progress lay within Burmese territory.

15. In my several interviews with the King previous to my departure for Bhamo, the subject of the approaching expedition was always referred to in a way which was intended to convince his Majesty that the eyes of the world were then directed towards Burmah; and that the ultimate success of the expedition, depending as it did in a great measure on the guaranteed support of the Burmese Government, had connected itself very intimately with his Majesty's interests, and probably also with the permanence and stability of his Majesty's dominions.

16. There were times when the King wavered so far as to yield temporarily to certain jealous influences, which were secretly fomented with the object of proving to him that he had acted unwisely in giving his consent to a British expedition which was to penetrate China through Burmah, and produce an objectionable influx of foreign intruders into Burmese territory. The King himself made known to me the existence of this secret opposition, and spoke in particular of a petition presented by an European resident of Mandalay, which warned him that, if the expedition started and succeeded in its object, a death-blow would have been levelled against Burman supremacy and the perfect independence of his Majesty's Government.

17. But, knowing as I did that the King felt his interests in this undertaking to be bound up with our own, and relying upon this fact with more confidence than all the other outward evidences of royal support and co-operation, I had persuaded myself into a belief that Burmese opposition, beyond the ordinary petty restrictions of travel in any half-civilized country, would not have been seriously attempted so long as the expedition remained within Burmese limits, or was subjected to Burmese influences.

18. In this as in other instances of misconception in our estimate of the facilities attending this expedition we are now proved to have erred; and I simply instance this one fact in particular, at the present stage of my narrative, because it shows, I think, that no provision, however complete, could have warded off a diffieulty which not only defied anticipation, but grew, as it were, out of what we were bound, in our friendly relations and intercourse with the Burmese Government, to rely upon as a chief fundamental element of success and encouragement.

19. It can hardly be wondered at, then, that the expedition took its departure from British territory under a very erroneous idea of coming events, and with a dispatch which would have indicated undue haste and an absence of all effective preparation, had the realities of the adventure or the political difficulties which everywhere encompassed it been recognised as conditions or contingencies which had not already been amply provided against by the cordial assent and guarranteed patronage of the Burmese Government.

20. In arranging for the dispatch of the expedition from Mandalay to Bhamo, his Majesty the King of Burmah had volunteered the services of one of his river steamers; and in spite of much conflicting testimony to the contrary, there was every prospect of our reaching a starting point on the Irrawaddy without any of the delays incidental to boat transit during a somewhat unfavourable and uncertain period of the year.

21. On no former occasion had it been deemed prudent or advisable to dispatch steamers beyond a well-defined distance above the capital at Mandalay. Those whose experience entitled them to be heard on a matter of so much general import openly affirmed, with a great deal of assurance and ingenuity, that no steamers then available on the Irrawaddy could possibly proceed as far north as Bhamo during the months of January, February, or March. Others, whose opinions were equally entitled to consideration, had expressed themselves in favour of steam traffic on a river which they declared to be as navigable at all seasons above the capital as it was between Mandalay and the British frontier.

22. The King, taking advantage of this conflict of opinion, and being swayed, moreover, from time to time to a variety of beliefs, which appeared to him to interfere injuriously with his own interests if he admitted the feasibility of steamer traffic above the capital, withdrew temporarily from his engagements, and gave me to understand that he did not think it advisable to risk a royal steamer in the cause of the expedition.

23. Neither the King nor his government could have been in any real doubt as to the capabilities of the river for steam navigation above the capital; but the policy of the government has always been jealously opposed to the spread of British influence, and nothing, it was believed, would tend more directly to extend that influence than the fact that English steamers had passed up beyond the capital, and come into direct commercial contact with races and people over whom the Burmese Government had often pleaded its inability to exercise efficient authority or control.

24. It became necessary, therefore, that I should make known to his Majesty my own belief in the possibility of reaching Bhamo with a steamer of moderate draft under skilful superintendence. I thought it right, moreover, to notify my intention of procuring the service of such a vessel in which I hoped to make a successful survey of the river, and prove its navigability for all practical purposes of trade, as far at least as the frontier station of Bhamo.

25. This was a contingency little expected. The King had now worked himself, so to speak, into a political corner from which there was no retreat. However great may have been his desire to restrict British steamers to the lower waters of the Irrawaddy, it was an undoubted fact that the right of navigating that river throughout its whole course had been already guaranteed and secured to us by treaty stipulations. The Government had been led to infer, from my avowed intention of employing a British steamer above the capital, that the question had resolved itself from one of policy into one of right. No reference was now made to the capabilities of the river for steam navigation, but the simple point for consideration was, shall a Burman or a British steamer be the first to reach Bhamo?

26. The King did not hesitate in selecting what appeared to him to be the least of two evils. British steamers had not as yet passed beyond the capital. The policy of exclusiveness would not be infringed by dispatching his own steamer to attempt the passage to Bhamo; on the contrary, his doing so would secure for himself honourable recognition, not only as a pioneer of trade, but as a sovereign who had exerted his power and his resources in furthering the special interest of the British Government. A royal steamer, the "Yaynan-Sekia," better known as the "Honesty," was immediately placed at my disposal.

27. There is, perhaps, an appearance of undue adventure in having attempted at the outset of an undertaking (although that undertaking had been devised for exploration purposes) to arrive at the solution of a question which, if unfavourable, would have involved the whole party in a serious complication of delays and difficulty. But I accepted the King's steamer without hesitation. I knew her draft of water to be only three feet; her engines were powerful, and she would be lightly laden.

28. The "Honesty," with the expedition party on board, left Mandalay on 13th January, and arrived at Bhamo on 21st of the same month. Her passage up the river was signalised by an absence of everything like difficulty in ordinary

nary river navigation. On one occasion only was it necessary to make any serious effort to discover a navigable channel. A steamer of greater draft than the "Honesty" might at this point have been subjected to prolonged detention, but, though the channel through which the royal steamer found a way did not exceed a depth of three feet, it was by no means certain that deeper water might not have been discovered had search been made with that skill and diligence which would have guided Europeans, but which could not be looked for in a slovenly crew of uninterested Burmese.

29. It may, however, be laid down as a general deduction, from our experiences on the Irrawaddy between Mandalay and Bhamo, that no steamer is justified in attempting the passage during those months of the year, when the water is at its lowest, whose draft of water exceeds four feet. Captain Bowers, who accompanied the expedition as mercantile representative, and whose nautical and professional experiences have been of great value, has been at some pains to complete a chart of the river, which cannot fail to be practically useful to British steamers as soon as they elect to make Bhamo their terminus, instead of Mandalay. Captain Bowers has promised to place his chart at my disposal for the information of Government, and a copy of the same, if received in sufficient time, will be appended to this report.

30. On 22nd January, the day after our arrival at Bhamo, the two Tsitkays, or head-men of the town and district, paid us a visit on board the steamer. They were courteous, but exceedingly reserved as regarded the subject of the expedition. They professed an entire ignorance of all orders from the capital, which directed that preparation should be made for our reception at Bhamo.

31. No expedient could have been more opportunely contrived to meet the circumstances of the time and the natural proclivity of a Burman in power, with or without reason, to make himself recklessly obstructive in his dealings with foreigners, than the reality which presented itself in the recent murder of the old Governor of Bhamo and the late Shan disturbances at the town of Momeit. Both events were unfortunately facts which had immediately preceded our own arrival at Bhamo.

32. The old Governor of Bhamo had held also the title of Governor of Myadoung, an important district south of and adjoining the district of Bhamo. The Shan town and district of Momeit, which had always been under the immediate government of its own chiefs, was now placed under the Bhamo governorship, so far as to give the latter the power of collecting and remitting the annual revenues of the district to head-quarters at Mandalay.

Shans and Kakhyens joined to resist such an innovation on national rule and custom. The Governor of Bhamo proceeded to Momeit with 300 armed men and tried to restore order; but his force was surrounded by the insurgents; and cut off himself from all his reserves, the Governor was compelled, after several days of helpless endurance, to attempt to retreat by cutting a way through his implacable opponents. In this attempt he lost his life, and a large number of the gallant 300 who had originally accompanied him from Bhamo became victims to the hatred which Burman oppression had naturally inspired in the minds of despised Kakhyens.

33. These were events which had occurred within a few weeks previous to our arrival at Bhamo; and it required a well-studied gravity and control of temper to listen to the disheartening but plausible and hypocritical utterances of the Tsitkays, as they dwelt pathetically upon the recent murder of the Governor (making it a reason for inattention to instructions from Mandalay), and quietly informed me that no effective preparations could then be made for the prosecution of our journey onward across the Kakhyen Hills towards Yunan.

34. It was not less discouraging to be informed further by these officers of the Burmese Government that the principal routes eastward across the Kakhyen Hills were effectually closed against transit of every kind, or to learn two days later, after notices had been sent to the chief Saubwa of the only supposed practicable line *viâ* Ponlyne, that the chiefs refused to recognise the summons of the Burmese Tsitkays, and required written orders from the Governor himself before they consented to come to Bhamo, or enter into preliminary engage-

ments relating to our journey across their hills. The old Governor having been killed, the advent of a new one, depending, as it did, on Burmese caprice, became a matter of very great uncertainty, and was especially awkward as regarded ourselves, whilst assured that the Kakhyens required the direct orders of a veritable Burmese Governor before they could be induced to bestir themselves in our expeditionary interests.

35. There was cause also for discouragement in the fact that, owing to the unsettled state of the country, and severe retaliatory measures which Kakhyens and Burmans were mutually inflicting on each other, whenever the opportunity occurred for doing so, Kakhyens were positively interdicted, by order of the Burmese authorities, from entering Bhamo; and that thus the very people whom we had come to conciliate, and by whose friendly assistance alone it was possible to carry out the purposes of the expedition, had been induced, by our unfortunate connectionship with Burman officials, to look upon us as something akin to national or natural enemies.

36. On the 23rd January I returned the official visit of the two Tsitkays or magistrates, who were appropriately designated or distinguished by the prefix to their official title of north or south, according to the position and extent of their respected jurisdictions. It was during one of their visits that I made the acquaintance of an old Chinaman, who was allowed by the Burmese Government to exercise special jurisdiction over his Chinese brethren located in Bhamo.

The officials were kind, and received me with as great a display of dignified hospitality as the impromptu nature of the occasion admitted. But however impressive this may have been in one sense, the interviews disclosed with painful apparency that no effect was being spared by which to discourage and destroy, if possible, by plausible arguments, every hope we might already have entertained of succeeding in the undertaking we were then committed to.

37. The Kakhyens were described as treacherous, and disinclined to allow transit of any kind across their hills. Though nominally subject to Burmah, they professed an independence of their own, and lived principally, it was said, in a state of indiscriminate conflict amongst themselves, and by general depredations on the villages or property of their immediate neighbours.

38. The country beyond the Kakhyen hills, as well as the whole Chinese frontier in the direction we proposed travelling, had lapsed into a state of dangerous disorganisation, and was preyed upon by large bodies of marauders, who, having first submitted, during a state of anarchy, to being despoiled themselves, were now compelled in turn to seek retaliation and livelihood by a reckless spoliation of others. The head Chinaman asked repeatedly with bitter significance, "How do you expect to succeed when Kings even have tried and failed?"

39. But in the midst of many vexatious and discouraging statements, which were suggestive of everything evil if we attempted to advance, the Tsitkays, when directly urged to action, were careful for their own sakes to make certain vague promises of assistance, which results have proved it was never their will or intention to fulfil. On them, however, depended for a time my only means of settling certain preliminaries, which were indispensable before a single step could be taken in prosecuting the journey beyond Bhamo.

References to Mandalay were virtually forbidden on account of the delay which would have been involved in making them. The Tsitkays were on the spot, and it was necessary to keep up a friendly bearing and intercourse with them in spite of all that was harassing and disagreeable in their secret opposition and forced reserve.

40. A point of primary and essential importance, as connected with my instructions, related to the possibility of effecting a safe and liberal understanding with the Kakhyen chiefs, who occupied the mountain route through which the xpedition would pass, whilst yet within what is nominally termed "Burmese territory."

41. I have already stated that the chiefs on the Ponlyne route, to which we had been committed by the advice of the burmese officials at Bhamo, had refused to attend to orders which were not transmitted to them by the Governor himself.

The

The written instructions of the Tsitkays had been forwarded by their own Burmese messengers, and I also dispatched along with them a half Chinese, half Burman scribe (Moung Shwè Yah) who had journeyed to Momein more than once, and whose services had been given over to me by the King, as a man who was to prove eminently useful on account of his local and varied experiences.

42. I desired Moung Shwè Yah to mention privately to the Kakhyen Saubwas the true reasons which made me long for their acquaintance and friendship. On the 29th January he had returned from his mission to Ponlyne (the head-quarters of the Kakhyen chief of that name), and brought word that, although the Saubwa had declared he would not attend to Burmese orders, he was willing nevertheless to visit me privately if a meeting could be arranged without Burmese interference.

43. The fact was, I afterwards learned, that these same Burmese officials (although they had gone through the form of dispatching written orders to the chiefs to come and confer with me at Bhamo) had indirectly expressed, through their own private messengers, that the presence of the chiefs was not really desired; on the contrary, a ready means had been actually improvised for these chiefs whereby to excuse, and even justify, their absence.

44. But although the chiefs had promised in anticipation to award me a private interview, it was necessary, they said, to hold a consultation with the *nats*, or minor deities, who rule over the destinies of Kakhyen land, and obtain their previous sanction to the proposed interview. Thus the fate of the expedition was made for a time to depend on the eventualities of a ceremonial, in which the blood of bulls and the peculiar markings on chicken's bones would play a prominent and perhaps a decisive part.

45. On the same day (29th January) that Moung Shwè Yah returned from Ponlyne the Tsitkays also appeared, and entered into a string of particulars, by which to convince me that the absence of the Kakhyen Saubwas was a natural proceeding, which could be easily explained. The orders in force were, they said, that no Kakhyen should enter Bhamo. The Nŭkhandaw, a very lively official, subordinate only in name to the Tsitkays, but more active in his obstructiveness than any of his brethren in office, acted as spokesman on this occasion, and publicly declared that, if any Kakhyen was caught by Burmans inside the stockade, he was liable to be shot down as an enemy.

He concluded as follows:—

"The Saubwas will think that we are sending for them for the sole purpose of getting them into our power. It is not likely that they will come with the certainty, in their own belief, of being put to death; but even supposing the Ponlyne Saubwa and others in his vicinity come and agree to escort you into their hills, this will be no real help to you, since there are numerous chiefs at a distance who are independent of our power altogether, and who will never consent to allow you a free passage into the Shan States. In some places in the hills your route will lay through narrow defiles, above which means are taken to command and prevent all chance of approach unless with previous consent."

46. It can hardly be deemed a mere coincidence, after these several attempts to thwart and deter us from further enterprise, that the principal Chinese inhabitants of Bhamo should have selected this day to invite us to take part in an entertainment specially provided for the members of the expedition. Nothing could have exceeded the hospitality of our new Chinese friends. We sat round a table on which a very complete dessert of 25 dishes had been previously arranged. Tea was handed round, and each guest, in addition, found a veritable teapot at his side filled with the strongest *shamshoo*. The dessert being removed, fresh and substantial signs of hospitality evinced themselves in the appearance of nine separate dishes of cooked meats and vegetables, which we were forced by good breeding to attack with chopsticks.

47. In my diary of the day previous I find the following entry:—"I am informed on good authority that the Chinamen of this place are much opposed to the expedition. They believe, it is said, that we are leagued by caste or race with the Panthays, and are about to make common cause with them, to

the detriment of the Chinese Government. The Chinese residents here are in active correspondence with their brethren at Mandalay. The Panthays of Yunan have only partially subjugated that portion of the province of Yunan which is in their possession. There are still, it is said, several towns and villages this side of Momein which do not acknowledge any master, and in some instances the malcontents are confederated into large bands of dacoits, who are ready at any time to act against the Panthay Government. These are the decoits who block up the way between Bhamo and the Chinese frontier, and it is with them, I hear, that the Chinamen of this place are in correspondence, with a view to obstruct our passage to Momein. They think only of their own petty interests, and would neutralise the objects and success of our present undertaking for the sole purpose, if no other existed, of keeping to themselves their present petty earnings, instead of allowing themselves to be entirely swamped, as they suppose, by opening out to all the overland route between Bhamo and South-Western China."

48. It soon became evident that the object of the Chinamen in awarding us so much good cheer was about to be disclosed in a plausible attempt to second the obstructive and deterrent pleas already insinuated by Burmese officialism. With all the courtesy in the world I was definitely given to understand that the expedition was proceeding on a wild goose chase. The old argument was again adduced:—" How can you possibly succeed in accomplishing that which even kings have striven for, but failed to attain?"

49. This state of affairs lasted until the 31st January, when the Kakhyen chief of Ponlyne arrived and paid me his promised visit. He was dressed as a Chinese mandarin, and carried a golden umbrella, which had been presented to him by the King of Burmah. Contrary to Burmese etiquette in *their* dealings with Kakhyens, I received the chief with the respect due to his position, and the police escort was drawn up under arms for his peculiar benefit and edification. But, half Burman, half Chinaman, as regarded his externals, the hang-dog expression of his countenance (different in every respect from the Kakhyen type, or from any type I had ever seen), was an ugly feature in the proceeding, which did not auger well for the results of our proposed conference.

50. The whole of the Burmese officials at Bhamo attended in full strength, and the interpretation in the Kakhyen language was conducted by a Burman Tamon of the village of Nanlyaw. The Kakhyen chief and his followers were stern and obstinately silent. They hardly condescended to answer the few questions of greeting and salutation by which I tried to enlist their sympathies and pave the way to business communications. But as soon as I commenced to make inquiries regarding our route and the practicability of transit, the interpreter above referred to suddenly warmed with the subject, and became so demonstrative in his over-eagerness to communicate all that boded difficulty or evil, that I saw at once he was improvising statements of his own, and was obliged, therefore, after a time, to disown his services *in toto*, and to ask rather energetically for a man who would take less interest in the subject matter of the conference, and confine himself simply to truthful interpretation.

51. The Saubwa remained intractable, but I could see that the position he had assumed was in a measure forced on account of the presence of the Burmese officials. After a time I was enabled to speak to him a little more privately and with more promising results. He was able to guarantee safe transit through his portion of the hill route, but would not be answerable for the conduct of other chiefs beyond the range of his authority. I distinctly asked whether it was his real wish, or the wish of the Kakhyen people generally, that we should pass through their country?

He answered at once: "Yes; and we will take care of you."

"Then why did you say just now that supplies were not procurable, that mules would be charged for at treble their usual cost, and that you would not be answerable for the conduct of other chiefs?"

He was significantly silent, and I was not slow to see that he secretly desired a more private interview.

52. On the following day Ponlyne again presented himself; and after a good deal

deal of haggling conversation in the presence of several Burmese officials, an arrangement was entered into for the supply of one hundred mules to convey us from a point on the Tahpen river, above Bhamo, to Manwyne, the first Shan town of importance met with on descending the hills which slope into the Sanda valley at its western extremity.

53. The Kakhyen chief subsequently accompanied me into a private room, and Moung Shwè Yah acted as interpreter in Chinese, a language with which most Kakhyens seem to be familiar, more so, at least, than with either Shan or Burmese. The sullen stupidity of the savage at once merged into a genuine expression of reason and intelligence. He acknowledged that his backwardness in coming to see me, or to provide facilities for our journey, had been prompted by a disinclination on his part to offend the scruples of his Chinese friends in Bhamo, who had written and advised him to keep out of the way altogether.

He, too, had Chinese friends, he said, in the countries eastward, and it would ruin him if they believed that he alone of all the Kakhyen chiefs had been instrumental in affording a European expedition the means of entering their country. He made it a *sine quâ non* on this account that I would insist on Burman support and co-operation, so far at least as to ensure the attendance of a small Burmese party, who would accompany the expedition from Bhamo for appearance sake only, and thus relieve him of the onus of being considered our sole conductor.

54. Nothing could more clearly indicate the state of the chief's feelings, and his knowledge of the obstacles which Burmese officials were insidiously and persistently throwing in our way than this simple desire, when all chance of active interference on their part was at an end, that these same Burman officials should be asked to take a demonstrative part only in our proceedings, and act as dummies, in a way which openly belied their own wishes and the very limited scope of their real intentions. Had Ponlyne openly accused them of downright hostility to our undertaking, his words would not have been so innocently effective or naturally convincing as the simple and consistent requisition that Burmese officials should contribute, by a mock show of reality, to a proceeding which it was well known from the first they had indirectly thwarted, and were even then opposing.

55. It required but little explanation on my part to give the chief a comprehensive idea of the object of the expedition, or to convince him of the advantages which it offered to the inhabitants of the countries through which the Bhamo trade route would eventually pass. I had not at the time discovered the peculiarities of the Kakhyen mind, or realised to its full extent the avaricious greed of this chief in particular. There could be no harm, however, in promising rewards for faithful services, or in making a show of certain finery which it was my wish to present to the chief as an earnest of present gain and future emoluments.

The chief viewed the gifts with inexpressible delight, but requested me to keep them till I reached his village. Much as he coveted them, their acceptance by him at the present time, he said, would give offence to the Burmese officials of Bhamo, and interfere, moreover, with his own arrangements to serve me as effectually as he desired.

56. The next day (2nd February) Ponlyne took his departure from Bhamo with the promise to procure mule carriage and make all other requisite preparations for a start in 10 days from date. There was no longer any difficulty as regarded the consent of the Kakhyen chiefs. He (Ponlyne) boasted of his relationship with, and superiority over, all the Saubwas on the route we were to take. He was in a position, by his own statement, to guarantee safe transit through Kakhyen land as far as Manwyne, the first Shan town met with on the Yunan side of the Kakhyen hills *viâ* Ponlyne.

57. The same afternoon the Nanlyaw Tamon (the man whom I had so summarily got rid of for false interpretation on the occasion of Ponlyne's first visit) came to me in a very abject condition, and confessed that he had purposely exaggerated difficulties, and raised imaginary sources of

opposition to our intended journey, having been advised to do so by those whom it would have been a crime in him to disobey. He was faithfully attached, he said, to Moung Shwè Yah, my Chinese interpreter, and supposed that I would perceive the awkwardness of his position, and make allowance for obligations he was under to his Burmese masters.

58. He further stated to me that he was present with the Ponlyne Saubwa at the time letters were brought to him from the Chinese residents at Bhamo, who wrote to dissuade the chief against visiting that town, or from giving us his assistance. The Tamon, though cunning and shrewd in his duplicity, was truthful, I believe, in the present instance, because he knew that I found him out; but his subsequent dealings prove that the excuses made for false interpretation and hostility to our cause on the 31st January were mere attempts to gain my confidence, and acquire greater facilities for working out the ruinous designs of his Burmese superiors.

59. But to continue the account of Burmese petty obstructiveness, I may mention, even at the risk of extending my narrative indefinitely, that the embarrassments of our position were not improved by a forced and unnatural restraint on the part of the Burmese inhabitants of the place, which compelled them to be silent and uncommunicative on all points in which it was essential to procure truthful or reliable information.

This reserve on the part of the people contrasted very unmistakeably with their true instincts. Their real disposition we knew to be friendly and unobstructive. They had repeatedly assured us that the presence of the English expedition at Bhamo gave confidence and secured them against the frequent raids of hostile Kakhyens. For months past, previous to our arrival, their nights had been spent in fear and watching. But the protection afforded by our presence had given relief, and placed them under obligations which, in the ordinary course of human nature, would certainly not have resulted in unfriendliness of disposition, or a desire to be uncommunicative on matters of general and social interest.

60. The population generally had been terrified into a belief that any familiarity with members of the expedition, or information afforded relative to existing trade routes between Burmah and the south-western provinces of China, would subject informers to a government prosecution,—a mode of proceeding which had terrific signification in its practical application to the non-official masses of an outlying Burmese province.

61. Numerous proofs were soon given of this official interdiction to friendly intercourse between ourselves and the people of Bhamo. The officials themselves evaded all such causes of complaint until forced into a conviction of their reality. Extenuation was then sought in the announcement that the officials themselves were at loggerheads with each other, and could not be held individually responsible in the absence of a Governor or other chief controlling power. The consequence was that, whether by design or otherwise, the part taken by the officers of government at this time had assumed a course which coincided exactly with the well-known Burmese policy of exclusiveness, by which it was intended to bar for ever the right of way beyond the Burmese capital to foreign traders or intruders, whatever their claims or the introduction under which those claims were presented.

62. Thus the officials from whom alone real assistance was due, had become our steadiest opponents. Redress could hardly be expected from those who were principally concerned in instigating the several wrongs complained against. My frequent reference to the patronage under which the expedition originated, and the direful consequences of offending against royal promises of support given by the King of Burmah to Her Majesty's Government, and confidently acknowledged by that government, were not likely to be regarded by men who drew their inspiration and belief from Burmese head-quarters at Mandalay.

63. I will illustrate the above remarks by another passage taken at random from my rough diary under date 9th February :—

"Other instances have occurred of Burmese little mindedness and cruelty. An old Munipooree woman, who had occasionally interpreted for me in the Kakhyen

Kakhyen language, was yesterday dragged out of her house into the public streets and severely beaten at the instance of the Nŭkhandaw, a petty officer under the Tsitkay. The reason given for thus publicly chastising this poor female is, that she had burned a light in her house the previous evening after hours. The real cause of her offence happens to be that she assisted us to be kind towards a small party of despised Kakhyens. The woman has complained to me privately, but begs that I will not invite further trouble and suffering by making a direct grievance of her case. Many others have come forward and complained of the restraint put upon them, and the fear of punishment which precludes the proffer of their services. Amongst the crowd of candidates who are eager for employ if left to their natural inclinations, I find it is impossible to procure the services of a Kakhyen or Shan interpreter. To day a common shikaree, who had promised to show us game, has been obliged to excuse himself on the plea that he was in danger of provoking official censure by contributing in any way to our wants, &c., &c. The North Tsitkay called this evening whilst we were at dinner, and I explained to him our detestation of the Nŭkhandaw's behaviour in having publicly chastised a poor woman, whose only offence was that she had helped us in our communications with inoffensive Kakhyens. The Tsitkay did not attempt to refute my complaints, but excused them on the ground of misunderstanding and disagreement amongst the officials with whom he was associated. The orders of one were nullified or exaggerated, he said, by the envy or design of another. This could not be helped, as the officials acted independently of each other, and Bhamo was without a controlling governor. I mentioned the circumstance of the Burman shikaree."

"*Tsitkay.*—"Never mind, I will give you a man."

"So I suppose he would. It simply amounts to this, that we are forced into an unnatural dependence on these officials for every want, however trivial, and even then with very little chance of success, because the officials pretend to be divided amongst themselves, and submit to the disgrace of openly admitting the treacherous cancelment of each other's orders.

"They are stupid enough to think that this nonsense is believed in, and that I fail to perceive that the alleged disagreement amongst themselves is a mere pretext, by which they rely on their ability to continue a policy of obstructiveness with credit to themselves and to the complete satisfaction of their Mandalay masters," &c., &c.

64. On the 13th February the Tsitkays called upon me with letters from a Burman official at Tahpen, which reported several recent attacks on villages in his neighbourhood, by large numbers of marauding Kakhyens, who were said to have taken up a position on the direct route by which the expedition would pass in its progress towards the Shan States.

65. These letters and the reports they contained were anything but veritable or genuine in themselves, but the emphasis and enthusiasm with which the Tsitkays dwelt upon their contents, as a means of giving additional zest to the many other deterrent stories in circulation at Bhamo, which related to the dangerous opposition which the expedition would of a certainty encounter, made it at length inevitable that I should come to a complete understanding with them in this and other instances of official interference in the affairs of the expedition.

66. As a further reason for plain speaking, I may mention that my information at this time made it evident that the Tsitkays had cognizance of certain communications from the robber chief Lees-hee-ta-hee, who, in reply either to their requisitions or the requisitions of the Chinese residents of Bhamo, had signified to them his readiness to co-operate in our extermination by threats of armed opposition as soon as we appeared within the limits of his supposed jurisdiction.

Moung Shwè Yah, my Chinese interpreter, saw one of these letters and entered the Burmese *Yon* or court of justice at a time when a discussion was being held regarding it; but the letter was folded up, and the discussion ceased as soon as it was known that my interpreter, or a person then supposed to be in my confidence, formed one of their assembly.

67. Subsequently a writer of the court, in conversation with a Burman clerk

in my employ, not only admitted the receipt of letters from Lees-hee-ta-hee, but declared that they were favourable to the cause of the British expedition. Lees-hee-ta-hee had merely stipulated, he said, that the English party should advance alone without any Burmese accompaniments.

This stipulation is hardly intelligible unless we bear in mind the ambiguous style of writing which would naturally be adopted in a secret correspondence carried on between officers of the Burmese Government and a friendly robber chieftain of a foreign state!

68. The following has been suggested to me as the correct interpretation of that portion of Lees-hee-ta-hee's letter which provides that the English party should proceed on its journey without a Burmese escort:—

The Chinese dacoit bands which were pledged to annihilate the British expedition felt scruples of conscience which did not allow of their acting on the offensive towards Burmese subjects. They therefore intimated to the Tsitkays, in polite and suggestive terms, that it would be as well if Burmans did not form a portion of our party. The truth is, that the presence of a Burmese guard would have implied that we were under Burmese official protection, and this fact alone, considering the nature of Lees-hee-ta-hee's relationship with, and confessed subservience to, the court of Mandalay, must have secured us against much active opposition.

69. It was now late in February. More than the alloted ten days had elapsed since Ponlyne's last visit, and still there was no news of the Kakhyen chief or of his promised succour. Rumours had reached Bhamo in the meantime that the new Governor had left Mandalay by boat, and might be expected daily.

By degrees I realised what might have been apparent from the first, viz., that the officials then in power at Bhamo had never intended that we should leave that place before the new Governor's arrival. I had worried the officials and myself for nearly a month to no purpose. Their impassiveness was now accounted for, for to all intents and purposes they had simply been acting within the scope of their instructions, and felt secure against all prospect of censure or rebuke at Mandalay head-quarters.

70. With the full conviction that the Tsitkays had given up every idea of furthering the cause of our expedition at Bhamo, my only chance of success was to push our interests with the Kakhyens and disregard all prohibitory orders which made it penal on the part of Burmese subjects to afford us their assistance.

71. It had been necessary, from the date of Ponlyne's last departure from Bhamo, to keep up communication with that chief by means of my own messengers, and I was thus enabled to disprove the false reports relating to raids and disturbances in and about the vicinity of our proposed route through the Kakhyen hills.

72. My messengers were further enabled, in their intercourse with Ponlyne, to learn and note the endeavours which were being made by adverse interests to bring ruin on the expedition, even though it might eventually succeed in making a fair start from Bhamo. The opposition most likely to be effectual, and even dangerous, in its results was that which related to a correspondence which I have already referred to between certain Chinese residents of Bhamo and the famous robber chief Lees-hee-ta-hee. It was not within my means at the time to obtain direct proofs by which to test the real nature of this correspondence, but the Chinese themselves spoke openly of their confederate Lees-hee-ta-hee, and frequently alluded to him as an irresistible barrier to any attempt we might make to reach Momein.

73 Ponlyne, too, was reported to be wavering in his fidelity. He could not help recognizing the fact of formidable Chinese influences, which were the more dangerous to himself from the fact that the Chinese were seconded in their hostility to the expedition by the support and countenance of the Burmese Government.

At the same time, the Tsitkays, taking advantage of the state of helplessness to which they themselves had mainly contributed, advised me, with well-feigned earnestness,

earnestness, to await the Governor's arrival, and be guided by his counsel in determining upon a further prosecution of my journey.

74. The position then at this time may be briefly recapitulated as follows :—

The Kakhyen chief was supposed to await the expedition with mule carriage at Tahpen. I was disposed to trust his services in spite of calumnious reports of bad faith, and an insidious rumour to the effect that he was known to have leagued himself with those who were then engaged in conspiring our discomfiture.

The Bhamo officials had been persevering in their efforts to discountenance the expedition, to make it unpopular throughout the province, and to discourage every attempt to advance beyond the cordon of Bhamo.

If I proceeded and met with reverses, the Burmese Government would have it in its power to declare, with some show of reality and truth, that I had neglected advice, or disregarded consequences, as foretold by its own officers. My instructions were distinct and imperative. The government would "*prefer to see the expedition return, without accomplishing the object for which it was undertaken, than learn that the safety of the party had in any degree been compromised.*"

75. It had thus become an unavoidable necessity, under all circumstances, to abide by my instructions, and submit to the further delay of awaiting the new Governor's arrival, rather than allow the Burmese Government the power of making it appear that I had acted with undue haste, or without a just regard to official admonition.

These disclosures were for the time a grave contradiction to all the imaginary facilities of opening out the old overland trade route through Burmah to China. Plans which had all along appeared practicable and facile in theory presented in practice a series of obstacles, which were not only perplexing at the time, but promised to be eventually insurmountable.

76. It was not until I had fully comprehended the magnitude of the dangers to which a British expedition would be exposed in consequence of the Chinese confederacy at Bhamo, and the professed inability of the Burmese Government to be of any service to us beyond Burmese territory, that an expedient presented itself of counteracting the intended evil by a direct appeal for assistance to a power over which the Burmese Government was then supposed to possess no controlling influence.

77. The city of Momein was well known at the time to be the head-quarters of a Panthay Governor, who exercised sovereignty also over the Shan States bordering on Upper Burmah. The Panthays themselves have shown an inclination of late years to revive the old caravan trade with Burmah, and there was reasonable ground for presuming that their interests would lead them to disfavour the pretensions of a Chinese freebooter like Lees-hee-ta-hee, whose very existence and means of livelihood were persistently opposed to every legitimate effort to promote either friendly intercourse with neighbouring states, or commercial freedom within their own possessions.

The Chinese of Bhamo were confederated with this Lees-hee-ta-hee for the purpose of keeping to themselves the profits arising out of a petty trade, as it then existed, between that place and the states and provinces lying eastward in the direction of China.

The cessation of trade between Burmah and China had become dependent rather on a system of recognised freebooting on the frontiers of Burmah, than on disorganisation produced by a period of devastating civil war within the province of Yunan.

78. In 1866, Lees-hee-ta-hee had gained so far on Burman credulity as to head a deputation to the King of Burmah, in which he passed himself off as the representative of certain Shan chiefs who were desirous, he said, to make over their country to the Burmese Government. His deputation was successful so far as to have been well received by the King of Burmah; but his Majesty, in referring to the supposed Shan deputation in his conversation with me before the expedition started from Mandalay, had made it appear that the late rebellion in his own country prevented active interference on his part in the affairs of the Shan States. Lees-hee-ta-hee nevertheless received two gold umbrellas

as a mark of vassalage, and in appreciation of the disinterestedness with which he had acted on behalf of certain Shan States, with a view to their becoming a component part of his Majesty's dominions.

With these distinctions he returned to his stronghold on the Mauphoo Hills, where for years past he had so far controlled the caravan route between Bhamo and South Western China as to put an effectual stop to all legitimate traffic.

79. It will be seen from the above that there was a sufficient connectionship between this robber chieftain and the authorities in Burmah (Chinese or Burmese) to make him an useful tool in effecting either the ruin or the accomplishment of any proposed object which had in view the opening up of trade between Bhamo and Momein.

Had his services been utilised by the Burmese Government (as they most assuredly might have been) for the purpose of opening out the old overland trade route with Momein, or had they even been enlisted in our behalf as a means of furthering an advance towards the Chinese frontier, the success of the expedition, as regards exploration within the Shan States, must have been considerably expedited, and we should in all probability have avoided detention on the Kakhyen Hills. But inasmuch as that it had been openly announced and declared at Bhamo that Lees-hee-ta-hee was himself hostile, and had been made the tool of our enemies to oppose British influences beyond Burmese territory, it became a matter of very serious moment to frustrate designs which set at naught every reasonable hope of successful enterprise in the direction of our proposed exploration.

80. Hence originated the idea or expedient of making application to the Governor of Momein by the dispatch of letters which, whilst they stated the true object of our mission, and were intended at the same time to escape the action of our supposed friends in Burmah, were designed also to further our own interests and invite the assistance of the Panthay Government.

I was particular, however, in affording some sort of proof that although we had met with opposition at Bhamo, the Burmese Government was with us in our undertaking, and had recorded its assent to the same in a royal proclamation, a copy of which, together with printed copies of our treaties with the Burmese Government, were forwarded with my letters to the Momein Government. (*Vide* Appendix.)

81. The letters were forwarded from Bhamo by private Kakhyen scouts on the 19th February; and their concoction and dispatch were contrived with a secrecy which, either by chance or miracle, defied the surveillance of even Burmese detectives.

I subsequently learned beyond all doubt that the Bhamo Governor, when informed of the means thus successfully used to secure Panthay assistance and defeat the designs of his own subordinates, was savage beyond measure, and commented on their supineness and want of vigilance with an animosity and force which resulted in the subsequent dispatch of those officials in irons and in disgrace to Mandalay.

82. It is only fair, perhaps, to mention that the alleged reason for the dismissal of the Bhamo officials was their infamous treatment of the British expedition. But to give credence to such an announcement appears to me to outrage alike justice and common sense. The officials were retained in office for months after my own letters condemning their conduct had been delivered to his Majesty. Their removal from office took place only after the return of Captain Williams and Mr. Stewart from Ponsee, and after it had become manifest that we had outwitted our opponents by the dispatch of letters to Momein. It is, moreover, an offence against justice to assume that men should have been ignominiously dismissed from office and kept in irons for an indefinite period for a faithful discharge of duty in carrying out the orders and policy of their immediate superiors in government employ.

83. But the new Governor of Bhamo is now himself on the scene. He arrived by boat on the 20th February, and sent to tell me the same evening that it was not his intention to land until the 23rd, as the intervening days were unpropitious and unsuited to so momentous an undertaking.

This

This determination he stuck to in spite of my written protest and entreaties that he would not allow private considerations of convenience to delay, for even one day, matters of great urgency, which could not be disposed of until after he had landed and installed himself in office as Governor of Bhamo.

84. The following is a short account of my first interview with the Governor, as extracted from my rough diary of 23rd February 1868: "Greetings over, I referred with surprise to the Governor's protracted stay at Mandalay in excess of the time which had been stipulated for by himself and allowed by the king. I spoke of the unwonted time occupied *en route*, and my own difficulties, during the interval of his absence, in combating the obstructiveness of his subordinate officers at Bhamo.

"The Governor tried to justify the delay as well as the other annoyances I had experienced, on the ground that the officials at Bhamo had not fully comprehended the orders issued at Mandalay, and were moreover, he said, at variance amongst themselves. Supposing such to be the case, it is not satisfactory, I said, after having waited a month in vain attempts to rouse the officials to energy and a sense of their duty, to find that the Governor himself had allowed four days to elapse since his arrival without evincing any desire to avoid further procrastination, and make up for the miserable shortcomings of his blundering subordinates. The Governor said that, being a '*new man*,' he was ignorant of local customs. He professed to be actuated by a zealous interest in our undertaking, and promised to facilitate our departure by every means in his power. But 'take my advice,' he said, 'and do not start until I have time to superintend all your arrangements and satisfy myself personally that there is nothing amiss.'"

85. The Kakhyen chief, Ponlyne, arrived the next day, and paid me an early visit before proceeding to see the Governor. He particularly begged that I would not forget his former reasons for urging upon the Governor's notice the advisability of sending a small Burmese escort with the party as far as the Shan town of Manwyne. I accompanied Ponlyne on a visit to the Governor, and the whole day was spent in conferences and explanation. As soon as the subject of the Burmese escort was touched upon, the Governor turned to the Kakhyen chief, and asked him in rather brow-beating style, "Why do you want a Burmese guard?"

Ponlyne.—"A guard was allowed when the king's cotton was sent for sale a year or two ago."

Governor.—"Yes, that was a different matter altogether: (angrily) no guard is required now!"

Ponlyne (rather staggered).—"Oh! I understand."

86. What Ponlyne understood, or was intended to understand, was that the sale of the cotton was a matter in which the Burmese Government had an intimate concern, but that the Bhamo expedition was a British undertaking, and might therefore be allowed to take care of itself.

I interfered peremptorily, and begged the Governor to explain matters clearly. I also called the Kakhyen chief near me (he had been hustled into an inferior position at a distance amongst the Governor's menials) and told him not to be afraid, but speak out his mind. The King of Burmah (I continued to the Governor) had formally recognised and supported the present enterprise. He had encouraged the English Government to embark in it, in a full and confident reliance on that support. Did the Governor wish the Kakhyen chiefs and others to understand that the royal commercial speculation, in the matter of a few bales of cotton, was of greater political importance than the well-being of an undertaking on which the king had staked his reputation and word?

87. This sensational outburst had its effect, and raised me at once in the estimation of the Kakhyen chief. To speak so authoritatively and without fear to the Governor of Bhamo evidenced to his mind the fact of my being a person of influence and position But Ponlyne had already been so unmercifully badgered by the Governor because he had dared to make mention of a Burmese guard, and had, moreover, been so clearly made to understand that he was condemned solely on account of this unpalatable requisition, that he elected to forego the guard altogether, and told the Governor, under evident compulsion,

that he would undertake to conduct us in safety to Manwyne without Burmese aid or intervention of any sort.

88. I came to the rescue at this crisis of affairs, and said that Ponlyne's reasons for specially requiring a Burmese guard were good, and would be explained by and by, or as soon as the Governor would allow the chief to confer with him in private.

Shortly afterwards the Governor dismissed his numerous attendants, and I sent away mine; we were therefore alone.

The Kakhyen chief now spoke out, and said that it was his fear of Chinese influences at Bhamo and on the frontier which caused him to ask for a Burmese guard, to save appearances only, so that mischief-makers might not have it in their power to say that *he* alone was to blame for having brought English interlopers into a foreign state.

89. I too had all along complained of these same Chinese influences, and was glad of the open testimony thus vouchsafed to the Governor by a comparatively disinterested Kakhyen chief, who had himself only recently been bound to Chinese interests, and was even then inclined to abandon us to serve their cause.

The Governor said that he was aware of the Chinese opposition, but could not as yet discover whether the mischief arose at Bhamo or at Mandalay, where the merchants were desirious for their own sakes to keep the Bhamo route closed, so as to profit to the full extent by the southern route *viâ* Theebo and Theinee. He promised that the head Chinaman should be called upon for an explanation. He would himself make full nquiries, &c. &c.

90. Ponlyne called again the same afternoon, and seemed ill at ease and disheartened.

He was evidently much hurt at the Governor's refusal to give tangible proof of a willingness to assist the expedition. I could see that he was personally anxious on his own account. The drift of his remarks was as follows: —

"Both the Chinese and Burmese are against you: but never mind, leave this place quickly and depend on me. The Chinese give out that you are going to join the Panthays against them. They really would not care if you did. This is not their real grievance. Their chief reason for wishing you evil is, that they may monopolise trade themselves and keep all outsiders at a distance."

91. The Kakhyen chief had openly announced in the presence of the Governor his ability to conduct the expedition as far as the Shan town of Manwyne. He had been forced into abandoning a point which affected his private interests very considerably, viz., the desire that Burmese officials should enter an appearance in the affairs of the expedition, and not withdraw themselves as unconcerned spectators only.

Nevertheless Ponlyne agreed to conduct us himself as far as Manwyne without Burman aid or support. He had formally guaranteed the good will and co-operation of all other Kakhyen chiefs, and I saw reason at the time to confide in his powers, rather than abandon ourselves to the procrastination of the Burmese Government.

92. I was still, however, dependent on the Governor for the services of interpreters in the Kakhyen and Shan languages. Numbers of men were available for the work, and would accompany me anywhere, but the fear of offending by disobeying Government orders, which placed us beyond the pale of communication with Burmese subjects, overcame their own instincts, and paralysed every effort I had hitherto made to procure assistance of any kind by a recourse to ordinary expedients.

93. When I explained my difficulties in this respect to the Governor in person, an order was given to the Tahpen Cheoung-oke to accompany the expedition himself, or make over to me two of his subordinate peons, or tamons of villages, who spoke either the Shan or Kakhyen languages. The Cheoung-oke in my presence openly told the Governor that he would rather forfeit his position as Cheoung-oke than be under the necessity of obeying orders which compelled him to accompany the expedition on so perilous an undertaking. The Governor smiled instead of rebuking the official and enforcing his own orders;

orders; but two tamons were afterwards told off, and directed to place themselves under my orders as interpreters to our party. The tamons belonged to the villages of Manlyaw and Hentha, and the understanding was, that they should join me on our arrival at Tahpen.

94. Only one more slight hitch, and we shall have turned our backs on Bhamo.

All the money in my possession consisted of India coined rupees, which, it was said, would not pass current among Kakhyens, or within the Shan states. The rupees must be changed for silver bullion of peculiar standard, readily procurable at Bhamo, and current everywhere. Such at least was the information tendered at Mandalay; and yet on arrival at Bhamo silver had become, for some unaccountable reason, an unknown commodity altogether. I would gladly have changed 5,000 rupees. It was our all, but no amount of solicitation was of any avail in procuring as many hundreds in bullion. I importuned every one The Chinese said they were poor, and did not possess silver. The officials excused the emptiness of their treasury by assuring me that remittances had only just been made to the capital on account of the previous year's tax collections.

95. The South Tsitkay sent his wife to me, who said that, if I would give her time and pay out rupees in advance, she might possibly get me (200) two hundred rupees-worth of change in the indefinite Burmese period of four or five days.

The Tsitkay's wife was a garrulous old lady of 60, who boasted of her near relationship to a Woongyee at the capital. She had evidently assumed the privileges of a Burmese Woongadaw (Governor's wife), and to all appearances conducted a large per-centage of his official duties. The alleged inability of such a woman, backed as she was by so much official status and authority, to procure a small amount only of what on an ordinary occasion would have been forthcoming in abundance, was a convincing argument against the futility of my attempting a bullion business on a large scale, and I persevered in the work so far only as to let the Governor know my wants and receive his stereotyped reply in this, as in all other petty emergencies, that being a *new man* he found it out of his power to afford me any assistance.

96. There was no help for it; we must start with *rupees* or not at all. Had bullion been procurable, the exchange would have involved, by Burmese calculation, an estimated loss of (30) thirty per cent. My own idea was that rupees would not be valueless even in the Shan states, and that, as a last resource, if the coin was refused, the rupees might be melted down as required, at less cost and trouble than the labour and vexation of making Burmese give in when once the determination had been come to of sending us on our journey minus cash, and, as they supposed, minus everything.

97. No silver, no interpreters, the evil influence arising out of strenuous Burmese opposition, and yet a British expedition was about to advance through a country which even Burmese missions had failed to penetrate.

Well might the officials chuckle over the utter state of helplessness to which they conceived the expedition had been reduced by a wanton disregard to royal promises and international obligations.

98. It was evidently beyond their powers of calculation to take into account that our wordly shortcomings were more than outbalanced by the possession of qualities which, however alien to Burmese conceptions, would probably gain for us a larger amount of success than was procurable by wealth or its more material accompaniments. Honesty of purpose, a good cause, friendly conciliation, and perfect truthfulness, were likely, in the long run, to be steadier allies and more certain aids to success than all the resources of Bhamo, tinged, as they must have been, by elements of deceit.

99. But it is time to start. The 26th of February is a day to be remembered in the annals of the expedition. On the 25th our baggage had been dispatched by boat, and would be conveyed up the Tahpen river to a village where mules were in waiting to convey it across the hills to Manwyne.

The land-journey from Bhamo to this said village was the most convenient to travellers relieved of their baggage, but as the route led through jungle, and was intersected at short intervals by branch roads, which diverged in all direc-

tions, and led no one knew where, a guide was an absolute necessity. It was necessary, too, to provide against other contingencies, as implied by the fact that a broad, rapid, unfordable river would be encountered on our first march, and that the means for crossing it could not be depended on without contrivance, and a certain amount of Burmese pre-arrangement.

100. On the 25th the officials (I was still made to depend on them for every want) had assured me that efficient arrangements had been made for our start the next morning, and that guides, with the requisite number of porters, should be in early attendance to accompany us on the first march out of Bhamo. They failed in their promises to the last, and it was with difficulty that we got off at 10 a.m., with very incomplete attendance, and no guides.

It would have been more baneful to our proceeding to have remained on this account, and hazarded the delay of obtaining a guide, than to have started without one, and trusted to accident. I chose the latter alternative, and was right. A petty Burmese official, known as the Toung-mhoo, met me as I rode through the town, and was persuaded into accompanying the party, after carefully stipulating that I would use my interest at Burmese head quarters in screening him from the liability he incurred by giving his services to the British expedition. The man, in fact, was pressed into our service, and it is right, perhaps, that I should admit (on the principle only of giving the devil his due) that the Toung-mhoo, though a Burman official, proved, on this occasion, an essential aid in forcing the start from Bhamo, and providing the means which were otherwise unavailable of reaching a destination on the proper (right) bank of the river Tahpen.

101. We arrived at the village of Tahmeylon at 2 p.m., and occupied a deserted Shan phongyee house on the bank of that river. The priest had fled or become defunct, but the paraphernalia of his office were everywhere in abundance. We settled down into comfortable quarters, amongst model shrines richly carved in wood and inlaid with coloured glasses, a library of religious books, sacred alms-bowls, and complacent images of Gaudama in every variety of shape and profusion. They remained intact, for it would have been sacrilege to have disturbed aught before the advent of a new incumbent.

The baggage boats, which left Bhamo the day previous, passed up the river during the afternoon towards our proposed destination at the village of Sitkaw, which we reached ourselves on the following morning (27th February).

102. Our mules and mule-men were assembled at Sitkaw, and at this starting point had also arrived a few Kakhyen chiefs (with their paw-mynes or deputies), who were afraid to trust themseves within the dangerous precincts of Burman Bhamo.

The Ponsee and Thalon Saubwas were present in person. The Saray Saubwa was represented by his two grown-up sons and several paw-mynes or deputies. The route, *viâ* Ponlyne to Manwyne, was virtually in the hands of these three Saubwas, Ponlyne, Ponsee, and Saray. They had all contributed mules and men for the expedition, and their willingness to serve and allow free transit through their respective hill tracts was signified without hesitation, now that no further occasion existed for fearing or being influenced by Burmese restraints.

103. It is true that the Tahpen Cheoung-oke and a few tamons or heads of villages on the banks of that river were still present; but the villagers referred to are a hybrid race, known as Shan Burmese, who pay taxes, but receive no protection from the local government at Bhamo. Their head men find it necessary, therefore, to come to a private understanding with the Kakhyen chiefs who occupy the adjacent hills to be mutually forbearing to each other, and purchase exemption from kidnapping raids, to which Kakhyens and hybrid Shans, as a rule, are by no means (by nature) indisposed.

The villagers thus become subservient rather to the Kakhyen chiefs than to their more lawful masters at Bahmo; and the presence of their head man at Sitkaw, even in a Burman capacity, could no longer act with undue restraint on the relations of these chiefs towards the expedition party.

104. Mule-men are as intractable and far more restive than mules themselves, unless properly understood or under well-trained management. First experiences at Sitkaw verified this fact to an insufferable extent.

The

The mules generally belong to petty proprietors, whose stock may consist of from one to a dozen animals. Each proprietor is a sort of irresponsible agent, and though his mules may be herded in a caravan, with the mules of other proprietors, he will not be regarded as a collective whole, but looks for and demands separate recognition in all that relates to the hire and use of his particular property.

105. As soon as our baggage had been made over to the Kakhyen chiefs, and passed in review by the several mule proprietors assembled at Sitkaw, an incessant clamour was raised as to its apportionment into parcels, for allotment to the several claimants for carrier employ.

I was obliged to depend a great deal, at this time, on the Ponlyne chief and my Chinese interpreter, Moung-Shwè-Yah. Both were occasionally drunk; but this seemed to be of no consequence, as drunkenness is the normal condition of Kakhyens when on duty, and is not regarded by them as any real interruption to love or business.

106. I find the following note in my diary of 29th February :—

Diary.—" Ponlyne visited me at 12; a volley of muskets on entering the village.

" He is suffering from a night of drunken debauchery.

" I offered him brandy as a sedative; it was nectar as compared with his native shamshoo. He evidently thought so, and seized the cup, but vomited in the attempt to gulp down its contents. He looks vacant and woe-begone, but talks *business* nevertheless. Moung-Shwè-Yah has been drinking too, and is useless; little or nothing can be done with either in their present state. Orders are given for mules to be brought, to try their loads. Panniers come first, and each muleteer seizes upon an allotment of boxes, and binds them securely to the panniers. All is noise and confusion; but order comes out of it after a time. The panniers with their loads are subdivided again into lots, and arranged in front of our residence. But there is a superfluity of mules, and the surplus proprietors quarrel amongst themselves, and fight with those who have already secured a baggage allotment. Panniers are unslung, and there is much angry dispute about their re-adjustment.

" Ponlyne has recovered a little, and says I must leave all to him, and not interfere. The panniers must be re-arranged to-morrow morning, and a fresh apportionment of baggage made before we can start. The mule-men are principally Shans, with a sprinkling only of Kakyens. They are inclined to be quarrelsome and discontented on account of their long detention at this place. Every little dispute calls for an appeal to arms; the hand is instinctively led to grasp the sword handle on the slightest provocation, but the weapon is not often drawn; the act is demonstrative rather than real. There is a good deal of cowardly bluster, but it very rarely happens that blows are struck or that actual damage is the result.

" The Tahlon Saubwa promises to take us anywhere if I will only pay him well; but he is not to be trusted. I am told that he suggested to his brother, Ponlyne, the advisability of levying an arbitrary customs-duty on our baggage, on account of mule demurrage.

" Ponlyne replied very staunchly that I was his friend, and threatened his brother, Tahlon, with immediate extermination if anything was done to cause me annoyance. There was an earnestness in the threat which must have been irresistible, for Tahlon has now become affable again, and is both friendly and useful."

107. We were to have left Sitkaw on the morning of the 1st (March), but the Burmese Cheoung-oke reappeared on the scene with certain of the Kakhyen chiefs, and all affirmed that the day (being the 9th of some imaginary Kakhyen month) is altogether unpropitious as a day on which to set out on a journey, or commence any other important undertaking. Other trivial causes were assigned for delay. The mule-men were said to be dissatisfied and quarrelsome, but the cause of their dissatisfaction was not explained or explainable. I expostulated strongly, though determined not to provoke a quarrel. There seemed greater need than ever for conciliation and forbearance. No other line of action would have been possible in the present state of our dependence on Kakhyen friendship. Up to that very moment Burmese officialism was doing all it could to make itself obnoxious and obstructive; but we shall get off after all. The Cheoung-oke tried to discourage me by saying that the Kakhyen chiefs were at variance with the mule-men, and that there would be open strife before long. I warned him against interference, and at the same time sent for the chiefs, and said that I would abide by any arrangements they might choose to make as to the distribution of mules or carriage generally. They were satisfied. I praised them openly for friendly assistance, and they as unreservedly declared that we were their relatives and friends, and that they would be true to us for ever.

108. Demands for money were pressing and continuous. Phoongyees even seemed to have turned beggars. A Shan priest called upon us at Sitkaw, and as I treated him with becoming respect, he became communicative. Shan phoongyees are admitted to be very lax and unorthodox in their religious observances. Our guest on this occasion appeared to be an exception to the general rule. He possessed a large comfortable monastery at this village, but his missionary duties take him, he says, to rude villages in the interior, where he hoped in time to convert the half-Shan population into civilised conformity with Budhist teachings.

109. The Phoongyee was wonderfully shrewd, and gave us the following good advice at parting. These are almost his own words :—

"We have met before in a former existence; and it is by virtue of meritorious acts then done that I am privileged to meet you again in the present existence and advise you for your welfare.

"Let me tell you then that wisdom and prudence are necessary ingredients in the performance of all worldly undertakings. Use special care and circumspection in your present expedition. Your enemies are numerous and powerful, but do not believe that they are either Shans or Kakhyens. Do your best. We shall all hail the re-opening of overland trade with China. The happiness and prosperity of the priesthood depend on the wealth and condition of the country and its inhabitants. What is good for the country is good also for religion," &c. &c.

110. The expedition did not get away from Sitkaw until 2 p.m. on 2nd March.

Late at night, on 1st, the Ponlyne chief came to tell me that Moung-Shwè-Yah, my Chinese interpreter, had colluded with the Chinese, and was as much our enemy as any Burman of Bhamo. I sent for the man, but found him too drunk to be intelligent or intelligible.

111. On the 2nd a delay arose in taking lists of our mule-men, and in ascertaining who they belonged to, and what particular chiefs were responsible for safe conduct and protection *en route*.

In the midst of this confusion the Ponsee and Tahlon Saubwas discovered, in an interval of sobriety, that the Ponlyne chief had received a present of a musket whilst in attendance on us at Bhamo. Moung-Shwè-Yah had urged them to claim similar consideration and reward as independent chiefs, who were as powerful as, if not more so than, the Ponlyne himself. It was not in my power to satisfy them. They were under evil influences, and the musket difficulty was a mere prelude to further obstructiveness. At the last moment they refused their services, and prowled about in sneaking silence, taking lists of ourselves and of our baggage, and implying, or intending to imply, thereby that they were measuring our strength and resources with a view to opposition as soon as we commenced the march into their hills.

112. It was long after mid-day, therefore, before mules were brought and finally loaded. The arrangements were, that the first day's march should take us to Ponlyne's village, which was said to be not more than four koss (or eight miles) from Sitkaw. Although, therefore, the day was already far advanced, and our arrangements for the journey by no means so effective as they might have been; the necessity of making a start was imperative, and could not have been delayed without endangering our enterprise. It would have been prejudicial to every hope of success at this time to have allowed mere considerations of time or distance to stand in our way, when the opportunity of an actual advance of any kind had at last become, even remotely, practicable.

113. Up to the last moment I was not sure that secret influences might not yet prevail to cause the desertion of our mule-men, and make our advance from Sitkaw as remote and impossible as it had been for a whole month of harassing inaction within the hated precincts of Bhamo.

114. But we are all off by 2 p.m. Three Kakhyen Saubwas lead the way, the mules follow, and certain men of the police escort are told off to ammunition and cash-chest.

There was something outrageously wild, even to romance, in the manner of our

our start. The Kakhyens, on the contrary, from *their* point of view, might probably have been discussing the completeness of the arrangements, whilst we, in our ignorance of their peculiarities and in the absence of interpreters, or of a single Burmese adherent who either possessed the requisite knowledge himself, or dared to volunteer information as to the correct mode of marching at the head or bringing up the tail of a Kakhyen convoy, were unable to enforce order ourselves, or to distinguish any sign of arrangement in the irregular programme of our exodus from Sitkaw.

115. The route lay in a northerly direction, through paddy or grassfields for a distance of three miles, as far as the small village of Sehek, from which point the ascent commences rather abruptly at the base of the Ponlyne hills. We had here headed our baggage, and a temporary halt took place.

The three Kakhyen chiefs, who had preceded us from Sitkaw, were seated by themselves at a point where the road branched off almost at right angles from the village of Sehek towards the base of the Ponlyne hills.

They were evidently in deep council, and much excited; but as I came up, the Ponlyne ran towards me and pointed out the road up the hill, exclaiming at the same time, as if to excuse himself for not leading the advance, "All right! Go on; don't be afraid!"

116. It puzzled me at first to know what he meant by the expression "*Don't be afraid,*" for hitherto there had been no cause to apprehend danger at all.

But on we went; my pony was a good climber, and was ahead, After ascending the hills some two miles, a shot was fired a long way in advance. The mule-men shouted like fiends, and urged me to fire off my guns. I waited until Dr. Anderson had joined me. A second shot, then four shots all at once, but no sound of a bullet. Captain Bowers and Mr. Stewart came up almost immediately, and we went on as if nothing had occurred. At least 50 of our mules were ahead. The Kakhyens of our party were many of them in liquor, and though they vociferated frantically, they did not exhibit the slightest sense of fear or misgiving.

117. One of them was mounted on a mule, and became more dangerous at close quarters as a friend, than any number of our jungle enemies in the bush. In his excitement he occasionally flourished a long sword, in reckless disregard of everything and everyone but himself. He became a still more formidable animal when the sword was sheathed and his matchlock brought into earnest operation. Drunkenness seemed only to steady his movements, for although the road was rough and a steep incline in most places, the matchlock was nevertheless loaded and fired with wonderful precision as regards time, but with utter recklessness as regarded direction. The man was both friendly and quarrelsome at the same time. A word or suggestion out of place would have converted him on the instant into a foe, and the only means of keeping him in good humour with himself and with us was to praise his dexterity, and promise to renew his exhausted powder-flask as soon as we arrived at the village of Ponlyne.

118. Soon after the firing commenced Mr. Stewart picked up a spear, which is supposed to have been hurled against some of our party with hostile intent. But the evidence on this point is not very convincing, as it rests solely on the testimony of a Burmese horse-keeper, who said he saw the spear alight in the ground when first thrown from the jungle. My belief is that the spear incident, as well as the shots which were fired in advance of us as we ascended the first projections of the Ponlyne range, had no real purpose beyond a mere *show* of hostility, contrived most probably, on the one hand, with the object of terrifying us into a return to Bhamo, and assisted, on the other, by certain of our own Kakhyen party, who no doubt required very little pressing in a matter which promised to make them masters of our baggage and property.

119. But as we are now on the march, it is advisable, I think, for the sake of more concise elucidation, to confine my narrative for the present to a selection of quotations from my rough notes and journal.

3rd MARCH 1868.

"Did not reach Ponlyne village until nearly dark last evening. The Paw-myne conducted us to a Kakhyen house, which had been swept and set apart for our accommodation. The building, like all Kakhyen houses, consists of an elongated bamboo shed, the front portion of which is open and forms a portico, in which the live stock of the proprietor (pigs, fowls, ponies, and buffaloes) are fed by day and herded at night. The remainder of the house is floored with bamboos, and is divided longitudinally down the centre, with transverse partitions on one side only, so as to form rooms or cells in which the separate members of one or many families find a habitation. The other side is open throughout, and is used as a general lounge; but the whole exterior of the building is closely matted in, with a single opening or doorway at the back, through which it is a sin for any one who is not a member of the family to enter, although egress is allowed through it to all alike.

"Very few of our mules had arrived last night, but there is a novelty about the scene and occasion which atoned in some measure for the absence of bed and supper.

"We stroll out and admire Kakhyen women pounding paddy by moonlight. An old lady of the party beckoned me to follow her, and I was conducted, with a thrill of ambiguity as to results, to a house at a little distance, where I found Ponlyne himself in the midst of his family.

"The old lady was his wife, and I was most hospitably entertained. The chief made me sit down by him on his own carpet, and the family attended on us with successive relays of Kakhyen beer, a very good substitute for an English original, provided of course nothing better is to be had.

"This morning there is a report that a portion of our mules and baggage have been looted by the Tahlon Saubwa. As the day wears on matters improve. We find that numbers of our mule-men, who were supposed at first to have decamped altogether, had simply herded for the night in small groups at their own pet halting places in and around Ponlyne. Missing baggage turns up most opportunely in various out-of-the-way localities.

"The jemadar with the escort arrived at 1 p.m., and reports that he remained for the night in charge of the ammunition and cash-chest at a village some three miles distant from Ponlyne; a number of our mules are also congregated there, with my Chinese interpreter, Moung-Shwè-Yah. The Paw-myne of the village, for some unaccountable reason, refused to let them come on. The Ponlyne chief has sent his own son to bring them. When they arrive we shall have lost nothing of any consequence.

"The chief's wife has paid us a visit in great state with her family, and a retinue of female attendants. She brings presents of geese, boiled rice, eggs, and Kakhyen beer.

"She is a fine, intelligent, matronly-looking woman; her get-up is perfect in its way, and, though a little *outré* at first sight, is by no means unbecoming.

"The head-dress consists of a black cotton scarf, which is wound round the head so as to ascend a foot or more above it in the shape of an inverted pyramid. The upper garment is a loose black-velvet jacket, ornamented with large silver button embossments, which encircle the neck from behind, and are brought forward towards the breast. Circular plates of chased and enamelled silver, each three inches in diameter, are arranged in lines down the front seam of the jacket on either side, and a similar line down the centre of the back and continued all round the skirt. The lower garment is a single dark-blue cotton cloth, about a yard and a half in length, which passes once round the body from the waist to the knees, and is fastened in front with a simple tuck. It is edged with a red woollen border, one end being tastefully worked with silk embroidery a foot in depth. This attempt at decoration is not lost sight of, but dangles on one side with a captivating effect, which is as much a study amongst the women of the Kakhyen hills as it is the right and privilege of the female sex everywhere.

"Sounds of Kakhyen music are heard in the distance, and going in search, we arrive at a house full of men, women, and children, who are dancing vigorously to a rattling accompaniment of gongs and sticks, played by themselves. They do not object to our presence, and Anderson and I enter the house and take an active part in the festive proceedings. The dance is a measured side step with side movement, crab-fashion. We go round in our proper places and are enjoying a certain wild novelty in the arrangements, when suddenly the male dancers become more than usually excited, and rush madly out of the house like demons. We remain inside with the women.

"The scene of rejoicing has turned into one of mourning and lamentation. Two of the women retire and cry piteously over the corpse of a child which has been carefully concealed in an out-of-the-way corner of a side apartment. *Horribile dictu!* We too have joined in the death-dance, and contributed our aid in the propitiation of nats, and in driving from its late tenement the hovering spirit of the departed! Other women bring us logs of wood to be used as stools, and sit down for a time, whilst our hosts hand round Kakhyen beer in conical cups of plantain leaves, which have been ingeniously improvised for our especial benefit.

"If our object is to familiarise ourselves with Kakhyen manners and customs, we shall soon become proficients with a vengeance! We paid our footing in rupees, and left the house with feelings not altogether unpleasurable, but shadowed, perhaps, by a tinge of sadness, and a sense that death-dances do not add to the personal dignity or moral elevation of European adventurers who have unconsciously indulged in them in the wilds of Kakhyen land.

land. The Saubwa's wife has come again with her suite whilst we are at dinner, and brings more fresh brewed beer.

"A number of our muleteers also congregate round us, and are inclined to be rude, and even insolent, but quiet down when properly spoken to.

"They ask whether our country is a hot or cold one. 'Cold.'

"'Oh! That is why you are good people like ourselves; but you must pay well as you go along, and there will be no difficulty. There are three chiefs who have still to be conciliated; one of them is your friend, but two promise to oppose you. We cannot mention names.'"

4TH MARCH 1868.

The cash-chest arrived at 12 o'clock, mid-day. The mule-men have commenced to filch out of our cases in earnest.

They are considerate too, in some respects. In one of Stewart's cases they discovered a bottle of port wine, and got at its contents by pushing in the cork, but the liquor proving unpalatable, they made a wooden cork, and replaced the bottle in its original place, with a very innocent and laudable desire to prevent waste.

I have assembled the chiefs and Ponlyne to-day, and made them all suitable presents of clothes, &c.

The Ponlyne makes a speech, and exhorts all to faithful service.

He informed me, however, privately, that the nats look unfavourably upon us, and will require propitiation. This communication was followed during the evening by an announcement that he was about to consult the spirits of good and evil, and obtain their consent or dissent to a continuance of our journey on the morrow. I am invited to attend.

This implies another demand for rupees. We proceed to the Saubwa's new house. The Kakhyen priest (Meetway) separates himself from the rest of his companions and occupies a dark corner at one end of the house. Here he crouches down and works himself into a fury of attitudinising, strokes his head and face with both hands, tears his hair, sighs, moans, groans, and finally his legs from the knee downwards quiver with a reverberation which repeats itself on the bamboo flooring with a sharp castanet commotion of sound, which is kept up throughout the ceremony. We now know that the man is possessed or beyond self-control. His utterances are henceforth those of demons and nats. There is anger and fury in his voice.

The chief whispers and asks me if I have brought a propitiation. I am prepared for the worst, but bargain to be let off for 15 rupees.

The money is laid on a new cloth and offered on a platter of plaintain leaves, but in a moment platter and rupees are kicked to a distance in scorn. The chief approaches with reverence and supplication, and begs that the offering may not be rejected. No reply, but deeper groans and more piercing shrieks. I am appealed to, and add five rupees to the offering, which now finds favour, and is duly brought to account. Benedictions follow, and all that is good is prognosticated in our future travels.

The effect of all this would be ludicrous and uninteresting in the extreme, were it not for the reverence and devotional earnestness with which the chiefs and people regard the ceremonial from beginning to end. There is no doubt that their faith is firmly bound up in the prognostications for good or evil which emanate from the being who, to their ideas, becomes thus miraculously inspired or possessed.

No work of importance, or even necessity, is ever undertaken without his approval, or rather the approval of the minor deities, who speak through him.

But the respect and dignity due to his office cease with the moment of inspiration. When unpossessed, the Meetway sinks into the common-place reality of an ordinary Kakhyen layman. The man to whom chiefs bent in reverence, and upon whom, perhaps, the fate of the expedition principally depended whilst under spiritual influence in the recent ceremonial, was in ordinary life a common labourer, and carried one of my boxes on the march from Sitkaw to Ponlyne.

The embryo Meetway in early life, or as soon as he begins to evince evident signs of a connectionship with the world of spirits, is subjected to an infallible test, which passes him at once into the recognised status of a full-blown Kakhyen priest.

The test is simple, but awkward; a ladder is provided (the steps of which consist of sword blades with the sharp edge turned upwards), and leads on to a small platform, which is thick set with the sharpest spikes. The novitiate takes his degree and becomes forthwith ordained to the office of a Kakhyen Meetway by climbing this ladder and seating himself upon the spiked platform, not only without personal inconvenience to his nether parts at the time, but with freedom from all after traces of visible or apparent injury.

The faculty of becoming possessed has thus been proved, and whether such faculty has any real existence beyond mere momentary frenzy and excitement, it is certain that the Meetway becomes a recognised medium, and possesses a kind of inspiration which, for want of peculiar training, perhaps, our limited ideas fail either to conceive or comprehend.

After the ceremony the Ponlyne spoke to me in confidence, and said that, if I wished to succeed in my travels, no help would be so powerful as a large expenditure of the precious metal.

He says that the Shans and Kakhyengalays have fraternised for the purpose of

opposing us, and that conciliation will be a difficult matter in the face of all the evil reports which have already been circulated with the avowed object of putting an end to the expedition.

5TH MARCH 1868.

Up at daylight. The mule-men come early and ask for their loads. We are prepared to start, but now comes the inevitable hitch, the Saubwa (Ponlyne) will not show himself.

I am told he is asleep or at breakfast, but in reality he has assumed a fit of diplomatic sulks, and obstinately refuses to leave his house or afford explanation.

I understand the indisposition and go to him. More rupees! This system of silent extortion is ruinous. It is a repetition of last night's story.

"Unless you are prepared to pay well you had better go back."

Six hundred rupees are demanded, and I pay down 300, which are accepted. I had already given him and his wife rich cloths and carpets, as well as a flint musket, a valuable present in itself. The 300 rupees now given are intended as a further advance to the mule-men, who had already received 500 rupees before we left Sitkaw.

It is far more probable, I think, that the money will find its way into the chief's own private hoard.

The cash-chest is another difficulty; 300 rupees are demanded as the sum to be paid for its conveyance as far as Manwyne.

I offer one rupee each, per diem, to 20 men as long as they are employed.

No.

Then I must break up the chest altogether; this involves delay; if the money is distributed and placed in our boxes, they will of a certainty be looted.

We eventually count it out in allotments of 300 rupees each, to be carried alternately by men of the police escort.

Did not get off till half-past nine. Our route to-day lay along the valley of the Tahpen. The view now and then is glorious. On either side hills tower up into mountains, and range after range succeed each other indefinitely till lost in the blue distance.

Ponlyne itself (the village) is about 2,500 feet above sea level. The immediate descent, from Ponlyne to the bed of the Nambouk river, is steep and difficult for a distance of about three miles; but the next four miles is occupied in crossing a succession of lofty spurs which abut into the valley from the main ranges.

Kakhyens keep to the high ground as much as possible, and their roads seem to be purposely designed with a view to reaching the most elevated points on any given route. My theory is, that the first trace is made in ignorance of locality, and that high points are selected as places from which to look out and espy a way to any desired destination.

The track once made may be anything but a direct route; but it serves as a guide, and is, perhaps, rigidly adhered to ever after. The Tahpen river is constantly in sight. At times we descend nearly to its bed, and anon it is roaring 2,000 feet below us; it is a broad rapid torrent, or rather a continuation of rapids down which the water rushes with unceasing roar, and with a force which nothing could withstand, if we except prodigious boulders of granite, which lie occasionally across its bed, or hang suspended on its immediate banks, with an inclination which suggests a gradual but inevitable downfall.

Halted at 2 p.m. The mules are fagged and cannot go further, although "the wheel" has only registered eight miles in six hours!

I have no faith in "the wheel" over this kind of ground.

The "wheeler" is obliged to carry it over a great portion of the road, which remains accordingly unregistered or unaccounted for.

We encamp in the jungle and call the spot Lăkhon, which is the name of the largest range of hills in our immediate vicinity.

6TH MARCH 1868.

The Ponlyne Saubwa says that we must proceed with caution to-day, as the Ponsee Saubwa is offended with me for not having presented him with a musket.

The Kakhyen deities had spoken, he said, through the Meetway, and ordered us always on commencing a march to fire a volley.

He inserted a slight amendment, however, to the effect that double charges of powder were advisable, so as to make as great a report as possible.

Started from Lăkhon at 8.45 a.m., and reached Ponsee village at 11.30, the wheel only registering four miles. Road comparatively easy and good the whole way.

The Ponsee Saubwa has not provided us with accommodation, and we encamp in a hollow at the foot of the village.

A Paw-myne, with his wife and female relatives, paid us a visit this evening with presents of beer and vegetables. One of the young women was inclined to be merry and communicative, in the hope of attracting attention and securing beads. Her hair was cut straight across the forehead, and allowed to hang down mop-fashion behind.

She was married nevertheless, although the *puggery*, or headdress which Kakhyen married women ought by right to wear, was absent. I offered to supply the deficiency, and raised a burst of modest merriment, which took the Paw-myne quite by surprise. He reproved the levity of his young relative, and evinced dislike to innocent flirtations.

One

One of my Burmese followers was struck this evening by a Kakhyen in the employ of the Ponsee chief.

Ponlyne interfered, and said that he would resent an insult offered to any of my people as if offered to himself. He has shown himself our friend thus far, but it would suit the reduced state of my finances better if he was less covetous and exacting in his pecuniary requirements.

7TH MARCH 1868.

The Ponlyne Saubwa has come to me early this morning to say that a small army of Shans and Kakhyens have collected on the road we intend proceeding by, and threaten opposition. He thinks they may be bought over for 2,000 rupees!

I do not mince matters, but say at once that I must give up all idea of proceeding further unless Ponlyne can let me off at a cheaper rate of blackmail than that which he now advises.

It is necessary to be particular on this point, for I have already been twice asked since we ascended the hills, what pecuniary arrangements I had made for our return journey homewards.

The Ponlyne rather significantly remarks that the Panthays have lots of money, and will be glad to accommodate me.

This is another instance of an unvarying belief in our connection with the Panthay cause, and our determination to assist it to the exclusion and confusion of all other interests in Yunan.

But a more serious difficulty is at hand, and threatens to be an obstacle to our further progress, at all events for some days to come.

Our muleteers, without a word of complaint, or even misunderstanding, have suddenly struck work, and I see them streaming out of camp with their animals and empty panniers. I appeal to the Saubwa (Ponlyne), but he merely sends back word to say, "All right; let them go; they will come back by-and-by."

He will not come to me, so I go and find him seated in the Ponsee Saubwa's house, in as complacent and collected a state of mind (though in liquor) as if nothing particular had occurred.

The muleteers, he informs me, have left on account of private messages which have been conveyed to them from the Saubwas of Sanda and Mynela, who threaten death and extermination if they afford us the means of entering the Shan States.

Ponlyne advises me to write to these Shan chiefs and warn them that, if they object to my visiting the Shan States, *we* too will close the roads leading towards Burmah, and prevent Shans from attending the annual fairs at Bhamo.

I stop him rather rudely by saying that my object is to conciliate strife rather than foment new causes of misunderstanding.

I have no objection, I add, to write to the Shan chiefs in the same friendly and explanatory sense in which I have lately addressed the Governor of Momein.

Ponlyne becomes very communicative in his cups, and volunteers to tell me the truth about my Chinese interpreter, Moung Shwĕ Yah, who is accused of having deserted us at Ponlyne (village) as soon as he found that he could not succeed in making the Kakhyen chiefs take part against the expedition.

His advice all along had been to murder me at a convenient season, and take possession of the cash chest and other Government presents of which I had charge.

This story is not improbable (*in vino veritas*), and bears out my own suspicions. Shwĕ Yah had behaved like a villain ever since we left Bhamo, and even there I began to suspect him. It was on this account that I did not take him into my confidence in despatching letters to Momein.

His private efforts to thwart and confound my plans having failed at Bhamo, he bethought him of the dastardly expedient of robbery and bloodshed (so Ponlyne says), but in this too he missed his mark, and, fearing exposure, chose rather to return in confusion to Bhamo, than let it be supposed by the Burmese Government that after all he might have been secretly aiding in the fulfilment of our undertaking. This is Ponlyne's opinion, and it agrees in all respects with my own observations.

So much for a man who was specially told off to our assistance by the King of Burmah.

Ponlyne informs me that the chief of Saray, who occupies the next range of hills in our advance, has been sent for, and refuses to come in. It is out of the question, he says, to think of moving without his previous sanction.

Political Agent.—Very true, but provided we get sanction, what about mules for our baggage?

Ponlyne.—I have a few mules of my own. We will take what baggage we can with them, and send back for the remainder.

Ponlyne is inconsistent. The mule difficulty may turn out after all to be a ruse of his own for the purpose of covering another extortionate demand.

It is whispered in private quarters that the muleteers left because they objected to being kept in inaction with their animals.

They were willing, it was said, to take on our baggage, and did not fear Shan threats of extermination; but it was unreasonable to expect them to remain at Ponsee after their stock of provisions had been consumed, and when they found that they were being uselessly detained, with the sole object of serving Kakhyen purposes.

Rumour is very conflicting, but it would have been dangerous to move without the Saubwa's concurrence or contrary to his advice.

I do not agree with Sir Samuel Baker in the pleasure he finds at being in a downright difficulty.

This is now my position, and I should regret it the less on my own account were it not for the incubus of responsibility to others, and, in a more remote degree, to my own Government. We have impatient spirits, too, amongst our number. A. has boils, B. is not in good spirits, C. is silent and anxious, D. is jolly under all circumstances, and regards difficulties as things to be overcome rather than growled at in languid inactivity.

The sky above is gloomy and overcast; clouds pregnant with rain threaten a discharge which will damp the little ardour or romance that might otherwise attach itself to a residence on the far-famed Kakhyen hills at Ponsee.

We are now encamped on the upper terrace of a tumulus-shaped hill, which has been cultivated to its base in a succession of terraces, generally regular and equidistant in their gradations of descent. The camp consists of three small sepoys' pals or tents, which are sufficient to give cover to the Europeans of our party. The escort and followers are busy hutting themselves on the several ridges which surround the encampment. There is little to grumble at beyond the anxieties of delay, and our own impatient eagerness to be again on the move.

Ponlyne has just come into camp, and sits himself down in my tent. He is in liquor, but, seizing me by both hands, swears fidelity and friendship. I fire off my guns and revolvers at his request. The bullets will not hit a particular bamboo which is an eyesore to him in his drunkenness. He becomes a savage instanter, and abuses me in foul Burmese. Forbearance is necessary, otherwise he is sure to commit himself to some reckless act of violence. I quiet him down by degrees, and he assumes his old show of friendly familiarity. But the animal is not to be trusted. He is true to his savage instincts, and treachery underlies every look and action.

The chiefs of Ponwa, Nyoungen, and Wacheoon have come in with small presents, for which I make a suitable return in cloths. They occupy separate hill tracts on the route between this place and the Shan town of Manwyne.

The Ponsee Saubwa's mother called during the afternoon with a number of female attendants. They are bearers of Kakhyen delicacies—beer, cooked rice, eggs, and vegetables. I made a general distribution of beads, but they beg for rupees, which are in greater demand, I find, and more acceptable in these parts than any other presentable commodity. So much for Burman duplicity or ignorance, which made it appear that coined silver would not pass current or be accepted as an article of exchange when once we had left the vicinity of Bhamo.

Ponlyne tells me, with a look of serious reality, to make up my mind to the payment of two baskets (bushels) of rupees before I quit Ponsee.

8TH MARCH 1868.

It rained heavily all last night; the single fly tents afford but a poor protection against either wind or rain; so violent were the gusts of wind that it became necessary to hold on to the poles to prevent the tents being blown away altogether. As the wind abated I got snatches of sleep, but in the absence of a bed, my mattress, which was on the ground, had become clammy and wet; we are better off after all than some of our followers, who are without shelter of any sort.

I have just heard of the arrival of the Nanlyaw Tamon, with written orders from the governor of Bhamo, directing both the chiefs of Ponlyne and Ponsee to return forthwith to Bhamo for consultation on the subject of the Ponsee silver mines.

This is mysterious! What reason is there for such urgent haste in ordering the immediate return of these chiefs, whilst it is known that they are our only guarantee of protection in these wild unknown regions? The pretence, too, for requiring their services at this particular juncture is palpably and ridiculously false. The Ponsee silver mines have been worked for many years past by Burmese and Chinese, and their condition and circumstances are already well known.

I suspect this Nanlyaw official. He is always selected when dirty work has to be done. He denies now that orders were ever given to him to accompany me on the present expedition. Yesterday I was informed that five houses had been accidentally burned by a jungle fire which is said to have originated at our last encamping ground. I was in no way held responsible, and the matter was satisfactorily settled for a bottle of whiskey. To-day (since the Burman official's arrival) a serious demand is made for 300 rupees. The Tamon chuckles. He knows that the demand is false and will be resisted, but this is just what he wants, as it affords a pretext for our detention until a compromise of some sort can be effected. I am afraid to yield to this claim, as compliance to-day would lead to double demands to-morrow, or be supplemented, without loss of time, by other equally false and unjust means of extortion.

The Saubwa refuses a compromise and predicts difficulties. He begins to find out that I am not to be squeezed to the extent he at first imagined, and talks about returning to Bhamo and leaving only his Paw-mynes with me. I remonstrate, but he says the Governor's orders are imperative, and he cannot afford to disobey them, &c., &c.

9TH MARCH 1868.

The Ponlyne Saubwa is both sulky and angry. He has become really obstructive and insolent since the arrival of the Nanlyaw Tamon with orders from Bhamo. I am given distinctly to understand that, unless I at once pay down 600 rupees as black mail, and 300 rupees as compensation for the village fire, he will no longer be answerable for our safety, but return forthwith to his native village.

Of course he knows that I cannot and will not pay. He will thus have a ready excuse for breaking off connectionship with us, and absolve himself from the danger of open rupture with the Burmese Government for having thus far contributed to our advance.

I argue at length against the unreasonable nature of the demands now made, and conclude my interview in the following strain:—

"The village fire did not originate with me any more than it did with you. The houses which are said to have been burnt lay at a very considerable distance from our line of march. I do not believe that our march had anything to do with their destruction further, perhaps, than the simple idea that any evil which takes place at present will be connected in the Kakhyen mind with our presence in their hill, and be ascribed to us accordingly. Having come as a friend, it is far from my wish to offend against Kakhyen scruples or custom. I will pay all reasonable demands, and am even willing to make reparation in the present case to the full extent of the damage done. But if the Kakhyens wish us to be their friends, they must deal fairly, and believe that we will do the same by them. Neither can I pay you the 600 rupees which you have just asked for, but I agree to send on valuable presents to the chiefs through whose territories we are to pass, and will pay them the customary dues as soon as we arrive at their respective places of residence. I shall regret your departure very much, for on some occasions you have been a true friend to us. It is not in my power either to detain you by force, but remember that you are under an engagement to conduct the expedition in safety as far as Manwyne, and although the Governor of Bhamo has sent (with what intent I cannot say) and ordered your immediate return, I still beg of you to remain, and rely upon my assurance of support against any oppressive acts to which the Governor may try and subject you as a consequence of your compliance."

This speech had its effect; the Saubwa did not again allude to his intention of leaving me, but simply asked for 100 rupees as a means of settling the village fire dispute. This I agreed to pay partly in money and partly in cloths.

It was at this stage of our interview that I was suddenly made aware of the presence of three men dressed up in all the wonderful apparel of Chinese officers of rank.

I knew their faces at once, and they recognised me; but beyond this, I was as much mystified as Ponlyne himself in trying to imagine who the men were, and how I could ever before have held communication with Chinese officers of their stamp and appearance.

The mystery is soon solved: Lauloo strips off a portion of his trappings and discloses himself as the Kakhyen scout whom I sent from Bhamo with letters to Momein. He takes from his waist a small bundle, which, when unrolled, reveals a letter and envelope of prodigious dimensions scored over with Chinese superscriptions and a variety of Chinese seals in red and blue devices. Ponlyne is silent and uneasy; he is seized with anything but pleasurable feelings at the style of the new comers, and appears hurt at their friendly recognition of all our party without a word of explanation or acknowledgment in recognition of his own presence and authority.

The envelope contains two letters; one in Chinese, the other in Arabic. Our native doctor is able to interpret a portion of the latter very imperfectly. The Chinese epistle cannot be read for the present; Lauloo explains its contents as but favourable, and in the highest degree encouraging.

The Governor of Momein, he said, expected us by the central or ambassador's route (which leads direct from Bhamo into the Shan state of Hotha), and had arranged accordingly to assist and co-operate with us on the march.

I am advised not to advance for the present *viâ* Manwyne, unless we are strong enough to fight our way through the blockade established by Lees-hee-ta-hee at Mauphoo.

The Governor of Momein received my Kakhyen scouts with every mark of friendly respect, and has sent them back as an embassy in the costly dresses which have just contributed to our amusement and surprise. Each man has a silk cap of blue satin embroidered with gold, a thick padded superfine cloth jacket highly ornamented, a long silk coat, and Chinese gold embroidered shoes. They are Kakhyens of the Rowlee tribe, and carry their new honours with wonderful self-composure. Altogether seven men have come in from Momein; one of them, Khatoodoo, is a (Kakhyen) Panthay officer of some rank, and recommends himself to our notice by a display of good breeding and gentlemanly attainments, which are far in advance of any preconceived ideas of semi-barbarous civilization.

The arrival of letters from Momein and the manner of their delivery by our own messengers, who had met with so much favour at Panthay head-quarters, is an event in the fate of the expedition which not only promises well for the future, but is pregnant also with encouraging influences in our present emergencies, &c. &c.

The Shans of Manwyne are coming in and establishing a small bazaar in our lines; rice is selling at eight measures for the rupee. Yesterday it was only three; an empty

bottle was bartered for 14 to-day, and attained therefore to an estimated money value of nearly two rupees.

But when gain or game offers, Kakhyens are insolently exacting on their own hills, and openly persecute our Shan bazaarmen with an overbearing amount of injustice, which is ridiculously irritating to unpractised observers.

The Shans are too mild or too much afraid to retaliate. They will either forsake us, or the bazaar prices must rise considerably, so as to cover extraordinary loss caused by Kakhyen excesses. It is out of my power to interfere much with the customary rapacity of these Kakhyen hill tribes. Other considerations, too, are pressing just at present to justify the risk of dispute on points which, though they sadly try our power of endurance, are not so absolutely urgent as to require an immediate remedy.

10TH MARCH 1868.

Ponlyne is savage with my Kakhyen scouts for having handed me letters from Momein direct, without previous consultation with himself. I cannot afford to make advances to him or try other means of conciliation as long as he remains in his present temper, otherwise he will at once fancy himself in the ascendant, and fall back upon the old demand for 600 rupees.

The Nanlyaw Tamon has gone off to Bhamo without leave or intimation of his intentions. Ponlyne assured him, in my presence yesterday, that his villany had become notorious, and that I had found him out. He was undoubtedly sent here as a fit agent to add, if possible, to our difficulties, and has returned in haste to Bhamo, to report the arrival of letters from Momein.

It is now an undeniable fact, that this said Tamon incited the Kakhyens to re-open the village fire question after it had once been settled. We cannot blame the Kakhyens for having become unruly and extortionate when they thus found themselves backed up by powerful Burmese influences at Bhamo.

But, under all circumstances, it is desirable to show that we are not over anxious or disconcerted at the unavoidable detention at Ponsee. I therefore send to tell the Ponlyne, with feigned unconcern, that having made up my mind to an indefinite stay on the Kakhyen hills, it is as well that we should pass the time pleasantly, and I am in favour, therefore, of an excursion to the silver mines on the opposite bank of the river, if he will accompany me or supply guides. He is astonished, but not outwitted. His message was, "*Wait a little, and I will come and see you.*"

That is all I wanted, as, combined with whiskey, it will afford the means of a temporary reconciliation.

11TH MARCH 1868.

A few mules belonging to Ponlyne, which had been kept in reserve for a start as far as Saray, if all other supplies failed, have left camp this morning.

The Saubwa presented himself shortly afterwards, looking very foolish. He asked, with an assumed air of effrontery, and in a taking-the-bull-by-the-horns-style, "What I intend to do?"

"How did I intend to get on?" &c. &c. &c.

I replied by a ferocious *tu quoque*, placing as much emphasis as possible on the *tu*. How, I asked, did he reconcile the unnecessary delay here with the promises of safe conduct as far as Manwyne? Of what avail was it to make the village fire a pretence for opposition, when it was *patent* to all that our mules had been taken away with his knowledge and approval, and that the possibilities of our further advance had been effectually destroyed (for a time at least), without any reference to the fire question at all?

Ponlyne was at last hard up for a reply, but fell back as usual on his old craving demand for rupees. "You must pay me down 900 rupees at once, or I cannot undertake to assist you further; of this sum I will pay 300 rupees towards the village fire, and send 600 for distribution amongst the chiefs in our advance."

I firmly refuse both demands. *First*, because I have not the funds to spare; *secondly*, I know that the money if paid will be simply appropriated by Ponlyne to his own uses; and *thirdly*, I feel certain that a compliance with unjust exactions of this kind, without assisting our advance, will give me so notorious a reputation amongst Kakhyens as a fit subject for squeezing, that other unjust demands will be made and pressed with an urgency which must lead either to riot, insolvency, or inevitable failure, &c. &c. &c.

12TH MARCH 1868.

Money difficulties do not cease, but the Kakhyens are pleased at hearing that I regard their love for rupees as a good omen in our future dealings and intercourse.

Hitherto we have all believed, I said, that a few beads or pieces of red cloth were more precious in their sight than any amount of silver and gold. Had I understood their real wants before I left Mandalay, I might have provided myself with money in abundance, and more than satisfied all reasonable demands. It was my wish, I added, and the wish of the Government I served, to give freely and concede liberally to the wants of a new people, whom we wished to reconcile as friends rather than irritate into enemies by resisting any demand which had the slightest semblance even of reason or justice. But however

however liberally inclined, they might rest assured that I would never yield to pressure, when once convinced that the demands made were neither reasonable in themselves nor consistent with justice. Even now, in reference to the village fire, it was not my intention to act in opposition to the advice of those chiefs who had asked me to award suitable compensation, although I was still of opinion that the demands made were exorbitant, and that the origin of the fire could not be justly set down to me at all.

The Ponlyne retired for a short time to consult with other chiefs, and afterwards came to tell me that 100 rupees had been agreed upon as a sufficient sum to cover all losses and allay further dispute.

The money was then and there paid and accepted, but returned the next evening, with an insolent intimation to the following effect :—

"Pay the original demand, or stand the consequences."

There is mischief in all this; and if I could spare the money I would pay up at once, and defeat one of the schemes of our Burmese oppositionists. As it is, I am obliged to appear unconcerned; and having done all that reasonably lay in my power, with the approval of the chiefs, to come to a settlement, matters under this head must now be left to take care of themselves.

Yesterday I dispatched messengers with presents and letters to the chiefs of Saray and Poogens, or head men of Manwyne and Manhleo. Ponlyne not only advised this course, but took part in it by dispatching two of his own Paw-mynes with my messengers, &c. &c.

Ponlyne is sober to-day, and makes some shrewd observations, as follow :—The only effectual means by which the old trade can be revived between Burmah and China depends upon a reconciliation of Chinese and Panthay interests in Yunan. He asks me to concentrate all my best efforts towards this one point in preference to all others.

He also begged I would speak well of him to the chiefs of the Shan States, and dispel any evil effects arising out of an impression that *he* alone was to blame for having conducted the British expedition so far on its journey.

I said that the English and all other Governments which had any interest in our present undertaking, would owe Ponlyne a debt of gratitude if he faithfully carried out the promise which had bound him to our service at Bhamo.

He was flattered by this and other allusions to his personal merits, and informed me openly without any reserve that he was giving us his assistance at the present time in direct opposition to the wishes and injunctions of the Burmese Governor. The Tamon of Nanlyaw (the official who conveyed to him certain messages and letters from Bhamo) had not ceased, he said, from the time of his arrival to the time of his departure, to persuade and even order him in the name of the Governor to desert the expedition and return with the Ponsee Suabwa to Bhamo: all that Burmans desired, he said, was that we might be lost or made away with so effectually as to prevent the possibility of our return to Burmese territory.

I felt convinced, from the earnestness with which the chief spoke, and from my own general observations of facts, that he had in no way exaggerated the tenor of the instructions conveyed to him in the letters or messages from the Burmese officials at Bhamo.

Those letters, however, were not forthcoming. They were only shown to him, he said, and retained by the officials who brought them. He laughs at the shallowness of the pretext for requiring his return to Bhamo, and alludes to it only as another proof of the unscrupulous action of the Burmese Government in its endeavour to frustrate our purposes and progress.

He adds:—You did wrong, Ayeybyne,* in sending your Burmese clerk with the letters and presents to Manwyne. Don't you know that all Burmans have been against you from the first? Even your own Burmese servants are not to be trusted, as it is in their power to work infinite mischief by misrepresentations, which may seriously retard your further advance."

The Burman clerk was sent by me as a check on the Kakhyen Paw-mynes, who would otherwise have helped themselves to the presents, and made distribution of them as they pleased, without reference either to justice or my wishes.

I note the circumstance in my diary, because Ponlyne's remarks are an apt illustration of the readiness with which even Kakhyen instincts have grasped, and are able to account for the petty designs of our obstructive Burmese associates at Bhamo.

14th MARCH 1868.

The messengers who were dispatched with presents to Manwyne returned to-day, and report that none of the presents have been accepted. The chiefs are not hostile, but they have been induced by evil report to doubt the character and intention of the expedition: I am advised by them to put myself in direct communication with the Shan Saubwa of Sanda.

The Saray Saubwa too has arrived, and called upon me to-day with a large following of Paw-mynes and other Kakhyen attendants. He is repectable in manner and address, and sensible in his remarks, when he makes any; but his curiosity in all our foreign appurtenances, guns, dress, saddlery, and general equipment, is too great for the present to admit of ordinary attention being given to mere matters of business.

The

* *Ayeybyne*,—my Burmese title.

The Ponlyne is present, and has altered his tone again to one of downright hostility. This is a sample of his delightful conversation.

"What do you intend to do now, Ayeybyne? All are against you; you cannot go back, and the Shans will not allow you to go forward. You *must* listen to me, and pay 500 rupees on account of the fire, and 600 rupees to be distributed *as I like* in presents; I speak for your good. Shans, Burmese, and Chinese are all leagued against you. For one man who would dare to assist you there are hundreds who are ready to cut off your head." (Here he suited the action to the word, by holding an imaginary head by imaginary hair in his left hand, and drawing his right hand backwards and forwards, with a sawing motion at an imaginary neck.)

My reply is, that I do not believe that the Chinese and Shans are against us.

The Chinese petty traders of Mandalay and Bhamo do not certainly wish us well, because they are afraid our success at an expedition will interfere with their own profits and livelihood.

The Shans will be our friends as soon as I can make them comprehend the true objects of our mission; all will yet find that we are present amongst them as friends, however much they may now fancy that we are separated by race, religion, or national interests.

Ponlyne. "True, the big Chinese are not against you, but it will be difficult to overcome all the evil which Burmans and Chinamen of Bhamo have done by misrepresentation, and more especially by making it so apparent that the Burmese Government is against you. Why did the Shans send back your presents? They are ready to oppose you if you go on. Lees-hee-ta-hee has received letters from Bhamo, and is determined to stop you. You ought to have given me the money I asked for. The Panthays may be your friends, but Lees-hee-ta-hee is very powerful, and is not only guided by Burmese advice, but receives supplies in money and arms from Bhamo. He visits that town sometimes, and his mother resides there. The Panthays are his enemies; but he is strong enough to be independent and to altogether disregard them."

The Saray Saubwa listened to this conversation with great attention, but as I spoke to Ponlyne in Burmese, he could only understand a portion of what was said.

The village fire question was again brought up. My object was to let the Saray Saubwa see that I had acted throughout in this matter in fairness and with reason.

He said that, if I would come quickly to a settlement in this matter, he would conduct me by a direct hill route to Momein, without any necessity for entering Manwyne or the Sanda Shan States.

I said that the affair had already been settled *three times*, with the approval of the Ponlyne and Ponsee chiefs. The villagers were satisfied themselves, and only feigned disaffection because they were under Burmese influences. The Ponlyne Saubwa had already made me pay him 480 rupees on account of mule hire, and not a fraction of that sum had been honestly distributed. What security was there now if I paid the present demand that other claims of the same kind would not at once be urged against me?

The chiefs all leave, but make their appearance again in full force at 7 p.m. The Ponlyne is spokesman. He commences by insisting on the payment of the balance of mule-hire from Sitkaw to Manwyne.

"Yes," I say. "If you will take me on to Manwyne according to my original agreement, I am willing to pay this balance, although the mule-men of our party have forfeited all honest claims by desertion and breach of contract.

"The sum of 900 rupees, which I have already paid in hard cash, is far in excess of the usual rates, and had the money actually reached the pockets of mule-men, they would be more than compensated for their labours."

The conversation was then carried on as follows:—

Political Agent.—Where are the mule men? Whom shall I pay the money to? Will you hold to your engagement of taking me to Manwyne if I *do* pay?

Ponlyne.—Don't talk of Manwyne; you cannot go there.

Political Agent.—Then why did you promise to take me there?

Ponlyne.—The Manhleo Poogen is your enemy, and his people have conspired to murder you all.

Political Agent.—We are not afraid!

Ponlyne (angrily.)—Don't be a fool, but listen to *me*; you know as well as I do that Burmans, Chinese and Shans are at present opposed to your proceeding.

Political Agent.—I am proceeding under the patronage and protection of the Burmese Government, and have a royal proclamation in my pocket to that effect.

Ponlyne (angrily, and in derision at my apparent want of gumption).—True, but you know that the Burmese Government never intended that you should profit by it. We have all been secretly ordered to oppose you by every means; even to the extent of murder or assassination, if other means failed, to deter you from proceeding beyond Burmese territory. I have remained your friend throughout. Three written summonses have reached me since I left Sitkaw to desert you and return to Bhamo.

Political Agent.—The Bhamo Governor cannot reasonably expect you to return until your duties are first fulfilled to the expedition.

Ponlyne.—

Ponlyne.—Yes, the orders are to return at once. Your Burmese clerk has seen them. I have taken care to keep the last letter, and will show it to you.—(*Diary ends.*)

120—(*a*). This written order was sent to me the same day by Ponlyne, and after I had convinced myself that it was a genuine document, that it bore the seal of the Governor of Bhamo, and that it really did contain an order to the Kakhyen chiefs to desert the expedition, and to proceed themselves without delay to Bhamo, I delivered it to my Burmese clerk and directed him not to return it to Ponlyne without my express orders. My intention was to have obtained Ponlyne's permission to retain the document and exhibit it at some future time as one of the proofs of unfair dealing on the part of the Burmese Government. My plans were defeated by this very clerk, who himself turned traitor and deserted me a few days afterwards, under circumstances which verified Ponlyne's suspicion of bad faith amongst my own Burmese followers. The box of records of which he had charge remained in my possession, but on examining its contents the Governor's letter to Polynine was nowhere visible. I have not the slightest doubt that it was designedly removed or made away with, and it is not at all improbable that the desertion of the clerk was prompted as the readiest means of depriving me of this letter, and of avoiding on his part the responsibility of its loss. On our return from Momein I learned for a certainty that this same Burmese clerk, after he had deserted us at Ponsee, was well received by the Governor of Bhamo, and treated with even kindness and familiarity. On reaching Mandalay he was immediately taken into the King's private employ, and promoted to the position of a royal detective,—a reward no doubt for meritorious services whilst attached to the British expedition!

120—(*b*). The probabilities are that he was in the pay of the Burmese, and had leagued himself against us from the first. Such an admission suggests the question, "Why were men of this stamp employed by the leader of the expedition?" and I reply once for all, for the benefit of those who may never have resided at an Asiatic, or more especially a Burmese court, that no Burman subject in Upper Burmah dares to have a will of his own as opposed to that of his Government. The indirect mode of reaching him offensively for slights or offences which the Government could not possibly resent at the time of committal are too numerous and too certain, both as regards himself and probably also his whole family, to obscure the consequences of free and independent action, as opposed to Government wishes or policy. His training, too, from infancy has been so abject and servile that Government bondage becomes a second nature, and marks every man as an instrument to its own purposes, either for good or evil.

120—(*c*). Under these circumstances, the fidelity to our cause of any Burman dependant, who had once recognised the position and contrary action of his own Government as regarded ourselves, would have been much more a matter for surprise and bewilderment than the natural play of infidelity to which his training, his instincts, and possibly his (supposed) duties to his own Government must almost of necessity have inclined him.

120—(*d*). It is this unseen power in the hands of the Burmese Government that intensifies the difficulties of diplomatic contact, and gives it the vantage ground in all contests which are not at once reducible by honest, straightforward, plain speaking. A recourse to extraordinary argument or diplomatic subtleties of expression is fatal, for then the unseen powers come in as aids, and outnumber or overmatch all honest opposition. A Burman diplomatist, right or wrong, concedes only to fear. This will continue to be his distinguishing characteristic *ad infinitum*, or *ad æternum!*

Diary (continued) 14 March.

The Saubwas take their leave, and we are some of us sullen, and perhaps a little dejected. Visions of treachery and throat cutting, as designed by Burman intrigue, present themselves too palpably to certain imaginations to produce a healthy or pleasant train of ideas, &c. &c.

15TH MARCH.

I have determined to dispatch messengers to Momein, and let the authorities there know the true state of our present situation. My messengers are the men who arrived lately from Momein, and they are well provided with money and presents, and may be expected to return in about 10 days. In the meantime the position here is one of disagreeable helplessness. I can neither advance nor retreat without sacrificing all our baggage. The Kakhyens have cut off the usual rice supplies from Manwyne, and common necessaries are at a premium. The Ponlyne exults in having got me into a fix. I am obliged to put up for a time with his taunts and extortion, but he knows my mind.

He became furious last evening, because I told him we were not afraid of the murderous reports which predicted our speedy annihilation. He is evidently disheartened as well as discomfited at having failed to carry out with effect the mercenary purposes which first drew him into our meshes (or us into his) at Bhamo. He has been at times sanguine and earnest in his professions, but alway lukewarm and reserved in real action.

I have now the use of his Burmese and Kakhyen interpreter, Moung Mo. He is a Cheoung Zau or Tamon of Hentha, a village on the Tahpen. The man wishes to serve me, but is afraid at present to let it be openly known that he is one of my employés.

Manhelo is a Shan township beyond Manwyne. The Poogen or head man, who is referred to by Ponlyne as our greatest enemy, is known to be a man of great influence and authority in the Shan State of Sanda. About five years ago he attacked a Panthay caravan and committed indiscriminate slaughter. The Panthays, it is said, have never been able to retaliate with effect. It is believed that the Poogen will not be superior to the attractions of presents and rupees when he once realises the fact that we have come as friends, and that he has no real cause to regard us as enemies.

The fire question is at last settled. I bound myself to abide by the Saray Saubwa's decision; and he has advised me to pay 260 rupees. This is not extortionate, but my reasons for holding out were imperative. The claim had at one time risen to 500. All parties are now satisfied, and it is thoroughly understood that the onus of further dissatisfaction, should any arise on this account, rests with the chiefs and not with me.

Notwithstanding this settlement, I am warned at 9 p.m., both by Ponlyne and Saray, to be on the alert during the night and look out for an attack, as a number of malcontents are known to have assembled, and intend mischief.

The Saubwas declared that they had done all they could to quell the unruly feelings of these obstreperous Kakhyens, but to no purpose. Finally, they confess to having incited them to action with taunts and encouragement of rather a negative kind, which implied that they (the Saubwas) would look on from a distance and see how many of the attacking party fell to our bullets and became victims to their own folly.

16TH MARCH.

I did not neglect the Saubwa's warning, but we passed a quiet night and are still unmolested.

Threats of injury and molestation used to be unpleasant at first, but they naturally lose much of their effect as the various intimations of danger remain unfulfilled. The only anxiety they cause now is the evidence of secret opposition and enmity instead of hearty friendship and good will, which would have been secured to us if freed from the trammels of Burman interference.

The Saray Saubwa has asked me how many mules I require, and promises to secure 80 animals without loss of time.

Wrote and dispatched letters to the Manhleo Poogen and the Saubwa of Sanda. Enclosed also copies of treaty with Burmah, along with other general information which may assist in furthering our expeditionary prospects. There is something suggestive in the fact that the Governor of Momein should have selected the embassy or central route as the one by which to expect and assist our advance. This is the route by which all political missions to and from China have hitherto travelled, and it may be almost inferred from this fact that the object of the Burmese officials at Bhamo in denying us the embassy route was purposely contrived as a means of ignoring our ambassadorial character, and thereby detracting from the honourable notice which the mission might otherwise have profited by in its travels beyond the Burmese frontier.

One thing is pretty evident, and that is, to all appearances we have been consigned to a route which is most impracticable, and under Burman superintendence the most inhospitable of all known routes in existence.

Ponlyne has informed me this morning of his intention to return forthwith to his own Saubwaship. He asked for the balance of mule hire. I say that he has already received 630 rupees irrespective of 300 rupees paid as demurrage at Sitkaw. The engagement was that the mule men hired at Sitkaw, were to convey me as far as Manwyne. They had deserted, and forfeited any balance of mule hire, even supposing that such balance was a reality. The amount already paid is in excess of the average rate of hire between Sitkaw and Ponsee.

Nevertheless, I tell the Saubwa that if he will make up his accounts, they shall be duly considered and attended to. He left, but returned shortly afterwards to say that all advances already made on account of mule hire ought to be regarded as *subsistence* only

and

and not *hire*. An account was provided in which 200 mules were charged for at the rate of 20 rupees per mule.

I could only laugh at this barefaced attempt at imposition. Ponlyne looked grave, and had recourse once more to the old system of intimidation (murder and stoppage of supplies). When this failed, he got up in a huff and swore that he would leave Ponsee instanter and consign us to certain destruction.

The Saray Saubwa is accompanied by a Chinese interpreter who speaks the Kakhyen language. He reads and interprets my letters from Momein, and promises to be generally useful, but having friends at Bhamo, he is not at present to be depended on. From his conversation and remarks he evidently believes our expedition is a military demonstration in favour of the Mussulman population of Yunan as opposed to Chinese interests everywhere.

17TH MARCH.

Difficulties increase. The Saubwas come early and pass several hours in small talk. The demand for old mule-hire has risen from 20 to 25 rupees per head. The Saubwas would be glad, they say, to come to any terms, but their followers have cast an avaricious eye on our cases, and would hail with delight a crisis or collision which would give them a pretext for the acquisition of loot.

I offer 500 rupees in addition to the hire already paid if carriage is procured as far as Manwyne.

Chiefs.—You cannot go to Manwyne. The roads are guarded by armed men who have been sent to oppose you.

Political Agent.—This is not true. My own messengers travelled by this road a few days ago, and saw no one.

Chiefs.—It is generally believed that you have got 16 baskets of rupees.

Political Agent.—This is mere idle report. The Shan chiefs will protect me against robbers in search of loot.

Chiefs.—They will have nothing to say to you.

Political Agent.—You are wrong again. The Momein authorities are already on my side. The chief of Manwyne is anxious to receive me, but wishes first to consult with the chiefs of Sanda and Mynela.

Chiefs.—True; but Lees-hee-ta-hee holds the passes at Mauphoo He has sent orders to the Sanda chiefs, and told them on no account to let you pass. The Sanda Saubwa is in doubt, and cannot act without offending the Panthays or Lees-hee-ta-hee. He is afraid of both.

Political Agent.—I shall await the reply of my letters to Sanda and Momein. The Panthays may be induced to send a guard to escort us through the passes at Mauphoo. I shall not advance beyond Manwyne without the full consent of all the Shan chiefs. (The Chinese interpreter here suggested that I should write to Lees-hee-ta-hee, who could be restrained to any extent in his conduct towards us by a threat of retaliation on his mother, who was a Burman, and resided at Bhamo under the protection of the Burmese Government.)

This is very true, but we are not Burmans. There is no doubt, however, that the Burmese Government, which considers itself privileged to visit the sins of the father or other male or female relatives upon any number of present or succeeding generations, and to the remotest degree of consanguinity (if necessary or rather expedient), has perfect control over Lees-hee-ta-hee, and can mould him at will into any course of action or inaction.

But whilst engaged in conversation alternately grave and humourous, a shot was fired from a house in the village which almost overhung our encampment, and whilst one bullet or slug was heard to whiz over the tent we were sitting in, another struck the head of a camp-cot inside the tent. We were surprised, but no one believed that the firing was in earnest, until after the lapse of a few moments, when a second shot was fired, and this time also the bullet whizzed close over the tent.

Ponlyne got up and vociferated like a madman. The Saray chief was perplexed, but showed no signs of alarm. The state of his feelings may be presumed, however, from the fact of his having informed me, not five minutes after the firing, that it was his intention to return forthwith to his own dominion, and take leave for ever of Ponsee and its uncertainties.

The shots hurt nobody, and were traced to nobody. It is not improbable that Ponlyne may have innocently designed them as an aid to this pecuniary negotiation. The ruse was without effect. I promised to abide by my engagements faithfully, and even liberally, but it was now evident to all that I would never submit to wrongful extortion.—(*Diary ends.*)

121. But the inordinate length to which this report is growing, and the endless matter which has still to be touched upon, warn me that I must drop the diary system for a time, and confine myself to a more concise form of abridged narration.

122. True to his word, the Saray chief left Ponsee on the 18th, the day succeeding that on which the two shots had been fired into our camp. His message to me on leaving was, that he would probably return as soon as I was relieved of the Ponlyne incubus. It was impossible, he said, to come to any fair settlement, or make provision for our onward journey, so long as Ponlyne himself or his rapacious Paw-mynes possessed any influence in the conduct of our affairs.

123. On the same afternoon it was announced to me that Ponlyne too had left without any intimation of his intentions, and had taken away with him the only man upon whom I was dependent as an interpreter in the Shan and Kakhyen languages. He had further appropriated and carried off all the presents which had been entrusted to him for delivery to the officials at Manwyne and Manhleo.

124. A Ponlyne Paw-myne who remained behind assured me the next day that the Ponlyne and Ponsee chiefs had quarrelled violently, and that the latter had used threats which were dangerous and unmistakeable to Kakhyen comprehensions. Ponlyne had, therefore, deemed it prudent to beat a retreat and seek ease and safety within his own territory.

125. It was now time for the Ponsee Saubwa to come to the front and explain the new state of affairs which had deprived us of Ponlyne's aid, and made him (Ponsee) chief arbiter in our (exploration) destinies. Ponlyne had not only robbed me, he said, but had interfered, moreover, with the rights of all concerned, by appropriating to his own purposes the several advances which had been made on account of mule hire, as well as presents which were intended for general distribution. Before his departure he had suggested and made arrangements that our supplies of provisions from Manwyne should be stopped, and that the Kakhyens of the neighbourhood should cease to hold any kind of communication with us.

126. The Ponlyne has been actuated throughout by an inordinate greed for rupees. *Avarice* is his ruling passion. He had occasionally rendered valuable service in the certainty (as he thought) of securing an exorbitant recompense. But, beyond this, there has never been any real sincerity in his feelings or actions. His object was to bleed me as effectually as he could; then throw me over at all risks, and fall back on the Burmese officials at Bhamo, whose friendship could easily have been regained if only he could show that we had been reduced to a state of inextricable difficulty.

127. But with all his avarice, I feel positively convinced that, had Ponlyne been quite free from the ties or the fears of Burmese influences, he would have aided us to the last, not without haggling and extortion, but in a spirit which would have been above cowardly meanness and treacherous desertion.

128. Several days passed in the consideration of a variety of plans, by which the Saray and Ponsee Saubwas had mutually engaged to afford us aid in pushing on towards our destination. The Saray Saubwa had made his appearance again on 21st March, and brought letters addressed to himself and other Kakhyen chiefs from the Governor of Momein, who solicited assistance in our cause, and guaranteed to pay the expenses of our journey. Our prospects brightened. The chances of an onward move seemed in a fair way of being realised, as the Saray chief, under Panthay persuasion, had himself agreed to become our escort, and to provide the necessary requirements in porters and mule carriage. A settlement had been come to as regarded mule hire, past and present, and the chief left Ponsee for Saray under promise to return in two days and conduct us onward in triumph to Manwyne.

129. It was unfortunate, however, that he should at the particular time have dispatched his Chinese interpreter to Bhamo under a plea of effecting a settlement of accounts between himself and some Chinese merchants of that place. His real object was to learn the true state of affairs at Bhamo and realise the consequences for good or evil, in which he might be involving himself by aiding an expedition which was being undertaken, to all appearances, in direct opposition to the wishes of the Burmese Government. The proofs which I was able

to

to produce in the King of Burmah's written proclamation, and the letters* given to me by the Burmese Government previous to my departure from Mandalay, were as waste paper compared with facts as disclosed by Burmese officials themselves in our immediate neighbourhood. A hitch had certainly occurred somewhere, for the Saray chief not only failed in his agreement to return to us with mule carriage in *two* days, but had not made any appearance himself or explained his absence or intentions up to the 29th March.

130. Early on the morning of that day it was known in our camp that two Chinamen from Bhamo, with a party of armed Burmese soldiers, had passed through Ponsee and were making their way to Saray, distant only four miles from our own encampment. On the same evening the Saray Saubwa's Chinese writer arrived and informed me with well-feigned regret that his master was deeply concerned at having to state that he could no longer be bound to his agreement of providing carriage for our onward journey.

131. The Saray chief appeared himself the next morning (30th), and assured me that with all the best intentions in the world he was precluded from serving us in consequence of a dispute with the Ponsee Saubwa, who had quarrelled with him in particular, and threatened destruction to any neighbouring chiefs who either interfered with us whilst in his territory, or helped us to quit our encampment at Ponsee.

It was in vain that I proved to him that the Ponsee Saubwa had been working with him throughout, and that the agreement to provide mules had been shared in by Ponsee as well as by himself. Expostulation was useless. I recognised the chief's difficulties, and he nodded an assent when I attributed them to private messages and secret instructions which had been sent to him from Bhamo.

132. But if the advent of these messages had been productive of difficulties in alienating the offices or the good will of the Saray chief, a much more serious evil threatened us in the arrival of a party of fifty (50) armed Burmans under a Tsayay-daugyee (secretary) from Bhamo, who had been dispatched, it was said, with the ostensible object of working certain silver mines on the part of the Burmese Government.

These far-famed silver mines had been worked at fitful intervals for several generations past by Shans, Burmans, and Chinese alike, until finally abandoned some years since, when the precious ore had become exhausted beyond all hope of remunerative production.

133. Was it a *mere* coincidence that the Burmese Government, after so long an interval of tardy inaction, should have *now* sent an armed party of 50 men to renew mining operations at Ponsee at the precise time of our own unfortunate detention within Ponsee bondage? From the time of its arrival, the Tsayay-daugyee in charge never came himself or allowed any of his party to visit me. Everything was done to convince the Kakhyen mind that Burman and British interests conflicted, and that the party was hostile to us both in purpose and interests.

On one occasion proof was afforded of a bribe having been given by the Burmese secretary to certain Kakhyens to induce them to steal and carry off our ponies.

Parties of three and four of the armed party were constantly being dispatched into the Shan states with damnatory reports of our mission and intentions. The Tsayay-daugyee terrified the only Kakhyen interpreter we had with threats of Burman vengeance, and when other means failed to deprive me of his services, he

* The Burmese Government had given me two letters addressed in the name of the Governor of Bhamo to the Panthay or Chinese authorities whom we might meet with during our exploration into Yunan. I did not make use of these letters beyond transmitting a copy of one of them from Bhamo to Momein, because I discovered, only when it was too late for remedy, that the letters merely purported to be sent by a provincial governor instead of being addressed in the name of the Burmese Government. I do not think that it was ever the intention of theGovernment that we should proceed far enough to make personal delivery of either letter, neither did it calculate upon the probability of my forwarding on copies of the letters to pave the way to our introduction and arrival within Panthay territory. I have elsewhere been led to express an opinion that the arrival of this letter at Momein afforded evidence of Burmese co-operation, and incited the Panthays to the attack on Mauphoo. I now further incline to the belief that the secret mission from Mandalay to Yunan, which could not have been dispatched till late in April, was intended, in one material respect, to counteract the use I had made of the Burmese letters, and explain, as far as *we* were concerned, the mysterious working of Burmese state policy.

he wrote to the Governor of Bhamo and framed charges which resulted in the imprisonment of the interpreter's wife (as security for the interpreter himself) pending his absence in the service of the expedition.

134. And what became of the silver mines? The whole project may justly be considered as a mere flimsy contrivance, under cover of which it was intended to watch our action at Ponsee, and defeat by an overwhelming preponderance every honest endeavour to force our exit and our interests beyond the limits of our Kakhyen encampment.

135. Their success was certain, had we not anticipated them by securing the support of the Panthay Government.

It only remains to be told that the mining or undermining operations of this shallow confederation naturally ceased with our own departure from Ponsee. Left as it was without purpose or resources, the party return baffled and disheartened to Bhamo, to recount there the history of its own failures and the marvel (as it must certainly have appeared to them) of our success.

136. But the expedition is still at Ponsee. I must go back to the first week in April. The Saray Saubwa had left us in consequence of an alleged quarrel with the Ponsee Saubwa, who is said to have threatened the former with a life-long enmity if he assisted us to leave his jurisdiction and Saubwaship. The Ponsee Saubwa had been our friend for one short week, or from the time the Ponlyne chief left us until the arrival of the Burmese armed mining party at Ponsee. He was now our avowed enemy, and had openly conspired with neighbouring chiefs, and invited them to attend his sacrificial offerings to the minor deities whose propitiation was a preparatory measure only to our own intended immolation.

137. The Saray Saubwa himself brought this fact to my notice, and dwelt upon it in his own defence as evidence of the hostility which threatened, not only ourselves, but all who aided or befriended our cause. I told the chief that he as well as the chiefs of Ponlyne and Ponsee had guaranteed me safe conduct as far as Manwyne: that if evil befel the expedition, the probabilities were that force would be dispatched from Mandalay to afford assistance and seek redress. The old chief replied with a smile, "You will get no assistance from Burmans; they have repeatedly sent to tell me that you are not to go on. If you persist, we have been advised to make away with you in any way we please, and the reward offered is the appropriation of your property."

138. It will be remembered that the Ponlyne chief on a former occasion spoke much in the same terms of the Burman influences by which he and other Kakhyen chiefs had been instigated, and even ordered, to assume a state of enmity towards us. It is important, and perhaps instructive, to mark the course of that enmity as instanced in the case of the Ponsee chief's sudden hostile demonstration.

139. Some days had passed in assembling chiefs and maturing means for an effectual onslaught. The sacrificial buffalo had been slaughtered, and the usual revel was being kept up in a manner dear to Kakhyens as long as they are assured of a plentiful supply of beef and shamshoo. The night of the revel was no secret, and we were well prepared for eventualities. Only two chiefs of any note had joined Ponsee. His principal Paw-mynes held aloof, and rejected the conventional pound of flesh which had been sent to invite their attendance at the domestic festival. The Paw-mynes had already signified to me their dissent from the Saubwa, and stigmatised his conduct as that of a madman, and his actions as dangerous and beyond all control.

140. I assured them of passive resistance only on our part as long as the Saubwa confined himself to threats and demonstrations. If, however, an actual attack was made upon our position, I should assume the offensive, and the consequences might be disastrous.

It was necessary to deal somewhat in mysteries. A month's residence at Ponsee had caused our fame to be noised abroad as a people whose knowledge and powers exceeded even that of demons and deities. Breech-loading rifles, Adams' and Colt's revolvers, photographic apparatus, Bryant and May's patent vestas, which "ignite only on the box," and defy both wind and rain, had all helped

helped to create and maintain a practicable belief in our connectionship with supernatural agencies.

141. On the day of the expected attack, the police escort had been drawn up under arms, and the opportunity was taken of entertaining our friends for the first time to the sound of a volley. The firing was good, and the effect salutary and immediate. The Paw mynes were alarmed, and prayed that their houses might not be included in the general destruction which now seemed to await all who were foolish enough to belong to the number of our enemies. I simply referred them to their own chief, who was the immediate cause of present misunderstanding. My own strong desire, I said, was to live on friendly and peaceable terms with all, but even Kakhyens must not expect that any number of Englishmen would ever quietly submit to an attack which threatened them with annihilation, without some effort to save themselves, and retaliate on those who had forced them into hostility.

142. But Ponsee now had come to his senses. The morning's volley had penetrated the scene of his convivial rioting, and the pugnacious confederates cooled down very considerably under a formal introduction to 50 muskets which would all *go off*. It was soon hinted to me, as a preliminary to reconciliation, that the *Nats* had looked with disfavour on the Saubwa's intentions, and failed to give him any encouragement in his evil designs against the expedition. (This was only to be expected, as the Meetway or *Nat* oracle was my friend, and *in my pay*.)

My Paw-myne friends next intimated that they had come to terms with the refractory Saubwas, who were now anxious to be introduced to me and secure our friendship. This meant that I was expected to receive and give presents to the men who for a week past had been sitting in council against us and plotting our destruction.

143. Nevertheless I was prepared to secure peace for the present at any cost, and pave the way to a better understanding for the future. It was difficult, however, to restrain a burst of either indignation or laughter when the chiefs presented themselves, and I was openly asked to pay a money indemnity to which the Ponsee Saubwa had become liable for having cut down a Shan petty trader who had committed the crime of bringing supplies to our encampment!

Thus, I was not only to receive with open arms those who had an hour before been conspiring against our lives, but to pay a heavy ransom for acts of hostility committed against ourselves, and which threatened, as they did, the very means of our existence!

Still there was nothing extraordinary in all this to the people we were dealing with. They could not be elevated in a day to a just appreciation of our principles, either in punishing crime or rewarding virtue. Nor, when I exceeded even the limits of Christian charity, and submitted to the necessity or inclination of doing good to our revilers, did I calculate upon developing all at once in the Kakhyen intellect a proper appreciation of its own folly or of our magnanimity. The chiefs tendered their friendship and received ours, and presents into the bargain. Their minds may not have grasped the soundness of a moral code which enjoins us to love our enemies and do good to those who despitefully use us, but certainly were not backward in seeking immediate application of the principle in their own case, and profiting by it, it may be hoped, in their future estimation of Christian friendship and British conciliation.

144. They left rejoicing; but the Ponsee chief sat silent and sheepish. Much had been urged on his account or in extenuation of his hostility towards us, because that hostility is said to have taken its rise in anger at my supposed neglect of him on the one hand and Ponlyne's rapacity on the other. But, strange to say, this animosity did not manifest itself in any very dangerous form until after the departure of Ponlyne, and until the arrival of the armed Burmese party from Bhamo. One of the buffaloes which was offered up as a propitiation for sins, or as an enticement to the gods to favour the means of our destruction, was provided by this Burman party, and the official in charge, understanding well the purport of such a gift, had accepted the pound of flesh

which was to bind the interests against us and array them on the side of the refractory Saubwa.

145. The demonstration had failed: we were masters of the position, and the significance of this superiority was the more valuable, because it rested on the acknowledgments of the hill tribes that we lived under the auspices and protection of their own presiding deities. Another source of satisfaction was that a reconciliation had been come to between the chief and his Paw-mynes. The latter had sided with me throughout, and it was at their instigation, on a renewal of friendship, that I was induced to pay Ponsee 100 rupees to make up, in some respects, for our own supposed neglect and the loss sustained by Ponlyne's misappropriation.

146. The Saubwa in swearing friendship vowed that he had always regarded us as his friends and relations.

"Save me from my friends," I exclaimed laughingly, "if connectionship with them is supposed to carry with it the previlege of being assassinated at will to suit the love or the caprices of the Saubwa's relatives!" The Saubwa grinned uncomfortably. I tried his temper still further by asking why he had omitted his new relations in the late distribution of beef at Ponsee? He understood the allusion, and left somewhat awkwardly, but in good humour.

147. During the first few days of April matters were hopeful and exciting. The great drawback was that the Saubwa and Paw-mynes had been reconciled only as regards conventionalities, but their interests jarred at once as soon as any reference was made to the affairs of the expedition, or the means required for our further progress. On both sides there was an over-zealous desire to be of service. The Paw-mynes were willing to supply porters in any abundance. The Saubwa volunteered to go and procure mules. The object of either party was to secure to itself the whole, or as large a proportion as possible, of our valuable baggage. Privately, the Saubwa advised me to have no dealings with the Paw-mynes, and described their intentions as evil and dishonest. To his face and to mine the Paw-mynes accused the Saubwa of entertaining a design against our property. Each frustrated the other in any attempt to be useful. Their united or rather disunited friendship was thus rendered as unprofitable and futile as their joint enmity. I had paid 100 rupees for a mere outward show of reconciliation, which seemed only to have widened the breach of their greedy disunion.

148. Early on the morning of 6th (April) the Paw-mynes brought a small crowd of Kakhyen coolies and asked for our boxes. I was ready to move, I said, but not without a previous understanding:—

1. The Saubwa must be a consenting party to our proceeding.

2. The Paw-mynes must convince me that they had sufficient men to carry the whole of our baggage at one time.

On the first point, the Paw-mynes said that the Saubwa was a nonentity and need not be consulted; on the second, that, though the coolies were not all then present, they would come in gradually in sufficient numbers to make the start that day. "Let them come," I said, "and we will make arrangements for an immediate move." But they did not come. Overtures, however, were made to the Saubwa during the afternoon, and a temporary reconciliation was agreed to, on the understanding that the Saubva and his party should be privileged to carry 40 mule-loads of our baggage.

149. The events of 7th April must be taken from my rough journal of that date:—

"This has been an eventful day, in promise big, in effect an abortion. Up at daylight. Tents struck and baggage arranged for an early start. The Saubwa and Paw-mynes appear by turns, but the coolies only begin to assemble at 8 a.m. The parties are still at loggerheads about the appropriation of baggage. Time and patience reduce matters to something like order, but there is still a strong party spirit at work. The opposite factions regard each other as implacable foes, both being intent only on loot, and each vieing with each other for the lion's share. The existence of dishonest intent is palpable in the barefaced

barefaced rivalry which is displayed by either party in seizing upon the most *promising* packages, regardless of their weight or size. My small japanned tin cases bring on a crisis. The Saubwa's men have secured them, and "Death's-head," Paw-myne, is in a fury of madness and drink. I have told off the escort into detached parties to prevent the exit from camp of any baggage until all is in readiness for a start. The small circumference of our encampment is filled with armed Kakhyens. They are our porters and friends. It would be awkward in this scene of confusion if they turned out to be enemies! The Paw-myne seizes my gold *dah* which is in the hands of a Burman. Williams is standing near, and wrenches it from both with a twist which was irresistible.

Paw-myne is at bay for an instant, but rushes away excitedly, and suddenly re-appears with his slow match in a blaze. He advances to within three paces of me, and is priming his piece preparatory to fire. Before I could move he had fired it into the air with a loud report. There is consternation for a moment, but no immediate movement. All would have been quiet again, but unfortunately an assistant surveyor with our party carried a revolver and fired it off in the air with unmeaning effort. Again tumult and confusion. The Kakhyens show that they have no fight in them, and fly in all directions as if panic-stricken. There is no movement on our side. The Saubwa too is quiet, and behaves with a just appreciation of events. He calls upon the Kakhyens not to fly, and at the same time makes us understand by word and gesture that the Paw-myne's anger has no reference to ourselves, but is directed against him. Order is restored after a time, and the coolies return to their respective loads.

I had taken the precaution of telling off the escort for the march in such a way that, when the start was made, each set of coolies would be under surveillance, with a chain of communication between the advance and rear guards. The japanned tin cases, or rather the coolies who were to carry them, were placed under the immediate supervision of armed followers, and could not bolt without creating an alarm.

The precautions were disagreeable to both factions, and rather confounded their schemes of bolting with our baggage under the disguise of porters. Time wore on. It was noon. The coolies had arranged their loads, and a start might even then have been made, when it suddenly occurred to the chiefs that, being late that day, we had better remain where we were and make an early start on the morrow.

This proposition was irresistible, because it had come from the Saubwa and Paw-mynes, whose disinclination to move without solid advantages to themselves, or when they saw that their plans for wholesale robbery had been to some extent frustrated, was an argument *per se* which it would have been in vain to oppose. I was, therefore, bound into acquiescence—a grievous disappointment to say the least of it, after six hours' exposure to a hot sun, and a month's captivity at Ponsee. Shall we start to-morrow? that is the question, and a very doubtful one too, if we are allowed to judge by this morning's experiences of Kakhyen treachery and caprice, &c., &c., &c.

150. We did not leave! The morning of the 8th was ushered in by a demand for money. Up till 9 a.m. not a cooly had presented himself in camp; at half-past nine the Paw-mynes appeared, and informed me that, as the Saubwa had withdrawn his support they could not assist me single-handed. I must consider their promise to forward me on to Manwyne as already at an end. Shortly afterwards the Saubwa came in person and laid the onus of our false start on the Paw-mynes, whom he again accused and condemned as men who were intent only on robbery and imposition.

151. I soon discovered the real source of mischief and miscarriage in the presence of the Nanlyaw Tamon, who had already held a conspicuous place in our Burmese experiences. The last trip he made to Ponsee had been undertaken with the express object of inducing the Ponlyne and Ponsee Saubwas to desert us on the hills and return with him to Bhamo. His influence and advice had now been enlisted on the side of the Burmese armed party of miners at Ponsee, and having been successful on his former mission, it is only reasonable to suppose that he would again be armed with authority to negotiate with the chiefs and assist them to the utmost in our further discomfiture. He can hardly have been instrumental in the "abortion" of 7th April, but I attribute our

disappointment on the succeeding day to secret influences, of which he (the Tamon) had become by tuition and intuition a most inflexible agent and promoter.

152. Happening to meet the man in our camp on the 8th, I caused him to be arrested, and would henceforth have detained him as a spy and a prisoner; but the Paw-mynes, with whom he was on particularly intimate terms, interceded so forcibly in his behalf, that I was obliged to concede to their scruples rather than be subjected to interminable dispute or additional misunderstanding. The Tamon was dismissed with a warning not to cross our path again, and I have never seen or heard of him since.

153. At this juncture, or rather on 9th April, letters reached me from Momein, and I was informed therein that Tah-sa-kon, the Governor of that place, had taken the field in person and had resolved upon the extermination of Lees-hee-ta-hee, who then held the passes and heights of Mauphoo, situated half way between the Shan State of Mynela on the one side, and the Chinese, or rather Panthay, town of Nantin on the other. This Mauphoo had been a place of considerable note during those days of commercial prosperity when, as the people themselves describe, "trade flourished to such an extent that the caravan fires at the successive halting stations were never extinguished."

154. It is just matter for surprise that the Panthay Government had so long submitted to allow this stronghold, commanding, as it did, the high road between the Shan States and Momein, to remain in the occupation of a robber chieftain who utilised it indirectly in the cause of Burmah, partly because it served as a buffer to the Panthays by closing the direct means of inroad to Bhamo, and partly on account of the convenient means it opened out to himself for safe retreat and successful brigandage.

155. Lees-hee-ta-hee may have often been disturbed in his possessions at Mauphoo, but on no former occasion had the Governor of Momein so deliberately determined on securing his downfall. It had now been made apparent to him that foreign interests were at stake, and his assistance was invoked in the cause of an expedition which promised once more to put the province of Yunan into commercial intercourse with the old trading mart on the Irrawaddy at Bhamo. The letters which brought the intelligence of Tah-sa-kon's intended attack on Lees-hee-ta-hee warned me further not to advance beyond Ponsee until further advices had reached us of a settlement of affairs at Mauphoo. Their arrival raised me at once to a position of superiority, from which advice and admonition could be the more readily exercised in still temporizing with our Kakhyen associates and rousing them betimes into active adherence.

156. On one point in particular it had become a vital consideration to give vent to firm and decided plain speaking. Kakhyens, Burmese, and Shans alike had conceived extravagant ideas as to the value of our baggage, and frequently suggested by their behaviour and speech that the hope of some day making it their own was one of the indirect inducements which aided in our detention on the Ponsee hills.

I began, therefore, at this time to proclaim on all sides that though we had cheerfully submitted to privations and delay in conciliating the hill tribes and ingratiating ourselves into their favour and good will, they were not to suppose that this state of long suffering would continue for ever, or that we would patiently endure perpetual isolation.—"Extremis malis extrema remedia." I told them that any extremities to which we might be reduced would not involve an abandonment of our baggage, for I did not intend that there should be anything left to abandon. All that we could not take away with us for want of carriage would be piled up *en masse* to set fire to, and blaze forth in flames the cause of our departure. If to their own disappointment in losing this supposed source of wealth they added the probabilities of future demands in compensation for losses sustained at their hands or through their neglect, they would find small cause, I said, for after triumph in having alienated those who now had desired, above all things, to be considered their friends.

157. It will, of course, be understood that, in making known to the Kakhyens the determination to destroy our property rather than allow it to fall into their own avaricious and unworthy possession, I had not desired to exhibit in myself

or

or to illustrate to their detriment a dog-in-the-manger principle, which would have been no less degrading to British character and civilization than ruinous, perhaps, to our safety and future interests. The chief comprehended and believed what was said, and I thought then, as I think now, that the practical removal from their minds of one grave temptation to err was a subject for general satisfaction, as it contributed in no small degree to generate in them, and probably also in ourselves, the elements of future confidence and mutual understanding.

158. The burden of their reply was as follows:—

"Do not altogether blame us (Kakhyens) for your misfortunes; we have always been in doubt how to act towards you on account of the many warnings we have received to withhold assistance and oppose your progress. *Now* we know you, and will no longer attend to bad advice. You have been always kind to us and are a powerful people; only give us *rupees* and we will procure carriage at once."

The gist of the speech is in the *rupees*. Mules we did not then require, since our instructions from Momein negatived an advance until further advices.

On the whole, the position, though surrounded by uncertainties, was nevertheless more hopeful and promising than it had hitherto been since our arrival at Ponsee.

There was a satisfaction in feeling that Burmese stratagem was so far on the decline as to force Kakhyens into an acknowledgment of our superiority and a tacit dependence on powers which could neither be trifled with with impunity nor affronted without retaliation.

159. The determination to make a bonfire of our property and then seek reprisals at some future date, when the expedition had returned to recount the history of its losses to its own Government, was a speck on the political horizon which even to Kakhyen comprehensions contained the elements of interminable enmity. On the other hand, they could not help perceiving that under just treatment we were harmless as friends, and promised in our future intercourse, as pioneers of trade, to open up to them old sources of wealth and prosperity. Added to this, the uniform kindness with which we requited all just services were valuable recommendations in themselves, and contrasted in a marked manner with the treatment to which they had hitherto been subjected in their dealings with other races.

It is not to be wondered at, then, that the delay at Ponsee has been productive of at least one great advantage, in having worked out for us an ascendancy in the Kakhyen mind, the importance of which will be manifested in time to come by the facilities of future action and intercourse in the same rich field of civilizing enterprise.

160. Nearly six weeks had elapsed since the desertion of my Chinese interpreter, Moung Shwè Yah, at Ponlyne. The manner of his flight, without cause or warning, at a time, too, when his services were of the utmost urgency to the well-being of the expedition, was dastardly and inexcusable. Now, in the middle of April, I am all at once made aware of Moung Shwè Yah's whereabouts, and received a written explanation of the causes which are said to have necessitated his flight from Ponlyne. These may or may not be true and consistent in themselves, but the sources from which my information comes are so divergent in themselves, and at the same time so mysteriously coincident, as to invite special reference and examination.

161. On the evening of the 10th April two Kakhyens arrived in camp with letters which purported to have been written by Shwè Yah himself from some halting place on his journey through the Shan States. The Kakhyens could give no consistent account of themselves, and contradicted each other in trifling matters of detail, without being able to state how long the letters had been in their possession, or from whom they had been received.

162. The next morning one of the Burmese armed mining party stationed at Ponsee brought me a letter from Moung Shwè Yah, which, he said, had been given to him *fourteen days before*, at the house of the Kakhyen Saubwa of Suddan; but instead of bringing me the letter, he had taken it to Bhamo *by*

mistake, and only *now* remembered that it was in his possession, and that it would be as well to deliver it.

The flight of Moung Shwè Yah, serious as it was at the time, had long since lapsed into comparative insignificance, and for five weeks or more he was a thing of the past and deservedly forgotten. *Now*, however, for a whole day previous to the delivery of his letters, Moung Shwè Yah was in every one's mouth, and the subject of his desertion and whereabouts was forced upon me, *usque ad nauseam*, by my Burmese followers, who had private friends amongst the Burmese armed mining party from Bhamo.

These reports, I afterwards ascertained, reached me under special Burmese instigation, and it was Burmese stratagem which planned that I should receive on the same date letters from Moung Shwè Yah himself, written on different dates from widely distant destinations, and brought by directly opposite routes.

163. My solution of the affair is as follows:—

Moung Shwè Yah, after his shameful desertion at Ponsee, either returned direct to Mandalay to report progress, or made his reports at Bhamo and awaited further orders from Mandalay. The King could not have heard with indifference that his own special deputy with the expedition should have behaved towards us in a way which would compromise himself and lead to complications with his government. Moung Shwè Yah too would have naturally heard, during his five weeks' stay at Bhamo, that a diversion had been made in our favour by the Governor of Momein, and would be led to believe in the probabilities of our successful advance into China without Burman aid, or in spite of Burman interference. The same reports would have reached Mandalay, and have given rise to similar apprehensions. Hence, I conceive, arose the necessity of despatching stringent orders to correct so glaring an abuse, and remedy past defaults by a mock show of zeal and a superabundance of courteous deception.

164. Moung Shwè Yah had evidently only just started for Momein when the two letters reached me, and their arrival through a Burman source is accounted for by a sudden and excessive desire on the part of the officials to carry out their master's instructions, and save his reputation by making it appear that Moung Shwè Yah had never wavered in his service to the expedition.

The clumsiness of this contrivance places it on a par of apparency with other shallow expedients of a similar kind, whenever patchwork is resorted to as a means of covering and concealing an old and dirty piece of jobbery and wrong-doing.

165. On the 11th of April, the *Choung Zan Moung Mo*, whom I had formerly used as a Kakhyen interpreter, but was treacherously carried off by the Ponlyne Saubwa on the 18th of the preceding month, returned from Bhamo and offered me his services. I had formerly held out to Moung Mo every inducement in my power to make him disregard mere Burmese threats, and he had at length agreed to attach himself to the British expedition if I would afford him protection against the Burman officer then in charge of the mining party at Ponsee. Moung Mo pleaded that he had ceased to have any official connectionship with the Burmese armed party or with the Government, and that his services were at my disposal for any appointment to which I might choose to appropriate them.

166. I have already said that Moung Mo was one of the village head men who had been specially made over to me by the Governor of Bhamo as Shan and Kakhyen interpreter to the expedition, and I had every right to claim his services from the date of our departure from Bhamo. But the Governor proved insincere in his promises, and Moung Mo only at length joined me under private pecuniary inducements, and after he had freed himself from official restraints by breaking off all former connectionship with the Burmese Government.

His disinterested account of affairs at Bhamo at the time he joined me may be briefly recorded as illustrative of much that has already been said in describing the peculiarities of our present position on the Kakhyen Hills.

Moung Mo *loquitur*.

A. Orders have been received from Mandalay concerning the expedition. The officials are directed to be careful in their obstructiveness, and

and not to allow the *royal ears to be ashamed* by reports of shallow half measures. The King was displeased with the complaints which reached him of our detention at this place. The Ponlyne Saubwa has been written to, and told *that he may take you* as far as Manwyne in accordance with his original agreement. His reply was, that he would willingly have carried out his engagements from the first, had he not been tampered with by Burmese officials, and ordered to abandon the expedition almost before the journey had commenced. Having been led thereby to compromise himself with you, he now positively refused to attend further to the Governor's orders, or to conduct the expedition on its journey to Manwyne.

B. The Governor was surprised and enraged at hearing that you had been able to despatch letters from Bhamo to Momein without the knowledge of any of his subordinate officials.

He threatened them with dismissal from office as soon as the necessary reports could be made to Mandalay.

C. The idea of working the silver mines was a sham from the commencement. The party came to Ponsee with 50 men, and already orders have been given not to continue the work. The object of that party is to watch your proceedings and prevent your progress, by disseminating evil reports of your intentions. The Kakhyens are afraid to assist so long as they see amongst them an armed party of Burmans, with orders not to allow you to enter the Shan States.

D. Do not go on to Manwyne until you hear again from the Panthay Governor at Momein, or until they send to meet you. I hear all that goes on, and I know that Lees-hee-ta-hee has sworn to oppose you if you attempt to cross into the Shan States. Not one of your party is to be *left alive.* Depend on what I say, and mind do not leave, although the Kakhyens agree to conduct you, until you are assured all is safe.

E. Numbers of Shans and Burmese are anxious to accompany you as interpreters, or in any other capacity, but they are afraid to do so. The officials know that if they can prevent your getting an interpreter your position is comparatively a helpless and dependent one. Their object is to add to your difficulties in the hope of making them insurmountable.

F. When you sent a packet of letters a few days ago to be forwarded to Bhamo, the Sayay-dawgyee would not allow any Burman to take charge of it, although he communicated daily with Bhamo. Do not send letters at all; they will never reach their destination.

167. So much for the confessions of a man who, being a Burmese official himself, has been behind the scenes from the commencement. He has since rendered me faithful services, and I am indebted to him for subsequent disclosures, which will be recorded in their proper place as my narrrative proceeds.

168. Moung Mo had no sooner established himself in my service than further light was thrown upon the subject of his confessions by the arrival of the Toung-mhoo of Bhamo, a man who, it will be remembered, acted as my guide from Bhamo to Sitkaw, and then rendered us most valuable assistance.

This official now informed me that he had been specially deputed to examine and report upon the practicability of continuing operations at the silver mines. If his opinion was unfavourable, he was vested with authority to stop the work, and order the withdrawal of the Burmese armed party.

Considering that the party had not at this time commenced to mine (for silver, at least), and that its original organisation and equipment was that of soldiers and not of miners, it was rather premature to talk of relinquishing the undertaking, and of withdrawing the party altogether, from Ponsee. Another ridiculous phase of the affair (enough in itself to expose its mere equivocal character) was that the Toung-mhoo, according to his own confession, knew nothing of mining, and less of silver ores, so that his opinion can really have had no practical or professional weight by which to decide on terminating so momentous an undertaking. As Moung Mo had already stated, the whole affair was a snare and a delusion.

169. Although time has become a matter of very serious import, both as regards our detention at Ponsee and (to descend to trifles) the exceeding length of this laborious narrative, I must digress for a moment to note a hail-storm which occurred on the 12th April.

The most observable feature of the storm, as apart from its violence, was that each hail-stone was composed of a *flat* piece of clear ice with a small opaque nucleus at its centre. The pieces were of all shapes, and some of them exceeded half an inch in breadth or diameter.

170. For several days subsequent to the hail-storm heavy rain-clouds had been coming up from the south-west, and showered down their contents in copious profusion, although north-easterly gusts still blew furiously at times over our camp, as if to keep up an appearance of being the prevalent monsoon. But the rains had set in to a certainty, and apart from the inconveniences of very imperfect shelter, it was a serious reflection to think that an expedition which started under apparently fair auspices, and with a reasonable conviction that its employment and occupation would not extend beyond the limits of a single dry season, should find now, whilst on the threshold only of its operation, that that season has passed, and that further efficient progress would only be attainable (if attainable at all) by prosecuting exploration in the face of a south-west monsoon.

171. On the 15th April messengers again arrived from Momein with a Chinese interpreter, who spoke Burmese fluently. They did not bring letters, but were privately despatched by the Governor to make further personal inquiry into our circumstances at Ponsee and the purposes of our mission to Momein.

The ordeal I was subjected to was not a pleasant one, as the deputation had arrived under a suspicion that the expedition had been despatched with sinister designs, and that we were mere political spies, who were preparing the way for a vast army which was to follow and sweep all before it into British possession.

172. The messengers commenced fairly enough by stating that they had been sent to clear up certain points touching the objects of the expedition. Doubts and contradictions had arisen, they said, in consequence of evil reports which had reached Momein, both from Bhamo and Mandalay.

I submitted, out of courtesy and for reasons of policy, to a rigorous cross-examination, although the members of the deputation were given to understand from the first that they could not expect me to treat with them as real accredited agents, because they had failed to furnish me with written proofs in support of their right to act in an official capacity.

173. In my subsequent conversations with this deputation I learned the following facts:—

1st. That the Governor of Momein had received letters from Bhamo in which he was warned against us on the ground that we represented a formidable nation, and that our real object was to side with the Chinese (our allies by treaty) and drive the Mahomedan population out of Yunan.

2nd. That we were not Mahomedans, but had always been aliens and foes to the Mahomedan race all over the world. Both statements were discredited, it was said, inasmuch as they directly contradicted the first reports which had been sent from Bhamo to Lees-hee-ta-hee, and which plainly gave out that we were foreigners and were allied in race to the Panthays (that is to say, we were neither Burmese, Shans, nor Chinese), and that our object was to join with our Panthay friends in securing to the latter the full enjoyment of their Yunan possessions.

174. It is worthy of notice that the new doubt which it was intended to establish in the Panthay mind relative to the evil purposes of our mission into Yunan is coincident, as regards time, with the arrival at Momein of the Burmese deputation, which passed through Ponsee on the 28th March, with the avowed object of hiring Chinese coolies to aid the working of the silver mines.

It seemed evident to me at the time that the men who formed that deputation were the bearers of letters or reports which were intended to interfere mischievously

chievously with our own progress. The fact that such letters reached Momein from a Burmese source at the time they did warrants the belief, though founded at first on conjecture, that Burman intrigue was still alive, and would impede our objects long after they had ceased to have any connectionship with Burmese territory.

It was at first hoped to ruin our enterprise by making common cause with the Chinese, and exciting their enmity under an impression that our interests were identical with those of the Panthay Government.

But when the Panthays replied with cordiality to my protests against Chinese intrigue, and had promised assistance with which we must have triumphed in spite of Burmese duplicity and opposition, it was time for Burmans to shift their ground of political tactics and affirm, with a recklessness which did not even escape Panthay observation, that the expedition which was once proclaimed to have been got up in the Panthay cause, had become exclusively Chinese, and threatened destruction to Mahomedan Government in Yunan.

176. But why anticipate events at Momein? Burman intrigue was still with us at Ponsee. Up to as late a date as the 16th of April I was appealed to by the Saubwa to contradict a report which made it appear that we contemplated reprisals, and were about to retaliate on the Kakhyens for the delays and annoyances to which they had subjected us during our stay on their hills.

The *Red** Paw-myne affirmed most positively that the Burmese officer in charge of the armed mining party had personally told them that we were about to burn down the village and make an indiscriminate slaughter of its inhabitants. He spoke feelingly, and begged I would not forget the numerous obligations I was under to himself and to the Kakhyens of the neighbourhood, with whom I had always been on terms of friendly and social freedom. The man was excited and in earnest, though more or less under the effects of liquor. I laughed at his misgivings, and referred, as *he* had done, to past kindnesses as an earnest of future good understanding. There had been an excess of friendship on either side. Disputes may have occasionally arisen with the chiefs, but they related to business only, and had resulted in an increase of good feeling as soon as the injurious influences which inspired them could either be explained or altogether removed. What cause now existed for supposing that our feelings had changed, or that we contemplated a vicious retaliation on those whom it was still to our interest to conciliate and retain as friends?

177. The Paw-myne relented and confessed to a too hasty judgment. The apprehensions he had indulged in now appeared to him visionary and unfounded, but to us there was a stern reality in the fact that Burmese intrigue remained illimitable, and was still insatiably at work to inspire animosities of a very dangerous tendency.

178. I now approach a time in the history of the expedition when a multiplicity of considerations impelled me, in the cause of success and the interests of government, to advise a reduction of our party and a return of some of its members to British territory.

179. These considerations and the responsibilities attaching to them (and to myself in particular) for having consented to or encouraged in any degree a breaking up of the expedition as compared with its original efficiency are so fully disclosed in a series of letters (which will appear in their proper place in the Appendix to this Report, and in my demi-official letter to the Chief Commissioner, dated Ponsee, 28th April 1868) as to obviate the necessity of a separate report or of further lengthened explanation. It is only by a close attention to facts as they stand disclosed in those letters, and at that particular period, that it is possible to appreciate the motives or make allowances for the necessities under which an extraordinary course of action may have been either suggested in practice or warranted in execution.

180. It will be generally admitted as a self-evident fact that at the time I addressed the circular letter of 18th April to the members of the expedition, the

* Paw-mynes are an hereditary class of Kakhyen officials subordinate to the Saubwa. Those at Ponsee belonged to one family, the two principal members of which we had nicknamed for sake of distinction *Red Paw-myne* and *Death's-head Paw-myne*.

the probabilities of an advance beyond the limits of Ponsee were both remote and uncertain.

The rains had set in, and exploration surveys in a strictly engineering sense had ceased with the dry season, and were virtually impracticable.

181. The funds at my disposal had become sensibly reduced by unforeseen delays both at Bhamo and Ponsee.

Five months had been named as the probable time during which the expedition was expected to complete its operations, *and for that period, accordingly, its funds had been apportioned.*

Four months had elapsed in comparative inaction, but not without an expenditure which seemed to be multiplied and increased in an inverse ratio to expeditionary progression.

182. To have sent back for funds and have awaited for three months their arrival at Ponsee would have amounted to an assumption, which I had no right to make, that the expedition regarded neither time nor season, and would prosecute its plan with indefinite limitation.

It would have become incumbent, under that assumption, not only to have provided against pecuniary deficiencies, but to have solicited a complete refitment or an entirely new organisation on a scale commensurate with our altered conditions.

183. For it will be borne in mind that we were not free travellers, living alone on our zeal and dependent only on individual responsibilities. Our party numbered nearly a hundred government servants, and the change implied by waiting for funds or extending the scope of our enterprise over an illimitable period involved the consideration also of a corresponding provision, not only in funds, but in food, pay, clothing, medical stores, and general requirements.

184. Such a consideration led, moreover, to the inevitable question whether the refitment which the expedition must undergo could be carried out at Ponsee, or whether it was not rather desirable that we should return *en masse* to British territory, and make a new start under new auspices, more perfect preparation, and a new dry season. The latter, no doubt, was an unpleasant alternative, which could not be contemplated even, as long as it appeared feasible by reducing our strength and economizing resources to devise a means towards the accomplishment of our object without incurring the odium of a primary failure, or risking the doubt of a renewal of our undertaking.

185. The determination I had come to of remaining at Ponsee until a favourable opportunity offered of continuing the journey into Yunan was based upon the immediate prospect of securing political and commercial advantages, which were so promisingly held out at the time by the friendly attitude and assurances of the Panthay Government.

But I had no means of forming a positive opinion as to the time which must elapse, or the further delays which might be incurred, in accomplishing the desired object. The rains had set in, and the engineer's department was practically of no further use (as it then appeared to me) for purposes of either exploration or survey. My funds were low, and a rigid regard to economy had become an unpleasant but imperative duty. There was no immediate prospect of a speedy delivery from present bondage. In fact, it was very questionable in certain points of view whether the expedition had not already come to an abrupt termination. Such a contingency, however, had never been contemplated; on the contrary, it had become a fixed resolve for some time past, apart from pecuniary considerations altogether, to abandon our baggage and trust for shelter to the resources of the country, rather than submit to failure, and ruin the hope, for a generation at least, of all further successful efforts in so fair and cherished an enterprise.

186. But I deemed it a natural question enough, in determining the course which then seemed to me the most effective and desirable in serving the interests committed to my keeping, to propose what appeared to me under the circumstances an immaterial reduction in the strength of our party, and secure by so doing to those who remained a more certain prospect of eventual success than would otherwise have been available had the whole party been kept together according to its original composition.

187. It

187. It must not be supposed that, in dispensing with Captain Williams's services, I underrated the importance of engineering science as an essential aid to our expeditionary adventure; but it was reasonable, and I may add imperative, in the position I then found myself, to disregard all mere subsidiary accompaniments, and limit our enterprise to means which not only provided against *total* failure, but held out in the distance a hopeful promise of complete success.

188. Both Captain Williams and Mr. Stewart, in electing to sever their connectionship with the expedition, were actuated by a conviction that they thereby added to the means of my progress. Their departure from Ponsee was a matter of convenience, which originated with myself, and for which I alone am held solely responsible.

189. I may be pardoned, therefore, for expressing a hope that the Chief Commissioner, as well as the Government of India, in reviewing the circumstances of the case as they are here set forth in this Report (as well as in the correspondence which took place at Ponsee between myself and the members of the expedition during the month of April last), will approve of the measures which were necessarily adopted by me when a reduction in the strength of our party had become an indispensable expedient, which not only tended to our own advancement, but conduced to the best interests and welfare of government.

190. It must be obvious throughout that the onus of Captain Williams's return from Ponsee rests entirely with myself as leader of the expedition. It is a duty, therefore, I owe that officer to bring his conduct to notice, and to suggest that his willingness to comply with my wishes at a personal sacrifice to his own material interests ought to secure for him the thanks of his departmental superiors, and invite also the favourable notice of the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.

191. Captain Williams left Ponsee on 29th April.

On the 19th, the day after the issue of my circular letter of the 18th of the same month, news reached me of the fall of Mauphoo; and on the 20th I received letters from the Governor of Momein, in which he informed me of his successes, and invited us to advance under the protection of the several Kakhyen and Shan Saubwas *en route*, whose co-operation was ensured as loyal subjects of the Panthay government.

Assurances were also given of pecuniary support, and I was even informed by the messengers who brought the Governor's letter that the mule hire was a matter of secondary importance, and that all expenses of this and every other kind would be borne by the government as soon as we reached Panthay territory.

192. But the original difficulty of procuring mule carriage was as prominent as ever. Mules were known to be in abundance everywhere, but their proprietors were restrained by a multitude of misgivings against hiring them for a purpose which would ensure Burmese enmity without gaining the approval of their own Shan superiors.

193. Another party of armed Burmese had passed through Ponsee on the 20th April, under the guidance of that arch-offender, the Nanlyaw Tamon; and although their avowed object was said to be the collection of rice supplies for the party at Ponsee, their departure into the Shan States was full of ominous significance to those who had already realised the mischievous results of similar Burmese excursionists.

Happily, however, Burmese intrigue was beginning to wane.

It was inevitably succumbing to its own falsity and the realities of our conciliatory demeanour and continued moderation.

194. On the 22nd April the Ponsee Saubwa presented himself before me in penitential mood, and expatiated upon the obligations he was under for having been raised from a state of careless boyhood into a masterly sense of his duties as a powerful and hereditary Kakhyen Saubwa.

Our kindness and consideration to himself and his people had produced a feeling of gratitude which, he confessed, it was impossible any longer to disregard. He had now brought himself, he said into complete obedience to

my advice, and for several days past had rigidly abstained from drink and debauchery.

The English were his friends, and had taught him to esteem himself as a ruler and chieftain. It was his duty to befriend us to the utmost of his power. He would proceed himself to Manwyne in conjunction with the Saray Saubwa (who had already repaired to the same place) and concert measures which would at once relieve us from the irksome position which we had so long been placed in at his head-quarters at Ponsee. The man was in earnest, and it was evident at the time that he had yielded to Panthay influences.

195. I replied encouragingly and with a small money *douceur*, which sent him away in a state of joy and exultation. In a short time afterwards we had the satisfaction of seeing him actually start in company with his head Paw-myne on the road which led towards Manwyne, and the barometer of our hopes rose under an earnest expectation that the Saubwa's journey would be productive of results and lead to a deliverance from our Ponsee imprisonment.

196. But day by day fresh evidences affirmed that our stay in Kakhyen land had given rise to attachments which Kakhyens would cling to as a means of continuing our detention rather than assisting in (to them) a disadvantageous separation. That detention, however, had not as yet affected the actual progress of the expedition as regards its arrival at any given destination in Yunan. Had we descended earlier from the hills into the Shan State of Manwyne, we must still have been detained there or at some other Shan town as long as Mauphoo remained in the hands of Less-hee-ta-hee.

It is with a feeling of proud satisfaction that I turn to our sojourn on the Kakhyen hills, and prove the possibility of forming friendships with mountain tribes, many of whom (to our misfortune) had learned to love us so well that they would not exert themselves to aid our departure.

To quote from my diary:

197. "Chiefs and people swarm in from distant villages; women and children are ever present with gifts of rice, tobacco, vegetables, and beer.

"They testify, in a variety of unmistakable ways, that the foreigner is a valuable acquisition to their hills, and will ever be welcome as long as he behaves himself with moderation and treats *them* with justice. The general observation amongst our more distant visitors is,—'Why did you not come *our* way? We should then have been the recipients of favours which are so freely enjoyed by the inhabitants of Ponsee.'

"It speaks well for Kakhyen instincts and intelligence that, although this hitherto despised people has never experienced anything save oppression and injustice at the hands of cognate races on the plains, it should now so readily appreciate and esteem the exercise of disinterested kindness and friendly conciliation. It is not to be supposed that Kakhyens are free from certain evidences of degradation which are innate in savage instincts all over the world.

"The more prominent of these are treachery and ingratitude; but most of the races we have come in contact with possess nevertheless, in compensating abundance, many of the finer sensibilities of human nature, which raise them considerably above the supposed level of ordinary hill tribes in a state of semi-barbarous civilization. Numbers of Kakhyen women are in the habit of daily visiting our camp with small presents, for which they hope to receive a return in looking glasses, beads, or other finery, which will immediately be converted into a means of female decoration.

"The women form in lines, and each clasps her neighbour in an embrace which is at once affectionate and provoking. The time spent in conversing with and observing these interesting groups is well repaid by the insight afforded into their domestic relations and the state of civilization they may have collectively attained to.

"My interpreter, Moung Mo, is a rip, and goes in strongly for love-making. His object is to give us an opportunity of verifying his former statements relative to the freedom observed by Kakhyen maidens in their daily intercourse with their male admirers. If conversation is to be accepted as a test of manners, some of the young ladies we were introduced to exhibited a freedom of speech and gesture which certainly went far to prove the easy

and

and promiscuous state of relationship in which they stand towards the other sex.

"Promiscuous intercourse is the rule amongst Kakhyen lovers of every degree.

"Marriage rarely takes place until the parties have come to a very complete and practical understanding on the natural temperament and physical capabilities of those most concerned.

"An unmarried woman is but lightly esteemed until she is proved to be a child-bearing reality. She then acquires a corresponding value in the matrimonial market, and a total revolution takes place in her former ideas of maiden morality. The marriage code punishes unchastity with death, and Kakhyen males are as jealous and unforgiving in a case of adultery as savagery and civilization can combine to make them.

"Moung Mo makes love for us all, and the conversation is animated, and I dare say *naughty*, if we could understand it all. It is a pardonable diversion, perhaps, in the interests of scientific research, to herd even with savages, and gain an insight into their habits and modes of thought by a temporary submission to forms of speech which most effectually smooth the way to native affections.

"After all, it is only a game, not for love, but for beads. The women are sure to be the winners. There are insuperable obstacles to intimacy beyond a mere fanciful play of words and a complete absence of all fine sentiment."

198. But this is a digression. We must go back to the Ponsee Saubwa, who returned from Manwyne on 30th April with the news that certain of the Shan chiefs have met in council, and awarded their consent to our progress through the states.

The Panthays were reported to be busy in collecting taxes, and regulating assessments consequent upon their recent successes, and the expulsion of Lees-hee-ta-hee from his stronghold at Mauphoo.

The Shans were described at this time by the Saubwa as delighted with their freedom from the Lees-hee-ta-hee incubus; they paid heavy exactions to this predatory chief without being absolved from their dependency to the Panthay Government.

In either case the exactions were arbitrary, and the sensation of present relief is said to be satisfactory and complete. The Panthays were spoken of by all with whom I then held communication as kind and lenient masters, and their late success over the predatory band whose existence at Mauphoo implied the interception of all healthy communication between Burmah and China could not but be considered at the time, by all of us, as an event which was full of good omen to our own cause, and to future commercial intercourse with an enlightened government in Yunan.

199. It was not, however, until the return of my Kakhyen messengers with letters from the Governor of Momein (on 5th May) that the least certainty existed of a speedy deliverance from Ponsee captivity. Lauloo, the Kakhyen who had first conveyed my letters from Bhamo to Momein, had just returned from Nantin, where he had remained for two days in the suite of the Governor of Momein at a time when active operations were being carried on in the vicinity of Mauphoo.

Tah-sa-kon, the Governor, had determined upon coming himself as far as Sanda to meet the expedition, but the Shan chiefs waited on him in deputation, and begged that they might be allowed to escort us themselves.

They knew what was meant by the march of a Panthay force through their respective territories, and understood that Tah-sa-kon's threat of proceeding to meet us in person was intended as a rebuke against dilatory action, as already manifested in their continued neglect to co-operate with his friends. The chiefs guaranteed their assistance; and the Governor having conquered Mauphoo, and otherwise arranged for our advance through the Shan States, sent us word of his triumphs, and returned himself to his head quarters at Momein.

200. In accordance with their guarantee, the Shan chiefs elected certain high officials from each of their states, and requested them to meet us at Ponsee with the means of transit from thence to Momein.

The deputies arrived at Ponsee on 18th May, and their manner and bearing at once declared them to be men of superior civilization and ready intelligence. Had the Shan chiefs been left to follow the bent of their own inclinations, it is not improbable that recent political adversities and the discouragement to action, imposed under the false tutelage of Burman and Chinese emissaries from Bhamo, may have estranged them from us for a still further indefinite period, and left us in a state of perpetual isolation.

201. But the kindred offices and congenial efforts of the government of Momein intervened in our favour to expedite a union, and when the deputies from the Shan States arrived at Ponsee, they professed a genuine sympathy in our undertaking, which at once compensated for all former shortcomings, and proved that they had been produced by varying uncertainties rather than engendered in a spirit of neglect or opposition.

The deputies alluded to a feeling of regret, which was shared in, they said, by all Shan chiefs, on account of their inability to hold intercourse or treat with me personally during our residence at Ponsee; but as a plea for neglect and dilatory inaction, they let me understand that individual chiefs were restricted in such matters, and could only treat with foreign agents after all interested Saubwas had met in council and expressed a general assent to questions which concerned them as a collective confederacy.

Two days were spent in pleasant intercourse with the Shan deputies, whilst effectual arrangements were being made for an immediate advance into the contiguous Shan States.

202. The Ponsee Saubwa and his Kakhyen Paw-mynes were in constant attendance, and in no way concealed from their Shan superiors the kindly regard which had won their good will and leagued us to them as allies.

This manifestation of Kakhyen good will was an incalculable advantage as an introduction to a race which had been taught at a distance to regard us as foes, but now learned by practical experiences at close quarters to estimate us as friends.

The Kakhyens expressed eternal devotion. They asked me significantly not only to consider their hands at my service but their whole bodies,—a figurative form of speech, which meant a good deal, I fancy, in Kakhyen conceptions, and was received with applause by the Shan deputies. The Saubwa affirmed that our departure would be a source of regret not only to himself, but to all his people. There was not a man or woman far or near within the limits of his Saubwaship who had not profited by our stay, and whose houses did not testify to our liberality and friendship.

203. But so persistently unstable are Kakhyen impressions, that, in spite of all past manifestations of friendship and regard, the very Paw-mynes who had blessed us on the 10th had turned to anger and were implacable on the 11th.

So complete was the reversion and the severity of their threats, that the Shans became terrified, and we were in danger at one time of losing their services.

The 11th was fixed for our departure from Ponsee, and the start which would have been made at a comparatively early hour was delayed by a wrangling argument with the Kakhyen Paw-mynes, who deemed the opportunity a good one for urging at the last moment a multiplicity of demands, which were extravagant in their nature and defied all settlement. The most outrageous pleas were put forward as a means of extorting money or of aiding in our detention.

At one moment it was urged that some of our party had set up instruments (a photographic camera) in front of the chief Paw-myne's house, and had thereby deliberately bewitched his family and household.

I was called upon to make restitution for such demoniacal practices.

Then the subject of mule hire was brought forward, and I was asked to make good the amount of Ponlyne's defalcations.

204. The last monstrosity was a demand of two rupees per head for each mule which the Shan deputies had just brought with them to convey us from Ponsee. Unless this was paid, I was warned that no member of the expedition would be allowed to leave our encampment. "Death's-head" Paw-myne was in his most bullying and offensive mood. The Kakhyens about him were pertinacious

pertinacious because they saw a prospect of rupees. The Shans naturally hesitated and were alarmed for their own safety. It was evident that decided steps must at once be taken by which to control at once the offensive action of the Kakhyens and inspire confidence into the wavering Shans.

205. All reasonable endurance had come to an end. Turning to the Shan deputies, I forcibly asked them to get ready their mules, and at the same time declared in the presence of the Paw-mynes that it was my determination to start, and that whoever opposed me would do it at his peril.

The Shans understood me and acted with vigour. The Kakhyens perceived an earnestness of intention which plainly told them that their plans were a failure. Their opposition had been nothing more than the brag and bluster of cowards. The Shans brought their mules, and the Paw-mynes relapsed as naturally as possible into a kindly state of inoffensive action, and even friendly acquiescence.

206. But we did not get off till after mid-day. The actual fact of having made a start seemed like a dream too pleasant for reality.

The scene presented by a monotonous train of loaded mules, as they toiled with our baggage up the eastern slope which led from Ponsee, would have been insignificant in itself without other improvised accompaniments which formed to the mind's eye an agreeable background of varied perspective.

I called out to a clerk in my employ who was about to return to Bhamo, and exclaimed perhaps with more enthusiasm than prudence, —

" Look at this scene; describe it to the governor at Bhamo, and tell him that you saw us leave Ponsee under the patronage and protection of all the chiefs of these free Shan States. Tell him especially from me that the two months' persecution which has followed us into the hills has resulted only in *his* disgrace and our advantage. Say that the expedition started in a good and benevolent cause, and by God's help it has prospered, and will prosper still, in spite of all that Burmese man can do to frustrate it, &c."

207. On leaving Ponsee a gradual descent for nearly four miles brought us to the foot of the larger spurs which slope down in irregular projections between the main ranges of the Tahpen valley. We are now on the minor undulations which merge, so to speak, into the valley of Sanda, and the eye roams over a narrow expanse of plain, stretching away in an easterly direction into space, but bounded laterally by two lofty parallel ridges of mountain, with an average intervening area of about four miles.

This valley is richly cultivated throughout, and presents an endless succession of villages which either skirt the bases of the high land on either side, or nestle within clustering bamboos on the margin of the Tahpen. The Tahpen itself has become a broad placid stream, with occasionally well-defined banks and anon shelving reaches of shingle and sandbank, which limit its mid-valley windings through the plain.

208. Several small villages are passed ere we reach the town of Manwyne, formerly a dependency of the Sanda Saubwaship, but ceded to Mynetee as the dower of a Sanda princess who married into the Mynetee family. The town lies on the right bank of the Tahpen, and is a succession of villages, which are more or less detached or separated from each other by luxuriant enclosures of lofty bamboos. There is a mixed population of Shans and Chinese, who enjoy the semblance of a prosperity which is characteristic of all Shan communities which are fortunate enough to escape the notice of foreign governments.

209. Our own arrival at Manwyne was a disappointment. The mule-men with our baggage had preceded us on the march, and on reaching the precincts of the town. had thrown down their loads in reckless confusion on a portion of the dry bed of the river, at a very inhospitable distance from habitation or shelter. But this distance was no security against the curiosity of several hundreds of the inhabitants, who quickly formed a wall of humanity round any given spot where a European member of our party might choose to locate himself. Chinese have always been accounted a notorious nuisance in this respect from the time that foreigners first gained a footing in the Celestial Empire, but I will back the Chinese Shans of the Sanda valley to be more

eagerly uncouth and wondrously curious in their first acquaintanceship with European travellers than the rudest village community anywhere in Asia.

210. On the river's bank the human or inhuman blockade was so effectually maintained as to shut us out for a long time from everything save our own individuality. When at length the officials had cleared a road to us, and were induced, after considerable entreaty, to provide us quarters within a religious building adjoining the town, the curiosity nuisance had in no way abated. Neither priests nor officials had power to check it. There was absolutely no relief in eating, drinking, reading, writing, washing, dressing, and undressing (to say nothing of other equally ordinary domestic arrangements); it was in vain to attempt privacy. The glaring curiosity of these unsatisfied gazers was a positive affliction, forgotten happily for a time, though by no means terminated even in sleep.

211. On 13th May I visited the dowager Saubwa, who ruled at Manwyne as the widow of its late chief. She is a portly, dignified old lady of some fifty summers, evidently well bred, and of refined and even gentle manners. A friendly conversation ensued, in which I entered fully into the cause and objects which had brought an English expedition into the Shan States, and thanked the Saubwa-gadaw for the consideration which she had shown us whilst at Ponsee, as well as for the kindly reception within her Manwyne territories.

Manwyne was so situated, I said, at the foot of the Kakhyen hills, on the direct highway to Momein, as to make it a place of very considerable importance in the restoration of the old trade between Burmah and South-west China. In spite of all the drawbacks caused by a comparative cessation of trade, the people of Manwyne, I was glad to see, were happy and prosperous. This showed that they were well governed. To what an illimitable extent would their well-being be increased under a state of affairs which made Manwyne a central depôt for merchants and merchandise between two great and powerful empires.

212. The Saubwa-gadaw replied with pleasant affability. She was delighted to see us; regretted that she could not converse with us in our own language; hoped that we might succeed in our undertaking; begged that I would make effectual arrangements with the Governor of Momein for future tranquillization of the country; being only a woman, she could not interfere in politics. Advises us to stay a whole year in the Shan States, and not return until after the close of the rains. Hopes that we will not be offended at the rudeness of her people, whose curiosity in crowding round new comers cannot be controlled. People who travel through a new country with the object of opening out trade relations must be patient and forbearing, &c. &c. Would Dr. Anderson prescribe for her daughter (a nun), who had been for some time past in a delicate state of health? &c. &c. &c.

213. Tea was handed round during the conversation in true Chinese style, and the general impression which a novice would derive from the occasion and its surroundings would be that he had suddenly dropped from the Kakhyen hills, *not* into the Shan States, but into veritable China.

214. The Saubwa-gadaw's house or "haw," or palace, is situated in a central position within the town, and, like all other *haws*, is built on the Chinese plan of a succession of telescopic courtyards, four or five deep, which lead into each other by a communication of arched doorways, with an exterior wall surrounding the whole. The inmost recesses are devoted to the Saubwa's harem (if he has one) and his family.

The penultimate forms his reception room for guests. The ante-penultimate may be used as a caravansery, stables, barracks, or accommodation for attendants and menials.

215. The prosperity of the Shans of Manwyne was a perplexing fact for a long time, until explained by their comparative immunity from taxation at home or the arbitrary interference of an alien government. It is a lawless, unsettled community, no doubt, and to a casual observer there is an apparent absence of any controlling authority of sufficient force to keep in subjection the evil proclivities of an unchecked mob. Yet it is this very lawlessness amongst

amongst Shans (anomalous as it may appear) which produces order. Men live under an instinctive sense of right and wrong, and their individual interests are, or seem to be, a mutual guarantee against unneighbourly practices.

Religion, too, is by no means unrepresented, for although Shan Budhist priests are lax and unorthodox, when viewed from a Burmese stand-point of Budhism, they nevertheless exercise a moral effect for good, as instanced in the large congregational attendances at their "Kyoungs," and the devotion to ceremonies which daily fills the alms-bowls of the priesthood.

216. The population of Manwyne and its adjacent villages does not probably exceed 5,000 souls. It fortunately escaped the desolation which a greater portion of the Shan States was subjected to at the outbreak of the Mahomedan rebellion in Yunan, and received, too, an accession to its population by becoming an asylum of refuge to those who were driven by poverty and invasion from the more disturbed districts on the Chinese frontier. Its proximity to a large productive area of the Kakhyen hills and its own fertile resources in soil and climate have conduced to an almost superabundance of creature necessities, by which poverty and want have become unknown entities in a Manwyne existence.

217. The visit to the Saubwa-gadaw was an event which produced a decided improvement in our social relations with the Manwyne population. I had made her a few presents of cloths from amongst our stock, and return presents were forwarded in the shape of rice, fowls, eggs, and a variety of Shan comestibles, which gave bulk and substantiality to our table luxuries, without, perhaps, commending themselves in other respects either to the sight or palates of even hungry Europeans.

But the demeanour of the people had sensibly changed, and the mutual return of courtesies between ourselves and their chief had placed us on a familiar and friendly footing with her dependants and subjects of every degree.

218. Our friends, too, the Kakhyen Paw-mynes of Ponsee, had accompanied us to Manwyne, and were solicitous only about extorting promises of a speedy return to the scene of our late sojournment on their hills. They volunteered their services and promised to meet us themselves on the return journey and provide full means of transit between Manwyne and Bhamo.

219. These new evidences of hospitality and welcome formed a bright contrast to the monotonous void of three months' inaction at Bhamo and Ponsee.

The 14th May was the day fixed upon for the march from Manwyne, and much argument and consultation had been carried on between the respective deputies of Sanda and Mynela as to the route which the expedition should now proceed by. A large portion of the Mynela district lay on the left bank of the Tahpen immediately opposite to Manwyne. The Sanda States occupied the whole extent of the right bank from Manwyne to beyond the town of Sanda itself. A small saving in distance might have been effected by crossing the river at once at Manwyne and proceeding direct to Mynela along its left bank, but this would have cut us off from all communication with Sanda, and have defeated one of the express objects I had in view, of treating personally with all the principal Saubwas on the route towards Yunan.

When, therefore, I was appealed to by the contending parties to decide between them as to the route to be taken on leaving Manwyne, I affected indifference, and merely stipulated that we should enter Sanda. The Sanda officials accordingly triumphed, and their victory would have been a simple one as regarded ourselves had it not roused the jealousy of Mynela and led indirectly to resentment and hostility.

220. Some 3,000 men, women, and children were assembled on the outskirts of Manwyne to witness our departure. The camp was crowded to excess with all the *élite* and fashion of a mixed Shan, Chinese, and Kakhyen community. The population was well dressed, and the female portion of all races scrupulously neat and cleanly in their attire. Men wore loose jackets and trousers of dark blue, but the women enjoyed a pleasant variety of gaudy dress colouring. Their jackets were white or pale green, slashed with red at the sleeves and collar. The skirt is dark blue with a variegated silk embroidery, a foot in depth, from the knee downwards. Fanciful leggings or gaiters of rich design cover the ankles. The *tout ensemble* was rich and effective. Exception must be made in the case

of the Chinese, who, as a rule, wore patched clothes and evinced signs rather of penurious thrift than of absolute poverty. The elaborate head-dresses of the women and their cramped apologies or substitutes for feet proved equally attractive to novices on account of certain exaggerated proportions from head to heel at either extremity.

221. Several Shan officials led the way, mounted on ponies with huge saddles of red cloth and padded coverlets, which raised them at least a foot above their animals' backs. The route lay in a north-easterly direction along the right bank of the Tahpen. Road-making had only been attempted at rare intervals, in places where a bridge was indicated rather than a roadway. When such a bridge occurs it is built of long slabs of granite, which are laid laterally side by side, so as to form a semicircular arch over the channel to be crossed. So true is the semicircle in most instances, that it is impossible to resist an inclination to look down for the other half, which is below high-water mark, and exists rather in imagination than reality.

222. At a distance of a mile from Manwyne we passed the village of Onlen or *Nyounglen*, which belongs to the once notoriously hostile Poogen or chief of Manhleo. Opposition is a thing of the past, for the villagers now turned out in hundreds and evinced a hearty interest in our undertaking by spontaneous expressions of welcome and good cheer so manifestly genuine as to invite in ourselves an indiscribable thrill of silent ecstacy.

223. But anon, there is cause for annoyance and disappointment, for it suddenly became evident, during one portion of the march, that the left bank of the river was occupied by an armed party of Shans, whose gesticulations and shouts were unmistakably hostile. At first I was inclined to believe that the demonstration was unmeaning, until it became evident that the Shans of our own party had commenced to indulge in return manifestations of threat and defiance.

224. We were proceeding along a portion of the river's bank which was high and precipitous. The opposite shore was a wide reach of sand-bank, along which the hostile party, consisting of about 50 armed Shans, were keeping pace with us in a state of furious excitement. Their actions can have been intended to be demonstrative only, otherwise it was an easy matter, had the party been really intent on active opposition, to have crossed at any of the river fords previous to our own arrival and have disputed our advance.

As it was, when they found that gesticulation was of no avail in retarding our progress, a shot was fired, and a spent bullet whizzed at an uncomfortable proximity to my pony's head, which caused *him* to plunge and *me* to "duck"! The Shans shouted and thought I was hit. Two more shots were fired, and the demonstration was at an end.

225. But being a short distance in advance of our carriage, my proposition was to halt until it came up and make all secure against further attack, but the Shan deputies with our party begged me to go on and treat the dacoit party with the contempt it deserved. They could do us no harm, it was said, and would never dare to cross over to the Sanda side of the Tahpen river. The deputies were right, and we went on as if nothing had occurred. Our foes were satisfied with a mere demonstration, and evidently deemed it imprudent to come to close quarters.

226. A Mynela deputy by name Kingen was with us at the time of the hostile demonstration, and I have reason to believe that he secretly abetted it.

As soon as it was over he crossed the river, and rode off alone in the direction of our supposed enemies.

But no satisfactory explanation was ever given of this imbecile opposition, beyond the fact that the malcontents belonged to a disturbed portion of the Mynela district, which for many years past had declared its independence and boasted of its allegiance to no chief or government.

227. The Sanda deputies treated the matter from first to last as a mere empty demonstration which was intended to punish our want of discrimination in having selected the Sanda route in preference to that which led through Mynela. The true facts of the case will probably never be known, for I failed to ascertain them after our return to Manwyne, when we passed over the very portion

portion of the disturbed Mynela district in which the demonstration had been originally got up.

228. The whole day's march, from Manwyne to Sanda, disclosed fresh scenes of pleasurable interest, as, apart from the personal gratification of a Shan ovation, or the temporary excitement of a hostile attack, the monotonous grandeur of this endless valley, with its sublime ridges towering up on either side to a height of 5,000 feet, and running in straight parallels into boundless space, was in itself a source of infinite admiration. But to this estimate of its interest and its sublimity I may add the fact that the whole valley area teemed with villages, and was alive with a population which had laid out and conjoined every available acre into one vast garden of fertility and wealth.

229. Half way between Manwyne and Sanda is the Chinese town of Karahokha, which is important as a central mart, at which periodical fairs or market days are held in common with all other towns in the northern Shan States. The bazaar is a mere broad road, which is flanked on either side by Chinese shops, but on market days the intervening space, or rather the whole road-way, is occupied by a succession of stalls in which butchers, bakers, druggists, and jacks-of-all-trade do a thriving business.

With the exception of buttons, needles, and an occasional piece of woollen-cloth, I did not notice that British manufactures were represented here or at any of the bazaars or fairs within the Shan States.

230. The interest of the fair at Karahokha is centered in the fact of its being essentially Chinese in the midst of a large Shan population. A market was being held on the day of our arrival, and the concourse of people was so great, and their curiosity so intense, that our Shan friends advised us not to go through the town, but simply to skirt it on one side and avoid all chance of collision with those who, as the sun declined, would have indulged to the full in Chinese stimulants.

231. This never-ending supply of strong drinks throughout the states we have traversed bordering on China ought, according to ordinary ideas of political or social economy, to be the bane and scourge of any community of people in the world subjected to its influences. But, somehow or other, it does not interfere with the well-being or prosperity of Shans and Kakhyens, who exist and thrive in a figurative sea of beer and shamshoo.

Five cash, or the hundredth part of a rupee, is sufficient to purchase a small teacup full of a spirit which approaches in taste and potency to Scotch whiskey. This is drunk freely, and probably to excess, though it must be supposed to be "the cup which cheers, but not inebriates," as little interruption is caused thereby to trade or to the general tranquillity of a Shan market day.

231½. In our case, however, we were always advised not to visit a fair during the afternoon, when the bulk of those present were already supposed to have imbibed their modicum of *solvents*, and any latent animosity towards strangers, would then, if ever, be very readily evoked. Caution was required, *not* as regards the mass of the people, for the "*in vino veritas*" principle would, I believe, have been verified to our advantage, but a few evilly disposed emissaries always lurked in our train, and with them a collision whilst in liquor was a con, tingency at all times imminent.

232. Karahokha was passed without incident or accident, and the road, leaving for a time its mid-valley course, turned away northwards, and brought us to the foot of one of the many projecting spurs which abut from the counter-slope of the western range. The peculiarity of these spurs is that they are for the most part barren, whilst the main ridges are clothed with a dense vegetation.

The soil is a bright red, which can be discerned for a distance of several miles. At present these spurs would seem to belong only to the western range, though their former prolongation and connectionship with the eastern range is often traceable at certain corresponding points where the red soil crops up in unmistakeable relationship.

233. Our route is continued in a northerly direction to Sanda itself, which lies at the foot, or rather occupies the base, of one of these red spur projections, and is close within the border of the main north-western range.

Sanda, or as it has hitherto been known in our maps *Santafoo* (having the designate termination of a second rate Chinese city) is poor and insignificant both in appearance and reality.

There are neither towers nor temples, nor minarets, nor pagodas, nor any of the outward evidences which proclaim the approaches to a provincial capital. The remains of an old defensive brick wall may still be traced round a portion of the suburbs, but within its inclosure all is ruin and dilapidation.

234. In 1863 Sanda was subjected to a Panthay irruption. The town was first gutted by Panthay soldiers, and subsequently handed over as a prize to any number of Kakhyen adherents who professed to favour the Panthay cause.

The town contains, perhaps, 800 houses with a population amounting to about six thousand souls. The apparent poverty of its dejected inhabitants is a sad contrast to the independent bearing of the Shans of Manwyne. Fire and sword have been ruthlessly applied. Their most lasting evils are in the check which has been given to private thrift and national industry. Nothing has been done during five years of retrogression to repair former losses or provide for further resettlement. The houses represent ruins. The kyoungs or monasteries are mere bamboo erections of the most flimsy construction. All bears evidence of doubts and uncertainty, the origin of which may be traced to Yunan and the evil effects of a neighbouring rebellion.

235. On the 15th of May I visited the Sanda Saubwa in company with Dr. Anderson and Captain Bowers. We were conducted from our Phoongyee house residence to the palace of the chief by a retinue which comprised the *élite* of the Sanda officials. The approach to the *haw* is somewhat imposing, and consists of a triple arched gateway with one principal and two side entrances, the architecture throughout being essentially Chinese. We passed through two courtyards, which communicated with each other by roofed archways and side inclosures. Our reception took place in the vestibule of a penultimate building which led directly into the Saubwa's private apartments. Here we found a fixed number of high-backed armchairs, Chinese in form, and therefore unaccommodating and impossible in construction. The open space or courtyard in front of the vestibule was crowded with respectable visitors, who had been invited to the interview and to note our communications with the chief of Sanda.

236. The Saubwa made his appearance in due course, and placed himself upon one of the impossible seats which was nearest the door by which he had entered.

He was evidently unaccustomed to ceremonial visits, and glared at us for some time in impotent idiotcy.

I was obliged to break ground by a few introductory remarks of greeting and salutation, to which the chief replied by vacant noddings.

But his Prime Minister, or factotum, a steady, clear-headed old Shan, who was evidently recognised as the Saubwa's duplicate, took up the conversation, and responded to me with a genial good sense, which was both pleasant and encouraging.

237. After I had generally explained the objects of the expedition and the benefits which would be realized by a re-opening of the old trade route between Burmah and China, the mouthpiece informed me, with a good deal of earnestness, that the Saubwa himself with his subjects welcomed us heartily and sympathised in our undertaking. If our efforts succeeded, we should be hailed as deliverers and saluted everywhere with shouts of "*Thadoo.*"

The immediate cause of present anxiety did not depend so much, he said, on trade stagnation as upon the uncertainties produced by the war in Yunan. Owing to the various phases of that conflict and the varying successes of Chinese and Mahomedans, the Shan States had been subjected to hostile irruptions three times during a period of 12 years, and its towns laid waste by fire and pillage. There was neither security for the present nor hope for the future. The one thing looked forward to was further disturbance, and probably further invasion.

238. In reply, I said that one of the principal objects of our mission was to ascertain the present causes of disturbance, and exercise our power as a friendly neutral

neutral in the restoration of order and the conciliation, if possible, of some at least of the contending interests. The unsatisfactory state of affairs in Yunan had attracted the notice of the British Government, and had sensibly affected British merchandize. Our interests in China were represented by a British minister, who resided permanently at the Court of Pekin. It was not impossible, in course of time, when our acquaintance with Yunan had been more clearly developed, that representations would be addressed to the Imperial Government, and an effort made towards the restoration of trade.

The Panthays had ruled for 12 years in Yunan, and if, by any legitimate interference on the part of other governments their sovereignty was confirmed and recognised at Pekin, the province would be tranquillised and the Shans restored to former prosperity. I, too, would strive to secure these advantages and favour the cause of conciliation and commerce. The Panthays were known to be interested in my visit, and would listen to propositions which held out so many promising conditions to themselves, and secured the possession of their recent acquisitions.

239. The whole of this reply was listened to with an attentive interest, which now and then exploded in murmurs of assent and approbation.

But I had not finished. My next effort was to let the Saubwa and his officials thoroughly comprehend our present circumstances and the position we were placed in as regarded themselves.

Having come to them as friends, we did not feel satisfied, I said, with the idea that Shan support and assistance had been reluctantly proffered under a compulsory requisition on the part of the Panthay Government.

The object which the British Government had at heart in seeking to resuscitate trade with China through the Shan States could only be accomplished with Shan assistance. The Shans must come forward boldly of their own free will, and believe that they are serving their own best interests in seconding the efforts now made by us on their behalf.

The Saubwa and his people must not believe mischievous rumours which ascribed evil intentions to our mission, and a desire on the part of the British Government to extend its dominions in the direction of the Shan States.

Shans were shrewd and could reason for themselves. Let them be guided by facts and give credence to nothing derogatory to our mission until duly assured by the evidence of their senses.

We, too, had numerous Shan subjects in British territory. They had emigrated in great part from their own free States and settled down in a country where they found security for their persons and protection against injustice.

It was not uncommon, I said, for the Shan Saubwa of any State adjoining British Burmah to make an application to place himself and his territory under British rule.

Several Saubwas had even applied in this manner to the British Government, and solicited its interference to enable them to throw off their subjection to Burmah. With our permission they promised to wage a war against Upper Burmah and deliver over the country to British rule.

The Government had replied that it did not require an extension of territory. That, as friends of the King of Burmah, we were bound to respect his rights and abstain from acts which might tend to foment strife or discord within his dominions.

The Saubwa and his people, if they believed in these instances of our moderation and forbearance, would learn thereby that we were more concerned in the observation of treaty rights than the mere gratification of territorial aggrandisement.

This led to the subject of our treaties with Burmah, and I spoke at length on that portion of them which related to the amount of export duties on goods passing between British territory and the provinces beyond Upper Burmah.

240. The conversation had taken a decidedly political turn. There was a satisfaction in feeling that what I said had an interest for the people, and was credited in spite of the damning reports which had preceded the expedition into the Shan States.

The most encouraging assurances were given of friendship and co-operation. I was even asked in a tone of confidence, which was almost too genuine to have

been assumed for the occasion, to use my influence with the Governor of Momein and prevent, if possible, another Panthay invasion.

241. The good effects of this visit were soon manifested in a multiplicity of minute attentions which had hitherto been either negligently overlooked or purposely disregarded. Since our arrival at Sanda the Saubwa had sent abundant supplies of rice and firewood for our whole party. They were now supplemented by delicacies, which comprised ducks, fowls, bacon, eggs, and dried salt-geese, the latter quite equal in taste and flavour to the best English-cured-bacon.

During the evening the old minister or *medium* also made his appearance with other Shan officials, and passed the night in friendly conversation. I now learned by their apologies that the Saubwa has ever been singular as a man of few words. His tact and ability, however, in other respects (and possibly also in the art of *thinking*) were very favourably reported on, and gained him the confidence and esteem of his people.

242. I was agreeably surprised to find the next morning (16th May), whilst making provision for a start from Sanda, that a deputation had arrived with presents from the Saubwa.

I had given him a few cloths and carpets, which were esteemed of great value on account of their rarity in the Shan States. In return the Saubwa sent me three handsome Shan pillows, one for each member of the expedition, and a very dandy satin coverlet or counterpane of Shan manufacture, which I was told was intended for my personal use at Momein, where I should find the climate cold and inhospitable as compared with that of the valley of Sanda.

243. A very extraordinary message accompanied these presents. I was asked to adopt the Saubwa's grandson, a boy who was recommended to my protection as being next heir to the Saubwaship.

It was at the same time notified that certain Shan astrologers, who had been consulted during the previous night, had given out as the result of their divination that the young heir to the Saubwaship would neither prosper in health nor acquire social position within his own estates unless I consented to consider him my son. The earnestness of the request was matter for surprise, and could only be accounted for by making full allowance for the reverent credulity with which charms and spiritualism are everywhere regarded throughout the Shan States.

244. Shortly afterwards it was casually made known, as if the result of an after-thought, that the Saubwa himself would visit me before we started, and I had only time to make a few hasty preparations for his reception when his arrival was announced. He was accompanied by a goodly retinue of attendants and two large umbrellas, one of red silk with a heavy broad curtain, and the other a veritable gold *chatta* of Burmese manufacture.

I received the Saubwa at the door of our monastery, and rather took him by surprise by seizing his hand and leading him in my grasp towards a seat specially prepared for him. The object of the Saubwa's visit was one which naturally called for a display of diplomatic reserve. But in the present instance his anxiety and impatience were so great that almost before he would allow himself to be seated or exchange the usual salutation of greeting with the members of the expedition, he had introduced me to his grandson, and begged, as if his life depended on it, that I would adopt him into my family and treat him as my own child.

At the same time, another silk counterpane and a long silver pipe were presented to me in the young Saubwa's name, and I was urged to bear in mind that their use was intended to recall old memories and make the child's interests identical with my own.

245. It is difficult to convey a correct idea of the earnest and importunate manner in which the request for the adoption was urged upon my notice. The fates had been consulted, and some sage astrologer, strong in the Shan cause and with an intuitive foresight into a political Shan future, was led to predict that the well-being of the heir presumptive to the State of Shanda depended on a close family alliance with a representative of the British Government. The old chief

chief was sensibly affected by the willing courtesy with which I accepted the charge entrusted to me, but the youthful scion was shy and would not be reconciled to his new connectionship. I made a few return presents, and the interview passed off with becoming cordiality.

246. It was arranged by the Saubwa that our departure from Sanda should be honourably signalised by a public demonstration. The route we were to take was made to pass the Saubwa's palace, and as our procession advanced up the street leading to the front entrance a salute was fired, and a flourish of trumpets heralded our approach. We dismounted for a final hand-shaking with the Saubwa, and I took the opportunity of giving my newly-adopted son a few shining four-anna pieces, which won his affections and probably made him my friend for life.

247. If to wear rupees is a sign of livery, it may be truly said that a large number of influential Shans, Phoongyees included, have already donned Her Majesty's uniform. There is a greed on the part of all Shan swells for four-anna pieces, and the coveted possession is no sooner gained than Her Majesty's coin is turned into finery and becomes an article of ornamental equipment. The novitiates of the monasteries, and even the priests, are the supreme leaders of fashion, and indulge in a mass of varied ornamentation which would prove a study to even Budhist ritualists.

248. But to return to the Saubwa. It is due to him to say that he was no longer afflicted with nervous incapacity, and had lapsed into a state of positive cheerfulness. He grinned with delight at my recognition of his grandson, whom he nursed and tended with almost silly devotion. We parted with many expressions of mutual good will. The trumpeters in advance heralded us onward with repeated blasts of most brassy intonation. Sanda was alive with a concourse of people, who must have gloried in knowing that the present procession betokened peaceful promise, and presented in this respect a marked contrast to recent exhibitions of hostile triumph.

249. The road led through paddy fields for a distance of some two miles across or athwart the valley, in a direction south-east, and brought us to the foot of another red hill projection, which we cross and descend on its eastern slope to the right bank of the Tahpen, when the route again assumed its north-easterly course through the centre of the valley.

250. Unlike Sanda, the town of Mynela lies on the left bank of the Tahpen, at the base, or along the lower ridges, of a central spur which divides the main valley longitudinally into two separate gorges, without causing any material deviation in the direction of the Sanda valley itself, or the general parallelism of its high flanking ridges.

251. The Tahpen is crossed at the ford of Nammon, which, in addition to its being a convenient ford, is also at this season a vast expanse of sandy desert two miles in breadth, which represents between well-marked banks the dry bed of the Tahpen and Tahaw rivers at the particular point of their apparent confluence. As we proceed and approach Mynela the Tahpen is lost in an amphitheatre of hills, which form a noble background to that ancient metropolis. It has entered the western of the two gorges into which the valley is here divided, and its source is traced to the town of Rooyon, some three days' journey north from Mynela. The Tahaw keeps to the eastern gorge and marks our route as far as Momein.

252. Mynela, including its suburbs, contains about 1,200 houses, with a population of from eight to 10,000 inhabitants. Like Sanda, the town is defended by a loopholed brick wall, from eight to 10 feet in height, with watch-towers which overhang the wall at intervals and do the duty of bastions. The position with regard to the valley we have been traversing is similar in most respects to the position of Sanda. Both towns are built on rising ground, or on small spurs which abut a short distance only into the valley from the main western range. The houses rest on a ground floor, and are built of unburnt bricks without any upper story. With the exception of the main street, inhabited by Chinese, and in which the daily bazzar and weekly fairs or market-days are held, no attempt has been made to lay out the town into streets. The

various roadways leading through the town are mere connecting lanes flanked alternately by the backs of houses on the one side, and by walled inclosures with small covered gateways leading into petty court-yards on the other. The appearance of these Shan towns is disappointing as regards cleanliness and the evidences or rather absence of household wealth or domestic economy.

The evidences of former prosperity are, perhaps, more strongly marked at Mynela than at Sanda, and the difference is to be accounted for by a very palpable infusion of Chinese blood which has permeated the old Shan stock and left traces only of Shan originality.

253. On entering the town at 3 p.m. on the 16th May, we were escorted by the officials to a Chinese temple, which had been newly roofed and otherwise put into repair for our accommodation. Chinese temples on a first introduction are no less a study as regards their laborious structure and variety of design than in the illimitable play of their interior decorations. Demigods and heroes are personated in all the grotesque exaggeration of a mythical period. Each temple may possess, and doubtless professes to have, a history of its own, but four intepreters and the sages they consulted were only able to form (or at least to impart) a very faint idea of the conceptions of those celebrated artists, whose graven images and laborious designs were nevertheless a subject of adoration and praise to a host of ignorant but self-satisfied worshippers.

254. The temples at Mynela are costly stone buildings, and the interior decorations have been carried out with a lavish expenditure of gold-leaf and labour which proclaims the wealth of the people at large, and are evidence also of their artistic attainments.

255. The number of these temples as compared with purely Budhist monasteries is proof also of the predominance of a Chinese element at Mynela, and determines the fact that geographical position has had its influences on religion and given to the Budhism of these parts a variety of forms which stultify its pure tenets and are the reverse of orthodoxy. It would be a work in itself of labour and research to attempt the barest nomenclature even of the various images of Budha and the never-ending series of demigods and deified representations of brutes and heroes which go to make up the sum of Shan-Chinese theology. My note-book contains a few observations on certain scenic decorations with which the temples abound, and which illustrate the mode of disseminating scriptural truths amongst the manifold worshippers at a Chinese shrine.

256. I must be excused for making two short extracts.

"(1.) The floor of one room (inside the temple) contained a model on a large scale which was intended to be typical of a man's journey through life, and represented in practical development the allegorical paths which lead respectively to life or destruction.

"A broad deep river separates man from eternity. On the one bank is misery and human affliction; on the other paradise and heavenly liberation (nikeban). The river is spanned by a solitary bridge, which all must cross who hope for salvation. There is a double roadway; one broad and seductive; the other tortuous and intricate.

"The paths to seduction are pleasant and manifold. They are brightened for a time with the allurements of sin and the temporary attractions of vice and immorality. But they lead to destruction.

"The haunts of vice, though partially concealed, are typically represented by their dangerous position on the extreme edge of the bridge, with an abyss below, which yawns forth death, or rather life in death, in most terrorizing propinquity. Removed from these seductive pathways is a narrow road which winds its way through a labyrinth of difficulties. The good and the virtuous are seen bravely threading its mazy intricacies and striving to reach the haven of their desires, a paradise teeming with all that is estimable in man's conception. Those who strive with steady purpose with their minds intent only on piety and religion, and dead to the allurements of human existence, cross the bridge and enter a region of heavenly enchantment, whilst others, who have recklessly followed the broad road to ruin, have fallen into the abyss, and are seen underneath the bridge, struggling in billows of molten lead or wound in the coils of monster serpents.

"Altogether the scene is one which, once looked upon by a true believer in the

the hideous reality of such after-punishments, is intended to cure him of all wandering propensities, and guide his inclinations to the narrow road which leads to life and everlasting happiness."

257. "(2.) In an adjoining apartment was another model which illustrated the Budhist belief in transmigration and the inflexible laws which guide and direct the living principle or vital force into certain grooves which have been expressly contrived or cut out for its passage from one state of existence to another. In one cavity, which has the appearance of a hollow tomb, the living principle is symbolised as an embryo fœtus in a state of quiescence. From this hollow tomb a number of grooves or branch roads are seen to diverge in all directions, and each groove is illuminated by pictorial designs which typify the peculiar existence into which the vital force may or may not enter in its passage from the cavity in which it first became matter. Certain rules and conditions are supposed to exist by which direction is given to these inert forces in their transitory stages, and it seemed evident that the model was intended to teach and inculcate these conditions and afford 'a wrinkle' as to the readiest mode of hitting off a particularly happy groove; but my interpreter, like all Chinamen when religion is on the tapis, professed a pardonable ignorance of details which seemed to suggest that even Chinese theology does not bear questioning, but that simple faith without reason or inquiry, is a fundamental principle also in the creed of even Mynela worshippers."

258. Whilst on religious subjects I may here mention, as one of the peculiarities of Shan Budhism, that it seems to create a strong desire in the female mind to assume the garb and duties of wandering priestesses, or in other words, incites them to become peripatetic female Phoongyees. These Phoongyees or nuns shave the head, dress in white, and have separate monasteries or rather convent nunneries of their own. But here the analogy, if there is any, with the European order ceases, for a Shan nun is a migratory animal, and is never content to remain for any length of time in one place. It seems to be one of the duties to make annual pilgrimages to the most celebrated Budhist shrines, whether in China or Burmah, and in this respect she is a person of political importance on her return to her own native states, where she becomes the sole dispenser of foreign intelligence, and a well-tested authority in the political status of the countries she may have visited.

259. I was forcibly reminded of this fact during our stay in the Shan States by frequent personal communications with these nuns, and a careful observation into their habits, and the social position held by them amongst their own native communities. Whilst at Mynela, I was visited on several occasions by a gathering of eight or more priestesses, some of whom spoke Burmese fluently, and had even resided a portion of their lives in British territory at Rangoon.

Rangoon is a kind of Budhist Mecca to certain Shan old ladies, who will not believe that they have perfected themselves in their religious calling until a pilgrimage has been made to the shrine of Dagon. It is doubtless owing to this fact, and the itinerant habits of Shan nuns in particular, that the English occupation of Pegu has both been acknowledged and appreciated in the Shan States. One of the old nuns who visited me, spoke in rapturous and familiar strains of *Rangoon Mahamengyee-Phayyah* (Colonel Phayre), and the esteem in which he and other English officers were held by our Burmese subjects in Pegu. I could *now* understand and account for the almost spontaneous display of good feeling with which Shans, who are left to their own inclinations, have always welcomed British enterprise, although directed towards their own dependencies.

260. The Shan nuns who have been in the habit of making pilgrimages to Rangoon have returned from time to time to their several states filled with the fulness of their own good works, and carrying with them a lively and grateful sense of the power, the justice, and the toleration of the British Government. It is not too much to say that the present expedition is indebted for much of its success in the northern Shan States to the veritable dicta of these female divines, whose presence at Rangoon, with shaven heads and long white robes, is a pleasant or unpleasant momentary attraction, but whose political powers for good or evil involve us in a problematic conception too fanciful and far fetched, perhaps, for the most visionary of diplomates.

261. As I have before said, the Chinese element was proportionately in greater force at Mynela than at Sanda. The close proximity of the robber chief, Lees-hee-ta-hee at Mauphoo, had a terrorising effect over the Shan population, and kept up a divided allegiance between their old and new masters. Lees-hee-ta-hee had been powerful enough for some time past to levy tax contributions at Mynela, and his presence in the neighbourhood with a band of Chinese marauders not only favoured Chinese expectations, but produced doubt and distrust in the Panthay Government. His recent defeat and the dispersion of his associates at Mauphoo, had of course somewhat destroyed his prestige at Mynela, but I was painfully reminded nevertheless, on a first acquaintanceship with Mynela officials on their own soil, that as friends of the Panthay Government, we are not altogether desirable visitors, and that the Chinese yoke was preferable as a permanency than the seeming instability of their pretentious conquerors.

262. The effect of repeated conversations with these officials disclosed to them that the English expedition was not pledged to any particular party or people, and its sole object was centered in a desire to ascertain with precision the present causes of trade obstruction between Burmah and China, and with the assistance and co-operation of the intermediate races and people, to devise a remedy and urge a reconciliation of all adverse interests. The people of Mynela had gradually become polite and courteous in their manner, but there was an absence of that extreme cordiality which had marked the conduct of their Shan brethren of Sanda.

The old Saubwa was dead, and his son, a lad of 15 years of age, was hardly in a position to guide the affairs of the province under the regency of a mother already known to be in her dotage.

263. It had been arranged on the day after our arrival that I should pay a ceremonial visit at Government House, and (although the dowager-regent excused herself for not seeing me, on the plea that she had no teeth and did not care about exposing her deficiencies), the young heir apparent received me with all due formalities and with a large concourse of his family and officials. An opportunity was thus afforded of entering into an explanatory discourse on subjects which have been already recorded as having formed the basis of my conversation with the old chief of Sanda.

264. My desire was to push on towards Momein, without any unnecessary lengthened detention in the Shan States, but the officials of Mynela were inclined to demur at the responsibilities which would attach to themselves provided harm befel us on the route between Mynela and Mauphoo. The road was still infested, they said, with dacoits, and only a day or two previous to our arrival a caravan of more than 30 mules which was proceeding with rice to Nantin had been attacked and several lives were lost. If I pressed for an immediate start, they were bound to attend to my wishes, with the proviso, however, that they were absolved from whatever responsibility might arise out of accident or misadventure, and that all such responsibilities rested solely with myself.

265. It was at this juncture of affairs that the Shan Saubwa of Hotha arrived, and his superior intelligence and bearing soon asserted itself in the councils of the timid and undecided officials of Mynela.

The Saubwa was himself proceeding to Momein with a caravan of 150 mules laden with cotton which had been brought from Bhamo by the central or ambassador's route, *vid* Momouk, to Hotho. He had been instructed by the Governor of Momein to join our escort, and give us the benefit of his assistance on the marches below Mynela and Momein.

He declared decisively that he was not prepared to leave Mynela until assured that the route *vid* Mauphoo was in all respects safe and practicable. His information led him to believe that large bands of Lees-hee-ta-hee's dacoits were still at large with the avowed purpose of disputing our right of way and of looting our baggage.

266. Under these circumstances, I found it necessary to write and forward a letter to the Governors of Nantin and Momein, and as three or four days must elapse before replies can be received, it may be as well here to glance cursorily at the affairs of a Shan State either as a separate principality or as one of a group of States which combine in the formation of a separate province.

267. The northern Shan States, with which we are now concerned, have been hitherto

hitherto known in Burmese nomenclature as the "Shan Sheet Pyee," or eight Shan states, whereas the Shans themselves divide this same territory into ten states in the following order:—

Eastern.	*Western.*
1. Mynechai.*	6. Hotha.
2. Mynechon.	7. Latha.
3. Sayfan.	8. Mynela.
4. Mynemaw.	9. Sanda.
5. Mynewun.	10. Mynetee.

We have explored and acquired a pretty accurate geographical knowledge of five of these States which form the western group. Mynewun, too, of the eastern group has been partially explored by an assistant engineer, who was detached from Hotha to survey the Sawuddy route *vid* Mynewun to Bhamo.

Mynetee, Mynela, and Sanda lie within one valley range, Hotha and Latha occupy a second, Sayfan and Mynewun occupy a third, Mynechai, Mynechon, and Mynemaw a fourth.

268. Each of these ranges or valleys lies more or less in a north-easterly and south-westerly direction in straight parallel courses. On their north-eastern extremity they merge into the higher ranges which are continued in a southerly direction into the Cambodian and Malayan Peninsulas. On their west they are lost in the irregular groupings which constitute the so-called Kakhyen hills, so that the northern Shan states, instead of being, as was once supposed, a wide expanse of open country leading on to the plains or table-land of China, are in reality mere strips of narrow valley caused by a gradual opening out of the several hill ranges as they tend in a northerly direction from the Kakhyen chaotic group on the one side, and are shut in or lost at the other extremity by the snowy ranges of central Yunan.

269. The whole of these Shan and Kakhyen ranges of hills which comprise the 10 northern Shan states lie within the basin of the Irrawaddy, and act as water-sheds to one or more of the several tributaries which feed that river at this portion of its middle course. But on reaching the higher ranges on their north-east extremity, the valley of the Irrawaddy is defined, and we seem to have reached the water-shed of the Salween, or, at all events, of some other river basin.

The general and physical geography of these hitherto unexplored regions is full of lively interest to every inquirer in the field of science, and it is tantalizing, perhaps, that our exploration has been necessarily limited to a comparatively small extent of unexplored territory. But the knowledge gained is not without interest, and will eventually aid the solution of much geographical uncertainty.

270. The Shan state of Mynela pays an annual subsidy of 5,000 baskets of paddy to the Panthay Government at Momein. The officials complain and think this an unreasonable assessment, not so much on account of its amount as because it is equivalent to what used to be paid to the Chinese Government, before the desolation caused by Mahomedan invasion. But complaint is unreasonable. Mynela, as a state or principality, is divided into five districts, each of which includes some 20 villages; each village contains on an average 50 houses. The incidence of Imperial taxation does not, at this rate, exceed one basket of paddy to each house, or 1 *s.* 6 *d.* per house per annum. This does not include other assessments which are levied for the maintenance of the Saubwa and his officers. The Saubwa is assisted in his government by four councillors or ministers, to whom certain villages are assigned as revenue, and subjected to a moderate assessment, which is specially fixed by the Saubwa himself. Each village, too, supports a Tamoh, or headman, of its own selection, who acts as a subordinate magistrate in chastising misdemeanours and the settlement of petty civil disputes.

There are no other state exactions, and the people enjoy a wonderful immunity from

* *Ch*—pronounced as Greek.

from taxation as compared with the inhabitants of the adjoining countries or with their own Shan communities subject to Burmah.

271. No direct means exist for arriving at an exact estimate of the population of the Shan States, but a pretty close approximation may be gained by observation and enquiry in the states visited, and the estimate arrived at by these means may be extended even to those states with which, perhaps, we had not the advantage of becoming personally cognizant. My own observation leads me to believe that the state or principality of Mynela may be accepted as a very fair criterion of the extent and capabilities of the nine remaining Shan States. According to the computation given above of the number of houses contained in each village, and allowing an average of five persons to each house, the population of the Mynela State alone would amount to 25,000, and that of the ten states, at the same computation, to two hundred and fifty thousand, which may be generally assumed, as an approximate estimate only, to be within, rather than in excess of, actual fact.

272. This does not include the various hill tribes who occupy the several ranges which divide the state into separate valley compartments. The division in some instances has been so effectual as to have produced palpable variations in dress amongst the same race, and more than mere idiomatic or dialectic variations in language between closely adjoining states.

273. But, ethnologically speaking, all Shans are alike. The type is well marked by facial characteristics which distinguish Shans from the several cognate races in the midst of whom they have their existence.

The Mongolian predominates, but the broad nose and thick lips of the veritable Burman are softened down into comparative symmetry, without altogether assuming the sharper and better defined facial outline of the Yunan Chinese.

It would be easy to look upon Shans as a cross between these two extremes, were it not that the distinctive nature of the Shan language is evidence of a distinct tribal origin, which is allowed to retain certain physical distinctions of race, owing to the geographical peculiarities and condition of the country it has so long occupied.

274. The dress, too, of the Shans is another indication of their distinctive nationality. The dark blue jackets and short loose trowsers of the men are somewhat Chinese in origin, and a very large percentage of the better classes of the males of Sanda and Mynela have assumed the Chinese pigtail and use Chinese chop-sticks. But Shan women dress after a fashion of their own which differs in every particular (if we except a portion of the Mynetha Shans of the Hotha valley) from anything akin to either Burmah or China.

275. The *puggery* or head dress is a long blue cotton scarf with embroidered ends, which is wound round the head so as to ascend in gradually increasing circles until it has assumed the shape and proportions (comparatively of course) of an inverted pyramid. The jacket is made of white or light blue cloth or satin, and falls loosely to the hips without any pretension to cut or shape. But the collar is stand-up and close fitting, *à la militaire*, and both collar and sleeves are slashed and lined with red cloth.

The nether garment is a loose skirt, about a yard in diameter, which is brought together in front and tucked in at the waist. This skirt is made of plain dark cotton cloth, but the better classes attach a showy embroidery of gold or satin patchwork (or mosaic), a foot in depth, round the lower edge, which gives the garment a dressy appearance. Over this skirt as well as over the jacket a very richly embroidered shawl is drawn round the hips from behind and fastened in at the waist in front. It is an ugly appendage altogether, and is only, therefore, worn in full dress! Fanciful gaiters of variegated cloth and embroidery fit closely to the legs from the ankle to the kee, and silver ornaments in profusion, head tiaras, earrings, necklets, necklaces, bracelets, chatelains, and various pendants without end, complete the costume.

276. The dress is a trying one, no doubt, and the only wonder is how any woman can possibly look well in it. Shan women must be exceptions. There is something graceful in the dress and in the women when the eye has familiarized itself to local peculiarities, but I confess it takes time and a long separation from European civilization to convert a Shan woman, with a hideously

apportioned

apportioned attire, into a veritable beauty of feminine or seductive degree of desirability.

277. Letters were received from Momein on the 21st May, and on the same date my Chinese interpreter, Moung Shwè Yah, who had so disgracefully deserted the expedition at Ponlyne, suddenly presented himself with a number of Panthay officers and a large military escort which had been sent by the Governor of Nantin to meet and conduct us on our route *vid* Mauphoo.

278. Moung Shwè Yah entered into a few particulars relating to his desertion at Ponlyne, and was fertile in excuses which were not only intended to absolve him personally from all blame, but to prove with consummate plausibility that he had been a faithful adherent to our cause throughout, and that his timely arrival at Momein had afforded the means of counteracting evil and producing a friendly reaction in our favour. It is only necessary to record, in refutation of these plausible misstatements, that Moung Shwé Yah did not attempt the journey to Momein after his sudden exodus from Ponlyne, until news had reached Bhamo of the favourable issue of my letters to the Panthay Governor, and of the generous advances which the latter had proffered in the furtherance of our enterprise.

Had these advances not been made, it is more than evident that Moung Shwè Yah would never have left Burmese territory at all, and judging of his conduct from first to last, I am bound to state that his private journey to Momein, without any intimation to me of his intentions, and after the news had been spread abroad of Panthay good-will and co-operation in our enterprise, was undertaken with the object of counteracting what had been favourable rather than of adding fresh facilities to our proposed advance.

279. But Moung Shwè Yah was too late. Shrewd and cunning by nature, it is no libel to say that his conscience allowed him at times to indulge largely in deceit and duplicity. The following may be assumed to be a very possible explanation and solution of his conduct and motives.

On reaching Momein he evidently found a state of affairs which had outreached his influences and promised a more certain remuneration to himself if *we* succeeded than if he continued an ineffectual endeavour to carry out the policy of his master the King. He had thus been accidentally converted into an indirect help, and it is due to him to say that during my stay at Momein he so far attached himself to our cause as to become (partly by necessity perhaps) my chief medium of communication with the Governor of Momein.

280. The three Panthay officers who accompanied the escort from Nantin called upon us in due form, and announced their arrival at our residence by sending in cards, or three separate sheets of coloured paper, with their names and titles printed in Chinese. They are well-dressed, handsome-looking men, and the Arab or Mussulman type of countenance and features is unmistakeably pronounced, in spite of a decided Chinese admixture.

Our conversation was friendly and unreserved, but it was rather perplexing to discover that our new friends were under an impression for some time that we were their brethren in creed as well as by race. It became necessary, in all our first interviews with Panthay officials, to provide against misconception of this kind, but the explanation was always made and received in good humour, and did not in any way interfere with the friendship of our intercourse.

The fact that the jemadar and 30 of the police escort, as well as a large percentage of our private followers, were true believers in the creed of Mahomed, was an introduction in itself which went far towards conciliating Panthay prejudices, and paving a way to confidential communications.

281. All was in readiness for an early start, and the Mynela officials having shuffled out of their responsibility by consigning us to the protection of a Panthay escort, our departure was no longer delayed, and we left Mynela on the morning of the 23rd. A march of two miles brought us to the right bank of the Tahaw, and here the Panthay advance guard called a halt, and announced that a strong party of dacoits were ahead and intended to dispute the entrance to the Mauphoo defile.

282. The Hotha Saubwa joined us during the halt with a large caravan of mules, and his information coincided with that received by the Panthay officers

as to the fact that our route had been waylaid by a hostile assemblage of unfriendly dacoits. I use the word *unfriendly*, because it is not unusual for travellers and residents of villages within the haunts of Chinese freebooters to compound with *local* brigands, and purchase immunity from attack or plunder.

283. The sudden announcement of an intended attack was thoroughly embarrassing, and became almost ridiculous under Moung Shwè Yah's drunken exhortation to "go on and fight the blackguards; who was afraid?" It was difficult to know whether his treacherous tendencies might not have been at work to lead us into an ambuscade, but he seemed in earnest, and to judge by appearances, we had no reason to apprehend really formidable opposition.

284. The route we were to follow had been traversed the day previous by our Panthay escort, and no report of an intended attack had come to the notice of the Mynela authorities; on the contrary, they had given their consent to my proceeding, and guaranteed safe conduct as far as Mauphoo.

Besides, to have turned our backs on an uncertainty, without any positive assurance of real danger, would have ruined our prestige, and have prejudiced the chances of further progress.

To have remained and encamped where we then were must have argued weakness; and, if it was true that a resolute enemy was anywhere in our vicinity, would have inspired them with confidence and invited the attack, which I was bound, if possible, to avoid.

285. Under these circumstances an advance was inevitable, but it was not until I had drawn up the police in line and fired a very respectable volley to try their muskets (they had been loaded several days), that the Panthay officers evinced any sign of zealous excitement. They *now* exclaimed that with 50 muskets like ours, which would all "*go off*," they were ready at any time to "*whop creation*," or rather perform in their idea an equally arduous feat, and march to Pekin.

286. It was arranged that the Panthays should send out feelers, and in order to carry out this duty the more effectually, I attached five Mussulmen of our party to proceed in advance, and take with them their muskets, whose going-off powers had already excited the valour and admiration of our Panthay escort. Captain Bowers was eager to head this party, but cheerfully submitted to my desire of avoiding what I conceived to be unnecessary exposure. Nothing would have tended more to compromise the future prospects of the expedition, than the complications arising out of conflict with an enemy. It was necessary, therefore, to guard as much as possible against unnecessary risks, and court danger only when it became an indispensable aid to progress and safety.

287. We proceeded in this order some two or three miles, and arrived at the duty station of Kanfan, where a halt was called by the Hotha Saubwa. The Panthay guard had proceeded in advance, and after a short halt we were informed that they had reached the foot of the Mauphoo hills without encountering an enemy.

288. The valley had now narrowed very considerably, and as we approached its north-eastern extremity, the only outlet was a narrow gorge or defile, through which the Tahaw rushed with the force and velocity of a mountain torrent. The sides of the gorge were formed, for the most part, of bare precipitous rock, more or less scarped, which rose at intervals to a height of several hundred feet. No roadway would have been practicable through the gorge itself, and it became necessary, therefore, to ascend a portion of the western range parallel with the gorge for a distance of seven or eight miles, until a descent is made into the Nantin valley.

289. The far-famed fort or stronghold of Mauphoo is situated on this highland, about half way between the ascent from the Sanda valley on the one side and the descent to the Nantin valley on the other side. Its appearance as we approached was singularly picturesque, not only by reason of natural scenery and position, but because a strong Panthay force which garrisoned the town had thought proper to embellish its battlements with numerous gay banners, and to present in their own persons a gaudy variety of costume and equipment.

290. Mauphoo itself is insignificant both as a town and fortification, but its position

position had been well chosen as a safe and convenient place of retreat and rendezvous on account of natural defences and general inaccessibility. The Panthays for some years past had either tolerated or submitted to the presence, at Mauphoo, of an enemy who intercepted their communication with Burmah and disputed with them the sovereignty of the northern Shan States. It is now evident that this submission originated in a fear of offending against Burman scruples by direct interference with one who was known to be the secret agent of the Burmese Government. It was not therefore until my letters had reached Momein, and the Governor had been led to believe that we were supported and countenanced by the Burmese Government, that the Governor undertook the work of reducing Mauphoo and of opening out communication with ourselves at Ponsee. He argued rightly, that either Mauphoo must cease to be a Chinese garrison, or the British expedition must fail in gaining access to the Chinese frontier.

291. Tah-sá-kan took the field in person against Mauphoo with a force of 5,000 men. The besiegers contented themselves for several days by a close investment of both Mauphoo and Mawsoon, the only inhabited portions of the Mauphoo hills. Every approach was strictly watched, and the assualt only took place after a large portion of the besieged had either been reduced into capitulation, or had fallen in unsuccessful attempts to force a way through the Panthay cordon. More than 300 of Lees-hee-ta-hee's followers were killed during the investment, and although this number may be somewhat in excess of reality, still the putrefying remains of corpses, even at the time of our arrival, made the vicinity of the town, as well as its inner defences, an abomination of corrupt exhalations which revealed the truths of indiscriminate slaughter. Panthay revenge had satisfied itself to repletion on a hated band of Chinese marauders.

292. The march from Mauphoo to the Nantin valley will ever associate itself in our recollections with the gratifying marks of honourable greeting with which the Panthays bade us welcome to their hospitable possessions. Strong guards had been stationed at appointed intervals along the route, and the nature of the country was such as to enable them to be seen in the distance in all the gaiety with which full sunshine, variegated costumes, long silver lances, painted match-lock, and large national flags of multiform design and colouring, could possibly invest them. As we approached, the guards severally beat gongs, fired muskets, waved flags, and otherwise evinced, in their own fashion, a species of salutation which would have done honour to the resources and civilization of any state in Asia.

293. The descent into the Nantin valley brought us again to the bank of the Tahaw river, at a point where it enters the long narrow gorge above mentioned, through which it has worn for itself a way into the Sanda valley.

How superbly quiet and picturesque the view which is disclosed during the descent from the Mauphoo heights! At our feet lies the Tahaw, now a smooth quiet stream, flowing between deep precipitous banks of alternate rock and vegetation, and spanned by a veritable iron suspension bridge, the first of a series which assures us that we have passed the confines of the celestial empire. Six miles in advance (though apparently at our feet) may be descried the towns of Mynetee and Nantin, the former Shan and the latter Chinese, though at present under the rule of a Panthay Governor. In the distance the valley stretches away into space, with a dark background of lofty mountains which tend northerly far into Yunan.

294. The average width of the valley did not exceed three miles, and the well-defined terraces or gradations of terraces at corresponding heights on either side were evidences of a lacustrine period during which a gradual outlet was being forced through the Mauphoo gorge. The lake itself had silted up and formed the present rich allúvial expanse of plain and valley. There is reason to believe that the other Shan valleys we have thus far visited owe much of their present formation to a lacustrine origin, and that their unusual fertility and elevation is due as much to former sedimentary lake deposits as to a continual accession of productive matter which is being incessantly superadded by periodical flood, as well as by the descent of *débris* from the adjoining slopes towards their several valley centres.

295. The iron suspension bridge at the foot of the descent from the Mauphoo hills into the Nantin valley is used only during the rainy season, when the route from Mauphoo to Nantin lies along the high ground on the left bank of the river. On the present occasion we kept the right bank, and crossed the Tahaw at a ford opposite to the town of Mynetee. But on the return journey in July the river was unfordable throughout its whole course, and the "iron bridge route" became a necessity.

296. The bridge itself is about 80 feet in length with a roadway six feet in breadth, which is formed by a number of parallel chains, which are stretched across the river from bank to bank and rigidly clenched behind strong stone embankments. The chains are made of rod-iron an inch in diameter, which is worked into single links a foot in length and about four inches in width. Joists or crossbeams overlay the chains, and the whole is covered with a flooring of earth and gravel so as to form a practical roadway. The approaches to the bridge on either bank are covered in, and form guard houses or resting places for travellers, and a Chinese ornamented roofing gives a picturesque finish to the buildings and told of our advent to Chinese localities.

297. The present Shan town of Mynetee is distant at least a mile from Nantin, of which it may originally have been considered a suburb. It is the head quarters of the Shan Saubwa of the Mynetee State, and although the town itself is inhabited by a Shan population, a new outline of appearances is everywhere visible, and we feel and know that we have passed Shan limits and are in a new country and under a new government.

The line of demarcation is more strictly defined at Nantin itself, to all intents a Chinese walled city, in which the buildings, the pagodas, the bazaars, and the inhabitants are at once divested of all Shan associations. But it is a town of desolation and poverty; one half has become a ruin, and the other half is occupied by a Chinese population of squalid aspect, who exhibit, as Chinamen, a manifest absence of ordinary thrift and national vitality.

298. We reached Nantin as it was getting dusk, and were conducted to the ruins of a Chinese temple, which had been used as his head-quarters by the Governor of Momein during the recent expedition against the Mauphoo stronghold. Very shortly after our arrival the Panthay Governor paid us a visit, accompanied by a Panthay military officer of high rank (a nephew of the Governor of Momein), and the Panthay Cazee or magistrate of Nantin, a man of unmistakeable Mahomedan bearing, and with perfectly orthodox beard and raiment. The visit was repeated on the following day, and the Governor was now accompanied by the famous Chinese robber chief Thongwetshein, who came in after the capture of Mauphoo, and transferred his allegiance to the Panthay cause.

299. Thongwetshein evidenced in his outward exterior an impressive realization of a living brigand. A man does not rise to power in these parts, even as a robber chief, unless possessed of a mental superiority which lifts him above the level of his followers. Thongwetshein had achieved this superiority, and was the "brigand" to perfection in his courteous bearing and off-hand civilities. But the tone of his voice was deep and sepulchral, and he gave vent to opinions in a voluminous roll, which added to their effect, and commanded the respect of attentive listeners. The transfer of his allegiance to Panthay rule is an event of importance, which was indirectly influenced by our own expedition. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that a still more vigorous and determinate effort to promote intercourse, and open out the old trade-routes, will be the surest and most effectual means of resettling the country, by securing the submission of other chiefs against whom whole armies would be inoperative, and assist rather than diminish the causes of disturbance.

300. I returned the Governor's visit the following day (25th May), and our reception, though purely ceremonial, was courteous to a degree, and intensely gratifying. The Shan *haws* (palaces) already described have evidently been built after a Chinese model. The Government House at Nantin represented a continued succession of quadrangular courtyards, flanked by lateral buildings, and connected with each other by a series of roofed archways, so arranged as to be exactly opposite, and present in line an imposing perspective.

301. A salute

301. A salute was fired as we reached the palace, and, as a mark of special honour, the centre gates of the several archways were thrown open for our use. (The same custom prevails in Burmah; only a king or a prince of the royal family is allowed admittance into the inner enclosure of a palace through the large central gateway. All other persons enter by a small side wicket.)

The hall of audience is a building which occupies the place of the penultimate archway at the further extremity of the third courtyard. It was open in front, but well furnished in Chinese style with chairs, tables, elegant wood carving, and a variety of well-coloured Chinese paintings.

302. The Governor was dressed in a blue satin embroidered robe, which reached to his feet, and possessed a peculiarity of cut which coincided, he told us, with the dress of Chinese Governors under a former dynasty. This peculiarity consisted in a sort of clerical or rather quakerish stand-up collar without roll or ornament; in other respects the grand robe had no cut at all, though full of a particular merit which might make it a cherished possession to those who delight in gaudy dressing-gowns.

303. There had been a slight hitch in our relations with the Governor on account of my refusal to accede to his request of opening to view the contents of our packing cases. Having once explained that the cases contained either stores for our use, or presents for his superiors, I looked upon the request to display their contents as an impertinent interference, which not only argued ill-feeling and distrust, but was at variance with the spirit of cordial greeting which had welcomed our arrival within Panthay territory. The matter was not pressed, but I was given to understand that my refusal to comply with the Governor's wishes might entail delay, or necessitate our detention until a report was made, and instructions received from the Governor of Momein.

304. It was not until our friendly interview with the Governor at his own residence that I ascertained the real cause of his anxiety to learn the contents of our packages. Amongst the many injurious reports which preceded our arrival at Nantin was one which invested us with supernatural means of offensive action; some of our boxes were said to contain magical materials which could subdue whole cities, and bring their inhabitants into complete subjection; other cases were filled with living dragons, which might be utilized at command into an irresistible weapon of offence against enemies.

305. Absurd in effect as these reports appeared, it was almost impossible to treat them with ridicule, or ignore the mischiefs they were intended to generate. I was now convinced that the original desire to inspect our boxes had neither been urged in malice nor dictated by curiosity. My stubborn nature forsook me in a moment, and I was prepared, I said, to open to view any number of cases which appeared to the Governor either doubtful or suspicious. But common sense had taken the place of ignorant credulity, and no further allusion was made to our caged dragons, or to the boxed-up infernal machines which were to have been the means of desolating whole provinces, and subduing all men into compulsory allegiance.

306. The report which attributed to us the possession of magic has been satisfactorily traced to a Burman origin. The Kakhyen chief, Ponlyne, was heard to excuse himself to the Governor of Bhamo for not having caused our destruction, by saying that Burmese had themselves informed him that we were veritable demons, and that some of our cases contained a peculiar fire with which we could, at any moment, destroy our enemies and burn up their possessions. He was deterred himself from open hostility by the certainty of provoking this irresistible power, and overwhelming himself and his family in ruin.

Thus reports conceived in a spirit of opposition were happily converted into a positive protection, and acted in some respects as a wholesome check to the very evils which they were specially designed to create and make offensive.

307. The march from Nantin to Momein was full of interest. The configuration of the valley had somewhat changed, and the eastern main range no longer continued to be a single continuous ridge such as that which had characterised its direction along the line of the Sanda valley. As apart from the main range, there now appeared to be a ramification of irregular semi-detached spurs all tending in a northerly direction, and yet so closely allied to each other as to

form a connected series of undulations, or, in other words, a broad expanse of uneven table-land high above the level of the circumadjacent valleys.

308. The ascent to this table-land is commenced half-way between Nantin and Momein, and as soon as the high ground is reached, it slopes away again by a gradual series of descents as far as the city of Momein; which is itself situated within the fork of two valleys, that on the west being a sinuous prolongation of the Nantin valley on the one side, whilst on the east another small valley has been formed between the Momein mid-valley ridges above mentioned and the main eastern range (Deebay), which has again entered an appearance, and is now the principal watershed between the Tahaw and Shwèlee affluents of the Irrawaddy.

309. The volcanic origin of the Momein plateau, as well as of the whole surrounding region, is very manifestly indicated by more than the usual signs of igneous activity and reproduction.

On one of the ridges which flank the plateau on its western side are a series of very remarkable hot springs, the largest of which, at the time we visited it, did not exceed four feet in diameter, but its exposed surface was in a perpetual state of bubbling ferment, and violent jets of steam were projected from it, as well as from a number of smaller springs and cavernous fissures by which the larger spring was partially surrounded.

The deep dull sound, which was audible for a considerable distance from the springs, spoke of subterranean caverns at no great depth below the surface, and produced a sensation of distrust in the intervening crust, which seemed ready at any moment to fall in and carry all away with it into a boiling ocean below.

310. Dr. Anderson has brought away a quantity of the water for chemical analysis, and we shall learn in time its mineral ingredients. It is satisfactory for the present to know that this spring in particular has been rendered famous throughout the surrounding country for its curative properties, and the afflicted from all parts come and bathe in its waters, or utilize its vapours as a palliative to their several complaints. The temperature of the water is rather above the boiling-point, and is highly serviceable to tourists in this respect for nearly all culinary purposes. But bathing is only practicable after the water has been carried away in a small rivulet to a considerable distance from the springs themselves, and has been cooled down by evaporation or mingled itself with cold water streams from other sources. The collective rivulets combine to make a small stream of tepid water, which is borne away into the valley and soon loses itself in the waters of the Tahaw.

311. Another of the indications of volcanic origin is the existence of an extinct crater, which occupies in fact a large portion of the Momein plateau, and presents a most interesting feature in the physical geography of this particular region. So extensive is the space which formed the old aperture, and so indistinct at first sight to an inexperienced eye the indications which give special definition to this form of volcanic structure, that I think I should have passed the crater unheeded, had not Dr. Anderson pointed out its well-defined splintery outline, as well as masses of rugged scorious black rocks everywhere strewn over a surface bared of all vegetation.

312. But I must go back to the hot springs. It was during the time we had halted to make an examination of their principal peculiarities that a cruel and cowardly attack was made on our Panthay escort, which had proceeded in advance in charge of the mule caravan with our baggage. A portion of this escort had journeyed almost the day before on its way from Momein to Nantin; and so remote was the idea or anticipation of danger, that the Panthay officers of the escort, who belonged to the Nantin garrison, were accompanied by their wives, or rather female relatives, who rode in front with the advance guard.

313. It was a novel and pleasing sight, in the absence of more genial female companionship, to see Panthay ladies in full Chinese costume riding at the head of our already singular and picturesque cavalcade. I noticed them when we made a start from Nantin, and they were then apparently full of lively anticipations, and looked upon the journey to Momein in our company as an enjoyable diversion in the dull monotony of their every-day existence. The next time I saw them they were loudly bewailing the unfortunate slaughter of two of their nearest and dearest relatives.

314. The

314. The Panthay escort, having proceeded about three miles beyond the hot springs, had just rounded one of the many small lateral spurs which abut into the valley from the eastern main ridges, when shots were fired from a concealed position above the road, and two Panthay officers, who were some distance in advance of their own party, fell wounded. The dacoits, seeing that they were unsupported, rushed out from their place of concealment and hacked the officers to pieces with their swords. From all accounts it does not appear that the Panthay escort in the rear made any timely effort to save these officers or avenge their death; on the contrary, I believe that the suddenness of the attack caused a panic, and that a fatal lapse of time was allowed to occur before the chief officer of the escort (a nephew of the Governor of Momein) was able to rally his men and make head against the dacoits.

315. It was during this interval that several of our own leading mules fell into the hands of the attacking party and were looted of their loads. A sick Panthay soldier, too, who was being carried on a litter, had been deserted by his bearers, and was barbarously murdered.

316. All this time the members of the expedition had been very diligently enjoying a halt at the hot springs, with the full approval of the Hotha Saubwa, who accompanied the party as guide and adviser, and of the Panthay officers who were intended to act as our safeguard and escort. No warning was given of danger such as that which had called for caution on the march to Mauphoo; on the contrary, it was assumed as a certainty that all due precaution had been taken against surprise and attack.

317. When we arrived at the scene of dacoity the sight was anything but cheerful or encouraging. The bodies of the murdered officers had already been lashed to long bamboos, and were ready to be carried back to Nantin. Broken boxes lay in the way, and in some instances their contents had been more or less pillaged. Unfortunately, our personal baggage, being light, happened to be in advance and suffered most. Dr. Anderson's loss was a serious one—one of his tin packing cases had been opened and partially looted; another, which contained books, papers, and instruments, was apparently intact. The arrangements made for bringing it on with us miscarried, and the box and its contents were never heard of afterwards. A few other articles might have been saved had we possessed the means of transport, but two mules had been carried away (or carried themselves away bodily), and the remainder had gone on to some distance, or were otherwise unavailable.

318. We had still 12 miles of road to get over, and the Panthay officers were excited and spoke of the likelihood of another attack, which they rather deprecated in so cramped and indefensible a position. We pushed on, therefore, a mile or two to the foot of a steep ascent which led on to the high uneven tableland stretching towards Momein. Here most of our baggage mules were halted, and I fell in again with the Hotha Saubwa, who appeared faint-hearted in the extreme, and gave a very discouraging view of what was in store for us within the next six miles of our onward journey.

319. He now disclosed to me, over biscuits and brandy pawnee, that, according to his information, the two Chinese robber chiefs Leoqwanfan and Lees-hee-ta-hee had joined their forces, and that the present attack had been expressly planned at Bhamo with the full determination of preventing our arrival at Momein. Lees-hee-ta-hee was under a distinct promise, he said, to the Burmese officials at Bhamo to interrupt our progress, and had gone so far as to even guarantee our destruction.

320. I did not quarrel with the Saubwa outright, but I called him to account for former reticence, as well as for having assented to our halt at the hot springs, when he must have been well aware that we thereby subjected ourselves to imminent peril.

321. But the Saubwa was intent on the dangers ahead, and had no desire for retrospect as regarded the past. The attack which had just been made on our baggage was trifling, he said, in extent to what would be attempted as soon as we continued the march. Hitherto the Saubwa had shown himself to be intelligent and obliging. But his doubts or his fears on the present occasion made

him anything but an agreeable companion, and forced him into the uncourteous admission that he had acted imprudently in having joined our party, and thereby incurred a risk which would have been avoided had he proceeded alone. His misgivings, however, were of no avail, and I was glad to know that he could not retreat. Go on we must at all risk, and with the certain prospect (according to his account) of armed opposition.

322. Disposition was accordingly made, and a few scouts were sent ahead as an advance guard to act as feelers. The interval of excitement was of short duration, for we had not proceeded more than a mile from our last halting-place before the advance guard reported that it had fallen in with a strong Panthay patrol from Momein, which had been sent by the Governor that day as an honorary addition to our military escort.

The route was clear and hopefully practicable. The scene had shifted from one of anticipated conflict to the more interesting prospect of visiting for the first time a frontier city of the Chinese empire, and of feeling that a way was disclosed to the successful attainment of our expeditionary projects.

323. The approach to Momein is very grand and very beautiful. We had been descending for some time the eastern side of the high ridges which I have already described as intersecting to some extent the main valley of the Tahaw. The road, after passing down a long series of grassy undulations, led round the southern slope of a tumulus-shaped hill, 1,000 feet in height, crowned on its summit by a high Chinese tower pagoda. It is at this point that the city of Momein is suddenly brought into view in a hollow basin, enclosed on all sides by hills of every shape and altitude, which slope down apparently to its very walls.

324. In reality they are at some distance, and the intervening valley spaces are either under cultivation or mark the remains of large Chinese towns, now for the most part in ruins and deserted. Beyond the city, from our present point of view, the Tahaw and Momein valleys have formed a junction, and a narrow plain extends for about five miles in a northerly direction along the banks of the Tahaw, until limited in the distance by the gradual convergence of the lateral hill ranges. On the extreme north the horizon was bounded by a dark rugged outline of black mountains, with an apparent north and south direction, which form, as far as it is allowed to deduce facts from observation and inquiry, a portion of the main central Himalayan chain, which is continued far south into Burmah and the Malayan peninsula.

325. But the most effective and heart-stirring scene of the whole, as it then appeared to me (with senses by this time somewhat deadened to the grandeur and attractions of mountain scenery), was that which presented itself in the foreground half way between our position at the foot of Pagoda hill and the southern face of the city wall. The Governor had thought fit to come out in full state to welcome us to Momein, and his guards and retinue formed a temporary encampment which was intended to be impressive and to display with effect the power and resources of the Mahomedan Government.

326. The encampment was marked by a long line of flags of never-ending variety, shape, and colouring. On coming within sight of them I halted for a few moments to make preparation for meeting so formidable an array of our expectant friends. We were a motley and mottled group of adventurers. A march of 23 miles over dusty hills and across muddy ravines did not add to personal appearances or to that dignity of demeanour which would be anxiously looked for in the pioneers of trade or the representatives of western civilization. A dozen of the most respectable-looking or least dirty of the escort were sent in advance to herald the way, headed by the police jemadar carrying my Burmese gold sword. The members of the expedition followed under the canopy of two large golden umbrellas, which were opened to their widest extent and carried by Burmans in green livery. The remainder of the escort brought up the rear, and our seedy accompaniments and general equipment was in striking contrast with the gay appurtenances and soldierly bearing of the Governor's body-guard.

327. As we drew near, guns were fired, gongs beaten, and bands of music struck up a selection of their own, which had the merit of being soft and harmonious as compared with the clanging harshness of Chinese performances.

I was

I was altogether unprepared for a ceremonial reception on so formal a scale, for although the reports which reached us from Momein were calculated to produce a very favourable impression of the Governor's individual greatness, still it seemed unlikely that a state which for years past had been known to be a centre of riot and disturbance should have had it in its power to assume at a moment's notice the festive semblance of a holiday ovation.

328. The number of large standards, by a rough computation, exceeded two hundred, the staffs being in most instances covered with plain silver plating. The standard bearers were dressed in what may be said, on the *lucus a non lucendo* principle, to have been uniform. There was a manifest diversity in the cut and the colouring of their several vestments, but the head dress in every case was unique and striking. It consisted of a succession of large variegated rosettes, which rose up from both ears to a point over the forehead, where they were terminated, or rather continued by the long tail feathers of a new species of pheasant of extraordinary beauty.

329. The standard bearers were ranged in line on either side of the road, and in front of them Panthay officers of all grades had deployed, so as to form a line through which it was intended that our procession should pass. Our appearance as we filed past this martial assemblage must have been as novel and remarkable to the Panthays, by reason of its unaffected simplicity, as their gorgeous display seemed inconsistent and out of order on account of its comparative extent and unmeaning magnificence.

330. But the reception was flattering and courteous to excess, and as such produced feelings of special gratification in those who had come as strangers to an unknown government, and after three months of obstruction and annoyance, suddenly found themselves amongst powerful friends and raised to the position of well-favoured guests.

Tah-sa-kon,* the Governor, had stationed himself at the extreme end of the lane or line of standard bearers and troops. His position was marked by three large red silk umbrellas with deep fringes of gold lace. Carpets had been spread and chairs arranged in line, with gaudy red cushions and rich silk drapery. The Governor was dressed in full mandarin costume,† with a few Panthay modifications, and came forward to meet us as we advanced. We shook hands in a style which was Mussulman on his part, but English on ours. Very little was said or done beyond mutual recognition and greetings, and we moved on in the direction of the city, followed by the Governor and his gorgeous attendants.

331. It happened to be market day, and the suburbs we passed through were thronged with vendors of petty wares, who were allowed in true Chinese fashion to erect temporary stalls in the midst of the thoroughfares; all was Chinese,—houses, shops, people and language. We were conducted to a spacious temple outside the city, at its south-west angle, and in close contiguity with the Governor's residence, which, though inside the walls, was at all times within the reach of instant communication by means of a guard permanently located on the city walls immediately above our residence. The temple was built on the palatial or government house plan, with a succession of quadrangular courtyards leading into each other, and flanked on either side by ranges of insignificant out-buildings.

332. But we have now fairly got to Momein, and it is time, perhaps, to pause and make some apology for the extraordinary dimensions to which this narrative has already attained. It would have been a comparatively easy task to have generalised only on the events related, instead of recording them at length in descriptive detail; but I have conscientiously adopted the more laborious of the two courses, with the double object of securing a base for my own observations, and of showing how far those observations may have been correctly deduced. Whilst, therefore, I propose to continue the report in its present form, I shall strive to avoid digression, and limit myself to matter which strictly pertains to the objects of the expedition or tends to illustrate its action and interests.

333. Our

* *Tah-sa-kon.*—The Government title of office.

† He afterwards presented me with the dress he wore on this occasion.

333. Our life at Momein and the manner in which the business of the expedition was conducted at that city will be best described by extracts from my diary.

28TH MAY 1868.

Visited the Governor for the first time in an official form, accompanied by Dr. Anderson and Captain Bowers. Government House is a succession of quadrangular courtyards leading into each other in the usual Chinese style already described (*vide* plan and drawings). Our arrival was announced by a salute of three guns and a clanging of gongs and cymbals, followed by the softer strains of flute and clarionet.

Tah-sa-kon was in full robes in the central hall of audience, and came forward to receive us, shaking hands and motioning us to chairs at the "west end" of the apartment. The presents we brought with us were carried by 20 men (Mussulmen) of the police escort in undress, and laid on tables which ran down the centre of the audience hall. The presents looked well, and were a passport in themselves to the good graces of the Governor and his attendant officials. They consisted of carpets, velvet-pile table covers, double barrel guns, telescopes, binoculars, broadcloth, pistols, and a choice assortment of nicknacks, minutiæ of no great value in themselves, but in special favour and demand at Momein.

I opened the conversation by assuring the Governor of the real obligations we were under to him for having so generously co-operated in the work which had brought a British expedition into Yunan. Without his active assistance, I said, in having provided the means of transit and personally superintended the removal of obstacles to our progress through the Shan States, it would have been out of my power to have reached Momein, or to have even left Ponsee with possession of my baggage.

Tah-sa-kon replied by saying that it had rejoiced him from the first to learn that a British mission had been sent from British territory with the object of entering into commercial relationship with his government. He had himself entered into the enterprise with a will, and his first effort had been to despatch a force to Mauphoo and disperse the Chinese brigands who held its passes into the Shan States. He had proceeded himself on the Mauphoo expedition, and after its successful accomplishment had collected the several chiefs of the Shan States at Nantin, and made arrangements for our advance, as well as for the future settlement and control of customs duty leviable on merchandise passing through the Shan States, &c.

I next spoke of my desire to proceed beyond Momein and confer with the Panthay Government at Talee. Tah-sa-kon informed me that we had arrived at a very inopportune period for prosecuting our journey further into Yunan. At the present time two separate forces, he said, were actively engaged in scouring the country between Momein and Yoonchan. For several months past there had been no free communication between these two places. Other routes to Talee were equally impracticable, unless we were prepared to encounter opposition and fight our way onward. It was far from his wish, he said, to stand in my way. He would even provide us with an armed escort if I finally determined upon an advance in opposition to his strong remonstrances and advice. The Panthay King at Talee had been informed of our intentions, and had expressed satisfaction and a desire to second our efforts. At the same time he (Tah-sa-kon) felt certain that an advance beyond Momein was in our case both unsafe and impracticable. If hastily undertaken at the present time, without a prudent regard to time and circumstances, it might lead, he thought, to possible disaster, and destroy rather than assist in the eventualities for good which the expedition was designed to bring about.

I thank the Governor for the kindness and consideration of his remarks, and frankly assure him that, great as our desire was to penetrate further into Yunan, I was not prepared to neglect his advice, or even act without his approval. I would therefore, confidently leave the matter in his hands, and await circumstances and further deliberation.

Tah-sa-kon.—"This is well: remain here a few days and judge for yourself. Everything shall be done to further the objects of your expedition. One of your main objects it so resuscitate trade between Burmah and China. I have already bound over the chiefs in the Shan States to aid the enterprise. I will summon them again to Momein before you leave."

To this I replied that I thought a congress of the several chiefs at Momein during my stay was highly desirable.

Tah-sa-kon assented, and wound up by exhorting me to be under no apprehension of apathy on his part, or on the part of the Government at Talee. "A trade route shall be opened *viâ* Bhamo. English merchants who arrive at Bhamo next season will find carriage and safe escort to Momein; but there is plenty of time to arrange all this before you leave. I must at once report the news of your arrival to Talee, and shall forward on at the same time the presents you have brought me. They will be very acceptable to the Panthay king, &c."

I next referred to the death of the two officers who were killed whilst on escort duty with our baggage between Nantin and Momein, and expressed our sympathy and concern in a loss which had been specially incurred in advancing our interests.

Tah-sa-kon admitted that *he too* felt exceedingly the loss of these officers, as they were both brave men and had done good service.

They had died, he said, in the performance of their duty, and we were not to concern ourselves about them further.

The fact was not to be disguised, I said, that two Panthay officers had met their death

by

by giving assistance to a British expedition; and I begged to assure the Governor that it would be my duty to report the circumstance to my Government, and make suitable provision for the families of those who had died in our service.

The reference to, and remarks on, this subject were apparently well timed. Tah-sa-kon seemed personally gratified, and a murmur of approval and satisfaction made itself felt in the general assembly.

The conversation was continued for some time on various topics of interest, whilst Panthay attendants presented us with continuous courses of tea, dried fruits, sugar-candy, and Chinese confectionery in profuse variety.

Several Pantha officers were present, amongst whom two were introduced to us as belonging to the Governor's council, and consulted by him on all matters relating to the government of the province.

Another salute was fired as we left and more beating of gongs. The interview had been a success. Shortly after reaching our temple residence, the Hotha Saubwa called and said he had been specially sent by Tah-sa-kon, with an invitation to all the members of the expedition to dine with him on the following day. We were told that the Governor had been very favourably impressed by our visit, and fully believed in the sincerity of our objects.

Moung Shwè Yah too, who had acted as Chinese interpreter, came in later in the afternoon with similar friendly messages. The Governor was delighted. The presents we had given him were a source of general admiration.*

They would be sent with a despatch to Talee. Other messengers also came from Government House with an abundant supply of Chinese confectionery and fine white granulated honey. We were especially warned whilst eating the latter to avoid onions in our food, as an admixture of the two in the human system was universally followed, it was said, by fatal results.

29th MAY 1868.

The Governor has sent this morning to say that he intends returning our ceremonial visit to-day. The officials and people about us are all smiles. This is merely a reflection in them of the good will borne towards us by their chief. Several Chinese merchants of the town have called upon us, and appear to be earnest in desiring an end to the present unsatisfactory state of affairs in Yunan. They liken the rude condition of the province to a stagnant lake, which has neither an outlet for its accumulations, nor an inlet for fresh supplies. In the meantime its stores of wealth deteriorate by time, waste, and evaporation. The simile, as coming from them, is significant, and shows that they have rightly comprehended the evils which attach themselves to a country even temporarily cut off from its natural and legitimate trade communications.

The Governor called in state at about mid-day. He was dressed in full mandarin robes, and his followers wore gay uniforms, and carried gold swords, silver spears, and the other insignia of a Governor's office. Presents were also brought as follows:—

1 bullock.
2 sheep.
Trays of fruits and confectionery.
40,000 rupees cash.

I would have gladly rejected the cash, but my objections, though courteously offered, were summarily overruled. The money was distributed amongst our escort and followers, and proved very acceptable at a time when expedition funds were only available for actual necessaries. Each man received cash to the value of about one rupee.

The visit being purely one of ceremony was soon over, but the Governor hinted, on leaving, that for the future he would call upon us without form, and begged that we also would treat him without reserve, and make our visits to Government House as often as we felt inclined.

The Mussulmen of our escort are in great favour with the Panthays. Both affect to be drawn towards each other by the inspiration of a common belief. The Panthays are evidently proud of the recognition which the Mahomedanism of Yunan receives at the hands of unadulterated believers from Hindoostan.

The police jemadar is a true "Syed," and is constantly summoned to officiate as moollah in the Panthay musjid. The Panthays "pump" him under a belief that he will disclose the existence of any sinister designs connected with the expedition, but he remains staunch. The only dangerous man of our party in this respect is, to my idea, our native doctor. He hates us, I believe, with all the fervour and some of the malice of his race and creed. Luckily he is simple and idiotic, and his enmity, if put into speech, is not likely to be impressive.

30th MAY 1868.

The thermometer during the past few days has ranged between 53° and 70°—not a high average for a hot weather month.

My compensated aneroid barometer shows the height of Momein to be 7,000 feet above sea

* This must have been chaff, I fancy, as regards some of the articles; for instance, Edmund Jones & Co.'s 40-rupee double barrel guns!

sea level. We have risen by a succession of lofty terraces from the time we left the valley of the Irrawaddy. Momein itself, by native report, is the highest habited portion of the uneven table-land which divides Western Yunan from the Shan States and Burmah.

In the language spoken at Momein, a traveller from any given direction journeying towards Momein is said to "go up" or "ascend," and in the same way on leaving the city he is said to "descend." It is more than probable that this idea is fallacious, and takes its rise in a natural misconception of comparative altitudes. We shall find, I think, on further research, that the plateau extends, with a varying increase in altitude, throughout the greater portion of Yunan province.

The Governor visited us this morning in a quiet way. He is in plain clothes and has only half-a-dozen attendants with him.

We amuse and interest him by firing off our revolvers and exhibiting a small galvanic battery with other scientific instruments.

In talking about the attack made on our baggage between Nantin and Momein, and the hostile demonstration on the march from Manwyne to Sanda, Tah-sa-kon remarked that he considered our misfortune in this respect to be due to the exaggerated reports that had reached Momein and Talee, and had excited even the cupidity of other adventurous communities, who were supposed to be more scrupulous in their dealings than ordinary dacoits. He was prepared himself to hear the worst accounts of our party had we attempted an advance beyond the Kakhyen hills without due precaution, or until the necessary preparation had been made for safe conduct.

Another great source of danger, as apart from our supposed wealth, lay, he said, in the evil reports which had been circulated by Burmese agents, and which caused those who would otherwise have been friends to hold aloof and regard us with suspicion.

It was on that account that he had determined upon taking the field in person and securing Mauphoo. Severe fighting had taken place on both sides, but success had attended his efforts in opening to us a road as far as his capital.

I could only acknowledge this confession of active co-operation in our cause as a sincere proof of friendship, which would be appreciated and duly acknowledged by every government then interested in prosecuting commercial enterprise with South-Western China.

Tah-sa-kon affirmed, with much earnestness, that not only himself, but that the Panthay Government at Talee, was eager in its desire to enter into commercial relations with Burmah, and through Burmah with Rangoon and the Pegu seaboard. The subject was one of vital importance to the whole of Yunan, and frequent references had already been made to the King of Burmah to co-operate with the Panthay Government in the resuscitation of trade *viâ* Bhamo.

But the Burmese Government was lukewarm, and no steps were ever taken to further the renewal of direct trade communications, although the necessities of their situation forced the Yunanese population into an arduous and expensive alternative of reaching Mandalay with a limited caravan once a year, rather than be excluded altogether from the most valuable of their trade resources. The news of our present expedition had been the more welcome to them because it seemed to afford evidence that the Burmese Government had co-operated with us, and assented to the re-opening of direct communication between Bhamo and Momein. It was this idea which had roused him (Tah-sa-kon) to action and justified the expulsion of Lees-hee-ta-hee from Mauphoo. A commencement had been made by the British Government, and it would be zealously advanced by all the assistance they (the Panthays) could give, as well as by the despatch of a government mission from Talee to Rangoon. This could all be arranged hereafter. He (Tah-sa-kon) had come this morning to take us to an entertainment specially prepared for us at his own residence.

We accordingly adjourned to Government House, and the rest of the day was devoted to festivity and amusement. On our first ceremonial visit the Governor gave me a seat on his left in the body of the room in which he received us. On the present occasion we were asked, as a mark of special attention, to sit with him on a raised dais at the further or most honourable extremity of the audience apartment.

The feast was sumptuous and interminable, but purely Chinese to the tea and even shamshoo. Tah-sa-kon did not drink himself, but he was polite enough to disregard all Mussulman restraints when hospitality was called for towards foreign guests.

An interesting feature in the entertainment was the presence of the dowager Saubwa of Mynetee, who happened to be on a friendly visit at Momein. She was attended by a number of well-dressed Shan ladies, who laughed and chatted in good humour and with true Shan good breeding. I took the opportunity of speaking to the Governor in her presence about the Shan States generally, and their natural capabilities as a source of trade and revenue, &c. I complimented him on the foresight and intelligence with which he had hitherto allowed the Shans to govern themselves, instead of imposing on them chiefs and governors of an alien race with whom there was no community of feelings or interest, and drew a comparison between the Shan States of Yunan and the more southern states dependent on the Burmese Government. In the former case the Shans, under the rule of their own hereditary Saubwas, enjoyed comparative peace and prosperity. In Burmah the hereditary rulers had either been summarily deposed or placed under the governance of Burmese officials. The consequence was, that the states were subject to chronic disturbance, and industry had yielded to indolence and poverty, &c., &c.

During

During the afternoon we adjourned to the theatre, and were entertained for some time by a tragedy in which kings, queens, princes, and princesses took prominent parts. The dresses of the actors were gorgeous and genuine; the music soft and monotonous, with no deafening clatter of cymbals or brass drums, which usually ruin the interest of all Chinese performances.

After the theatricals Tah-sa-kon led us through his private apartments to a garden in the rear, which was very tastefully laid out with dwarfed flowering and fruit trees in great variety. I noticed amongst them peach, plum, fir, box, apple, and orange. The trees were generally from two to four feet in height, and in most instances the dwarfing process had been carried out by tying knots in the stem whilst yet a sapling, or contorting it into horizontal spiral twists, so as to stunt the natural growth and diminish the height.

The zenana occupied a range of pretty neat buildings on two sides of the garden. Our Burmese Assistant Surveyor has appropriately noted them in his plan as *ladies' chambers*.

The walls of Tah-sa-kon's private apartments were covered with Chinese paintings, or hung with old armour. I also noticed an English alarum-clock with a gaudy gilt face. The bed was an honest four-poster, draped with blue silk damask curtains, which were looped up into festoons with silver chains. The dressing room contained several suits of military uniform, amongst which the rosette and pheasant-tail head-dresses of Panthay standard bearers were most conspicuous, &c.

31st May 1868.

Long conversations with Chinese merchants. The conclusion they have come to is that a resuscitation of the old trade route between Yunan and Burmah will alone be effective in restoring order and tranquillity to the province. If old routes and old sources of trade were available, villagers, they say, would gradually gain confidence, and thousands who now depend for a subsistence on predatory pursuits would find employment as labourers, agriculturists, servants, or petty traders.

During the day six noted dacoits have been apprehended, tried, sentenced, and executed. All public executions have a brutalising tendency no doubt, but the Panthay method of carrying out a sentence of death is kind and humane as compared with the cruel savagery of Burman practices. In the latter case the condemned criminals are taken in procession to the burial ground and kept in suspense for hours, whilst a crowd of drunken executioners dance before them with naked swords and intentionally add to the terrors of death by a hideous rehearsal of execution ceremonials: more than once the death dance is stopped, and the executioners rush forward with swords uplifted as if to strike, but when half delivered the stroke is stayed as if by an after-thought, and the blade (I speak as an eye-witness) is quietly stopped on the victim's neck. But the end is not yet. The dance is continued, and the condemned wretch, with feelings at length deadened even to death, has passed through a hundred agonising existences ere real dissolution comes as a reprieve to end the term of earthly torment. With the Panthays punishment is probably not less deterrent in its nature, though marked by a hasty impetuosity in the mode of its infliction. In carrying out a sentence of death a military guard escorts the prisoners to the place of execution. There is no delay, no confession, no formalities beyond the firing of a musket as a signal to the executioners. A proper position having been taken up, each prisoner, still standing, is made to project his head a little, and on doing so the fatal blow is dealt from behind. In nearly every instance one stroke suffices to sever the head from the body. Another musket shot announces the conclusion of the proceedings, and the military guard returns to garrison.

The Panthays are no respecters of race in awarding death penalties. In the present case the victims were four Chinamen, one Shan, and one Panthay.

They were all taken red-handed in crime, and justly punished on account of their offences.

Their bodies exhibited no marks of mutilation or torture. This too formed another contrast to a Burmese execution, when, in most cases, the criminal has been so barbarously subjected to a refinement of cruel appliances, to aid in extorting a confession of his crimes, that, maimed and unable to walk, he is thrown into a cart and borne in agony to the scene of his suffering.

2nd June 1868.

We have been to another entertainment at Government House. On the present occasion the *corps dramatique* seemed to think that a discreet mixture of becoming levity would better accord with our dissolute (?) tastes than the stern amount of tragic display which had greeted us on a first introduction to Momein theatricals.

Herewith my impressions of two performances which we witnessed—tragedy and burlesque.

No. 1.—Tragedy.

"Two famous robber chiefs, who had formerly lived at rivalry amongst themselves and at enmity with the government, were induced to join their forces and aid the state against a foreign invader One of them (Red Face) rose to high command, and worked himself into

into royal favour to an extent which secured him the hand of a fair princess; but, unfortunately for his peace of mind, he possessed a political mother, who had interested herself in state intrigues, hated the princess, and favoured the cause of a rebellious pretender.

"Red Face (against his will, be it said,) is bound in duty, and by an elaborate exhibition of filial devotion, to join a conspiracy against his father-in-law, and to this end it became necessary that there should be a complete severance between himself and the princess. This is embarrassing, for husband and wife are supremely attached, and the manner in which it is arranged that the severance shall be effected, viz., by the death of the princess at the hands of her husband, is a crisis too crude and sensational, perhaps, for even a Chinese stage.

"But all agree that the princess must die, and the husband is urged, by filial affection and the commands of his mother, to act the part of his wife's executioner. There is to be no plotting or other underhand contrivance; all is to be done with gentlemanly deliberation. The husband breaks to his wife the difficulties of the situation, and obtains her consent to die at his hands! There is some real good acting at the last interview between husband and wife, in which love and duty are made to clash with an effective display of seeming emotion.

"The wife is tractable and wonderfully accommodating.

"With a generous fortitude, so true to the stage, she draws her husband's sword from its scabbard, and saves him the pain of becoming her murderer by plunging it deep into her own bosom. The husband gazes, is overcome with grief, and gives vent to loud howls; but somehow or other he suddenly recovers himself, cuts off the head of his deceased wife, and bears it to his mother as an evidence of obedience to maternal commands.

"The incomprehensible portion of the whole (unless we interpret it by that contradictory element in the Chinese character which makes their civilization a mystery to science) is, that the political mother takes up the bleeding head of her victim and joins the husband in what is intended to represent a genuine wail of lamentation and woe. The whole of the *dramatis personæ* now appear on the stage, and the play is abruptly terminated by a beat to arms and a general rush of all parties to join new scenes of political discord."

No. 2.—Comedy.

"The principal characters in this piece are a very old *blasé* king, a young and beautiful queen, and a handsome prince.

"The trio proceed on a hunting excursion with a numerous retinue of royal attendants, and much scenic state pomp. The handsome prince is a prodigy of valour, and his successful encounters with tigers and other wild beasts of the forest make him deservedly famous, and particularly excite the admiration of the queen.

"It soon becomes evident that her attentions to the prince are more than queenly, and subside occasionally into passionate flirtations.

"The prince is backward and exhibits less valour in love than war. The interest of the performance centres at this time (as between king and queen) in the imbecile efforts of the former to conceal his jealousy and restrain her passion. All the old man's utterances and actions are cleverly designed to excite ridicule and expose the vices which grow up out of a matrimonial connectionship between youth and old age. In the meantime, the queen is fertile in resources, and has so far overcome the king's jealousy as to obtain his consent to her accompanying the prince alone on one of his Shikar adventures. The most is made of this sportive opportunity, and on their return to headquarters the lovers present themselves before the king to try and blind his suspicions by a frank admission of each other's good qualities. But the wary old king refuses to be taken in, and exclaims with a genuine sarcasm of fun which tells wonderfully on the audience—'Yes, this is all very nice for you two to be so pleased with each other, but it is precious poor fun for me, I can tell you.' The lovers are subsequently surprised by the old king in the ardent enjoyment of a vigorous flirtation. For a time he looks on in silence, until, overcome at last by a feeling of his wrongs, he rushes into prominence, and there is a stage denouement! Gongs are beaten, cymbals clashed. The play is over, and we profess to have been abundantly amused by so faithful a caricature of royal domesticity."

Tah-sa-kon informed me to-day that he had despatched letters to Talee to inform the government of his having advised us not to proceed further into Yunan during the present unsettled state of the country. Since our arrival, he said, he had received intelligence of several encounters between a portion of the Momein contingent and a Chinese force under the celebrated General Tahboukgyee and Wansengyan at Lonlyne on the direct route between Momein and Yoonchan.

Seeing that I was disappointed, and that our hopes tended in the direction of Talee, the Governor was courteous not to offend by open opposition to our plans, but his repeated mention of difficulties were simply dissuasive, and intended to point out that an advance beyond Momein would be met by armed opposition, and subject the expedition to more than mere ordinary risks. He will not admit that it is not in his power to send an escort with us of sufficient strength to ensure safe conduct, but his argument is, that no escort he could send would be exempt from attack, and that such attack would extend to ourselves and place our party in extreme jeopardy, &c., &c.

I again assured the Governor that I had no intention of quitting Momein without his express approval.

Having

Having already experienced substantial proofs of Panthay sincerity, we felt that his present advice was tendered out of no desire to frustrate our wishes or to nullify the objects of successful exploration, but was necessitated by a just regard to consequences, and a hearty desire to guard against the certainties of conflict, &c. &c.

It is market-day to-day, and the Governor sent a small guard with us to visit the bazaar.

Markets occur at Momein as well as in the principal towns of the Shan States every fifth day, and the crowd is so great on these occasions, and the curiosity to see and to surround Europeans when they present themselves is so irresistible, that without an accompaniment of men in authority who can command a right of way, progress would (for us at least) have been altogether impossible.

At Momein the bazaar is held in a broad street leading in a straight line from the southern gate of the city.

The permanent shops on either side are supplemented by a line (sometimes a double line) of temporary stalls, at which a thriving trade is done in Chinese comestibles and small wares of every kind.

Rice, sweetmeats, cakes, cotton cloths, native yarns of every hue, gilt and coloured papers, salt, tea, tobacco, jaggery, sugar candy, drugs, jewellery, turpentine, amber, books, fans, chopsticks, looking-glasses, pipes, shoes, gold embroidered skull-caps, Indian ink, opium, lamps, walnuts, plums, apples, peaches, celery, potatoes, pork, mutton, beef, &c., &c., with livestock consisting of bullocks, sheep, buffaloes, and pigs, formed a few of the articles exposed for sale on a market-day at Momein. One street or quarter was devoted to the manufacture of copper utensils, another to jade-stone sculpture, a third to ready-made clothing, a fourth to bakers, carpenters, painters, and wood carvers, &c. &c.; but with the exception of the bustle and crowd on market-days, the ordinary everyday appearance of Momein manifests an absence of thrift or settled industry.

Visited a Chinese warehouse at the end of the eastern suburb, in which were stored a large number of bales of cotton belonging to the Hotha Saubwa. A Chinese merchant, to whom the warehouse belonged, invited us inside, and was particularly attentive and hospitable. He told me that he had traded on a large scale with Burmah before the Panthay outbreak. At that time Momein was a large flourishing city, and the villages around centres of population and industry. Years of anarchy and disturbance had not only destroyed its trade, but converted a country teeming with life and prosperity into a wretched scene of desolation and poverty. The old man, who had drawn a more unfavourable picture of affairs than affairs themselves warranted, was led by degrees to admit that there was still "corn in Egypt," and that any effort which could be made to resuscitate trade and give security to communication by a practicable route between Yunan and Burmah would tend to a return of industry and production and restore the province to its former prosperity.

I spoke to him of the short-sighted policy of his countrymen in Burmah, who were under a delusion that success to us meant ruin to them. They have deceived themselves into the belief that, if our expedition proved instrumental in opening out the old trade route *viâ* Bhamo, their interests would suffer by being brought into competition with English enterprise and English merchants. On the contrary, I had expressed to them my opinion that the present object of their anxieties would turn out to them a source of advancement; for English merchants would in the first place be under the necessity of selecting native agents from amongst themselves (the Chinamen), and entrusting their consignments to middlemen, who would thus be more advantageously employed in large undertakings and derive a greater emolument thereby than if engaged, as at present, in the miserable contrivances of a precarious subsistence.

The old man smiled a smile of significance, and said he was aware of all the troubles which had been thrown in our way in opening a route between Bhamo and Momein. He sympathised in our undertaking and felt that now was the time to make an effort to save this country from the still greater calamities which threatened it, unless some special power or providence interfered to stay a forshadowed ruin. Left to itself the country must lapse from bad to worse, and finally be left without either government or subjects.

The old Chinaman promised to see me again and give me his ideas as to the most feasible plan of regenerating trade between Burmah and Yunan.

3rd JUNE 1868.

The water-fall on the Tahaw at Momein is worthy of notice. The whole water of the river falls perpendicularly a hundred feet at one drop, or without a single interruption. It then rushes along in a succession of rapids until it reaches the level of the Nantin valley. The river, that is to say its water surface, at this season does not exceed a hundred feet in breadth, and the discharge of water is not very great, but the crag over which the water-fall descends has been boldly scraped into the usual crescent form, and presents on every side a luxuriant growth of ferns, docks, and bramble. Nothing can be more strikingly picturesque or beautiful in landscape scenery than the waterfall and its accompaniments as seen from a southerly position on a level with the fall. In the immediate foreground is the river spanned at a short distance above the fall by a Chinese double-arched stone bridge with characteristic roofed approaches and stone parapet. The turreted walls of Momein are seen in prominent relief above temples and suburb, and the background is filled in by lofty hill ranges which commence immediately behind the city and are con-

tinued in successive variety till lost in distance. Oh! for a camera and a 12 × 10 plate with all its belongings.

After visiting the waterfall we commenced the ascent of Pagoda hill and passed through fields of potato and celery. The potato would appear to be an indigenous species, for it is difficult to conceive its introduction into Yunan or the Kakhyen hills (where it grows abundantly) from a European stock. The tubers are generally round and covered with an outer pellicle which is invariably pink.

The entire slope of the hill forms one vast burial ground, covered to the extent of fifty acres at least with substantial tombs or sepulchres of stone, of oblong tumulus form, from four to eight feet in height and about six or eight feet in length. The front or head of the tomb is arched and contains one or more gothic niches which have the appearance of being mere portals to the sepulchre, and are closed with marble slabs bearing an *in memoriam* inscription to the deceased. Some of the sepulchres are twin-like in design, and proclaim themselves to be family vaults in which husband and wife, or parent and child, have found a final resting place. At the same time, there is a general resemblance in the architectural construction of all these tombs as tombs, although a poorer class of *tumuli* are met with, which consist of simple mounds of earth or loose stones, much like our own graves in shape, but raised at one end with an arched hollow niche or opening, which is invariably blocked up by a rough unhewn boulder, and is singularly suggestive of Jewish sepulture of the New Testament period.

Of them it may literally be said that a stone has been rolled to the mouth of the sepulchre!

On all sides there is a profuse growth of brambles which produce blackberries as well as varieties of red and yellow raspberries. The wild rose too is in bloom everywhere, and in these parts the flower is double, with an abundance of petals. The seed when ripe is picked and sold abundantly in the bazaars as a fruit.

4th JUNE 1868.

The Governor has called again to-day, and is particularly kind and sociable in his manner. He refers to the presents which have been sent on to Talee, and says that a suitable return will be made to the English Government. In the meantime he is anxious to present us with some slight memento of his friendship, and asks us to name our particular fancies. I particularly begged that the Governor would not trouble himself with the consideration of making any return for the presents which he had brought to Momein. They were as he well knew, trifling both in extent and value, although it was a source of gratification to us to know that the scarcity of most of the articles at Momein had enhanced their acceptability. The English Government did not expect any return, and would be amply satisfied with the knowledge that the expedition had been well received by the Panthay Government, and had enjoyed the support and friendship of the chief of Momein.

Tah-sa-kon felt sure that the Government at Talee would insist on making a return for the presents it had received. The matter had already been discussed before my own arrival, and it was generally determined that a deputation should proceed to Rangoon, and carry presents to the British Government.

The Governor now unfastened a small gold dagger which hung suspended by a gold chain from his waist and handed it to me, saying that I was to keep and wear it as a memento of his friendship. At the same time he took off a jade-stone and four gold guard-rings which he was wearing, and insisted on placing them all (five rings) on the third finger of my left hand in exactly the same sequence as regarded the position of the rings as he had been accustomed to observe in wearing them himself. I felt infinite pleasure in the acceptance of these gifts, not on account of their intrinsic value, but because they were given with a chivalry of manner and purpose which, coming from a man of Tah-sa-kon's eminence, and in the presence, too, of several of his chief officers, was a convincing mark, not only of real personal esteem, but of honourable and consummate attention.

The Governor remained to breakfast, after which he walked out with us through the city and paid visits at the houses of some of his chief officers. We are in high favour everywhere.

5th JUNE 1868.

The dowager, Saubwa-gadaw, of Mynetee, has called to-day, and is accompanied by a very picturesque and attractive suite of Shan ladies, who are wonderfully well behaved, but at the same time sufficiently easy and communicative in manner to make them very agreeable though rather distant companions. Even the ugly pyramidal turban is not unbecoming when set off by faces of delicate softness and pleasing, if not beautiful, delineation.

The old lady apologises for the scantiness of her presents but invites us on our return from Momein to stay a few days with her at the head-quarters of her Saubwaship at Mynetee.

I gave her a few suitable presents, and then distributed needles, thread, scissors, and small looking-glasses amongst her maiden attendants, which took amazingly, and won their affection. But we are on our good behaviour: any undue levity would be a shock to the high state of morality which Shan ladies of an interesting age attain to instinctively

in

in their domestic relations with the other sex. They, nevertheless, unbend to us very considerably under the effects of scissors; and afford proofs that, as a race, they are free from prejudice and can readily consort with foreign civilization.

Another long conversation with the head Chinese merchants.

6th JUNE 1868.

Private interview with Tah-sa-kon at his own residence. Having full reliance on the Governor's friendship towards us, my object was to try and obtain from him personally an expression of his opinion on the state of Yunan, with reference, more especially, to the political character and stability of the Panthay Government.

Hitherto our knowledge of the province had been confined to rumours of incessant hostility between the Panthays and Chinese.

Panthays were declared to be rebels, although they had established themselves as a government for fourteen years.

How far was that government recognized by the Government at Pekin?

Was the present contest kept up by the mutual desire of the contending parties, or was its continuance due to the want of mediation and proper understanding?

Were the Panthays eager to achieve fresh conquests, or would they be content to settle down and give good government to the possessions they had already acquired?

We were interested, I said, in these questions, because the disturbed state of Yunan had affected British possessions and British trade in Burmah. The British Government was represented by an ambassador at the court of Pekin. Could his influence be utilized in any way to bring about a reconciliation of interests between the Imperial Government at Pekin and the Mahomedan Government at Talee?

These were the questions which I was enabled, in my private conversations with the Governor, to put to him in a way which was not only not thought obtrusive, but which secured an expression of opinion that my anxiety to learn the true state of their affairs did not evince any traces of sinister design, or of a wish to oppose Mahomedan advancement in a province which belonged to them by right of conquest.

Tah-sa-kon said he was glad that I had introduced the subject. There was no doubt in his own mind that both the Chinese and Panthay Governments were tired of disputing the possession of Yunan. There were faults on both sides, but the Panthays no longer manifested or supported an aggressive policy against China. The blame (if it was one) of keeping up the contest rested with the Governor of Yunan* (city), who, instead of making any serious attempt to recover lost territory, sent parties of marauders to harass and molest Panthay possessions. This led to retaliation and fresh conflict, in which the Panthays were compelled in self defence to act on the offensive, and to extend their territory without any definite design either of conquest or aggression. He would communicate all I had said to head quarters at Talee and inform me of results. In the event of my having left Momein before replies were received, he would write to me in full, and, for this purpose, begged that I would make over to him a private seal which he would impress on his letters to assure me they were genuine. In like manner, he promised to give me his own official seal to be used in my communications with him as a check upon fraud, &c., &c., &c.

At a late hour the same evening my Chinese interpreter came towards me almost stealthily, and made known in an undertone that a very important visitor was outside and wished to speak to me.

Explanation followed, and I discovered that the visitor or visitors turned out to be a deputation from the celebrated Chinese robber chief Leoqwanfan, who professed an anxiety to make our friendship and provide us with an escort on our further travels.

A pony had been sent for my acceptance as a preliminary to further friendly recognition. My duty was clear, though the position generally could not fail to be a little embarrassing. Politically we were guests of the Panthay Governor of Momein without any evidence of having espoused his cause or the cause of the Mahomedan Government in Yunan. At the same time, the British Government were bound to China by a treaty of friendship and commerce; but in the interests of trade, and under a very laudable desire of ascertaining the cause of, and providing a remedy against, a perpetual cessation of commercial relations between Yunan and Burmah, the members of the expedition were, of necessity, led in their exploration to avail themselves of the assistance and hospitality of the Government which was in open conflict with their avowed treaty friends, the Chinese. That Government, though raised out of rebellion, had established itself as a Government for more than 12 years in a province which had originally belonged to China, so that the appellation of *rebels* could no longer be consistently applied to it by Governments, however much such a term may have been jealously insisted upon by the Chinese Imperial Government at Pekin. To all intents and purposes we were neutrals, and in a civilised state the realities of our position would have at once been understood and recognized; but the niceties of European international law cannot be expected to influence the actions or feelings of native combatants in a frontier province of the Chinese empire.

The point of neutrality was, therefore, one which, though it might have been urged in sincerity, would have created suspicion, and might have proved dangerous, if relied on as a means

* Called also Mynesee.

a means of securing the hospitality or seeking the aid alternately of either of the contending parties.

On these grounds I refused to receive the Chinese deputation, or to accept the presents sent me, whilst under the lawful protection of the Governor of Momein. I was glad, I said, to hear that the Chinese General, Leoqwanfan, was well disposed towards us, as we had come into Yunan with the earnest desire of securing the friendship of all parties, however adverse amongst themselves, and of aiding, if possible, in the adjustment of their disputes. It was on this account in particular that I was now debarred from adopting a secret or underhand course of action, which would belie my neutral character and compromise all honest efforts for good. At the same time, I said, I was quite willing to treat and confer with Leoqwanfan or the members of his deputation, provided I could do so openly, and with the knowledge and consent of the Government at Momein.

The next day (I am now anticipating and abridging my diary) I was informed that the Governor had been made aware of the arrival of Leoqwanfan's deputation at Momein, and did not oppose it or apprehend its members, because he believed that Leoqwanfan had taken advantage of the opportunity afforded by our arrival to enter into a negotiation and give in his adhesion to the Panthay Government.

This was what actually did take place. Leoqwanfan at this time put himself into correspondence with the Governor of Momein, and a document was drawn up and agreed to, in which Leoqwanfan stipulated for the privilege of establishing a duty station at a place called Shatgan, guaranteeing in return that Panthay possessions in Yunan should not be molested either by himself or by any of the force then under his command.

This may be received as a proof, perhaps, that Leoqwanfan did not in reality hold a commission under the Chinese Government; otherwise it is inconceivable that he should have stipulated for the possession of a single duty station under the Panthay Government of Momein. Or, taking the converse of the question, if, as certain parties hold, Leoqwanfan was commissioned by the Chinese Government, his negotiations with the Governor of Momein for employment at Shatgan may be assumed to imply that the Imperial Government of China had recognised another power in Yunan, and was ready to treat with it as an established government.

But to continue the words of my diary of 7th June, our mission to Yunan, unpretending as it has been, and void of those outward semblances of splendour or power which are an essential qualification in the composition of every political mission (we are not political, by-the-bye) to an eastern court, has nevertheless already tended in no small degree to effect the pacification of a large portion of the old trade route between Burmah and China.

1. Thoung-wet-shein, a Chinese brigand chief, of great power and note, has been defeated and captured at his stronghold of Mauton, on the route between Nantin and Momein. He has now transferred his allegiance to the Panthay Government, and was one of the hosts who entertained us at Nantin.

2. Lees-hee-ta-hee has been driven from Mauphoo, and is now a fugitive.

3. Leoqwanfan, the most powerful of the seven robber chiefs of the old trade route, has volunteered his submission to the Panthay Government, and entered into a guarantee that he will not disturb Panthay possessions in any portion of Yunan province.

Thus, no chief of note is left to obstruct the roads south and west of Momein. I do not mean by this that the country has been suddenly reduced to order, or that dacoities and disturbances may not occur under the happiest conditions of society or government, but accidents of this kind have been reduced, I consider, from certainties to contingencies, which must gradually succumb to ordinary efforts.

It is not too much to say that the present expedition, in thus indirectly ridding the country of three of its most eminent and dreaded freebooters, has performed a work which is of special importance in estimating the value of present attempts, and affording a reliable incentive to still further efforts.

9th JUNE 1868.

THE Governor has visited us again to-day. I hint complainingly at our protracted stay and the compunctions we feel at trespassing so long on his generous hospitality.

Tah-sa-kon will not hear of our departure, and gives me to understand that the matter of hospitality is his affair, and that he will give us an opportunity of repaying it when the mission from Talee visits Rangoon. He is aware that our life at Momein is not a very cheerful one, but it distresses him, nevertheless, to think that we are in such a hurry to leave. Are we so soon tired of his friendship? He begs we will try and make ourselves at home for a few days longer. If it is our wish to visit any part of the country adjacent to Momein, he will send an armed escort to guide and protect us from all harm.

The real cause of the Governor's wish to delay our departure from Momein is, that he expects replies from Talee to his letters announcing our arrival at Momein. The Governor, too, is busy in making up suits of clothing as presents to our police escort and followers, and his tailors are evidently not fast workmen. It is further alleged that the Governor feels a little proud and elated at the idea of having a British expedition at his head quarters, and our presence lends a sort of prestige and security to his governorship. All these causes operate more or less to cause our detention. Provisions are cheap, and

our

our average expenditure or cost to the Governor does not probably exceed 30 rupees per diem. The great drawback to ourselves is, that we are ill supplied with cash, and although I have enough to pay our way back to Bhamo, there is nothing to spare in indulgences or in the purchase of much that would be interesting on our return.

To attempt to raise the wind here by a loan or by drafts on Mandalay would be lowering to our position, and we, therefore, find it prudent to husband our rupees as well as our dignity, &c., &c.

15th JUNE 1868.

It has rained most persistently since the 4th instant. The downpoor at any one time has never been great, but there is a continued misty drizzle which damps everything, and is suggestive mentally and physically of an existence in clouds.

A walk on the city ramparts is, however, practicable at all seasons. The wall* is a work of prodigious labour. Many of the granite slabs with which it is faced are four feet in length and one foot in depth. The turrets are built of burnt blue bricks, which are so hard and perfect in construction, that the wear and tear of three centuries has not availed to roughen their surface, or blunt their keen sharp edge. There are no bastions, but small towers rise at intervals on the ramparts within the wall instead of projecting from it, and the gateways are surmounted by large handsome buildings, which are used as guard houses.

After attempting with no great success to probe my interpreter and his Panthay companions into an intelligible relation of Momein chronicles, I was led by degrees, whilst facing its battlements and musing on the past, to attempt a speculative flight into the haze of the future. We are now in the clouds, and may indulge in a reverie.

Seven thousand feet above sea level, an elevated expanse of tableland diversified by lofty hills and rich fertile valleys, with the climate and produce of temperate regions!

18th JUNE 1868.

The Shan Saubwa of Keeinkhan is here on a visit. His Saubwaship lays some five days' journey south-east of Yoonchan, between the Salween and Cambodia rivers. This is his own definition of geography, the vagueness of which is hardly relieved by the further fact that the well known entrepôt of Kyaing-yoon-gyee is described as being 20 days' journey south of Keeinkhan.

Keeinkhan itself is subject to the Panthay Government, and the Saubwa's definition of localities serves, in some respects, to show the extent of Panthay conquests, which we thus find to extend themselves to the southernmost limits of Yunan.

The Saubwa of Keeinkhan has heard nothing of the French exploring party from Saigon, but there is a report at Momein that seven Europeans have been seen measuring roads and cities on the eastern frontier of Yunan, some 10 days' journey east of Talee. This looks as if the French party has been making its way direct to Yunan (city) and avoiding Panthay possessions altogether.

There is a further report in circulation to the effect that the Panthays have made themselves masters of several of the towns to the eastward of Yunan (city). Tah-sa-kon confirms this report, and says that he believes that Yunan is at present in the possession of the Panthays. This is the report, but he will not rely upon it without official confirmation. The capture of Yunan will not have the effect of removing the Panthay capital from Talee, which is said to contain a strong citadel within the city, and is otherwise more favourably situated, as regards supplies and the requirements of a military position, than any other city within the province.

I have been fortunate enough to procure separate histories of Yunan, Talee, and Momein; those of Yunan and Talee are illustrated with maps and plans of the principal cities and their neighbourhood. Each history is contained in 10 printed volumes, and it will be a work of interest and labour to get them translated and reduced to an intelligible proportion. They may possibly throw some light on the alleged facts, as stated at Momein, that Talee was at no remote period a separate kingdom, peopled by an extinct race, whose language and customs bore no affinity to any of the Chinese races now extant in Yunan.

It was with great difficulty I procured copies of these histories; the parties who supplied them acted with a certain amount of secrecy, and cautioned me to conceal their possession as long as I remained within Chinese limits. The instinct of conservatism was strong enough in this instance even at Momein (and under Panthay rule) to deprecate and view as a crime the diffusion of political statistics to the people of a foreign Government.

19th JUNE 1868.

The Governor has sent his nephew with several officers and an armed escort to join us in a day's ramble into the interior. A guard had become a necessity owing to the unsettled state of the country and the numbers of half starved vagabonds who have been forced into brigandage as the only means left them of securing subsistence. The chances of

* For dimensions and particulars, *vide* plan.

of an adventure with any of these lurchers are always imminent, and can only be avoided by a due regard to offensive and defensive preparations.

Our party mustered, something like 35 men of all arms (swords, spears, and muskets), and taking a southerly direction from the city, we soon came in sight of the town of Yaylow, which stretches out for a mile and a half along the base of the Deebay or eastern range of the Momein valley. Proceeding westerly we skirted Pagoda hill and arrived at the old town of Shwedway, so called on account of its vicinity to a small current of water which was utilised as a source of power in supplying force to a mechanical contrivance for pounding paddy. Water-wheels of various construction are frequently met with on all the streams in the vicinity of Momein. The town is almost deserted, but the remains of masonry buildings and substantial stone terraces or causeways are proofs of former wealth and comparative prosperity.

We next visited a range of very interesting Chinese temples, which had been built into the side of an old quarry or ravine, partially excavated and scarped so as to allow the buildings to rise rather obliquely one above the other by a gradation of terraces. The images and interior decorations had escaped destruction, and were apparently in all their pristine exaggeration. A centre-piece of statuary in pure white marble represented a life-size image of the goddess of Conception. The face may have been a little out of proportion to suit Chinese tastes, but a perfect acquaintanceship with true art was manifested in the natural folds of the drapery, which had been chiselled into form with all the flowing elegance of reality. The goddess holds forward in prominent relief a naked male babe of wonderful parts and exceeding virility. Religion has been thus prostituted, perhaps, to a rather fanciful mode of administering relief to human shortcomings. There must be something comforting, however, in the belief which causes thousands of women who, being disappointed in the object of their legitimate amours, seek, if happily, to find an imaginary remedy for mortal infirmities.

Opposite to Shwedway, on the northern slope of an adjacent hill, is the large Chinese town of Hawshoënshan, which contains about 2,000 houses, and is the rallying point to which a certain number of fugitives have resorted from the desolated villages of Shangnan Tahinshan, &c. &c. Our guide pointed out an open grassy plain on the southern outskirts of the town, which only a few months before, he said, had been strewn with the dead bodies of Chinese insurgents. The people of Hawshoenshan had temporarily thrown off their allegiance to the Panthays, and joined the ranks of the Chinese general Leoqwanfan. They were attacked and defeated by a Panthay force, and the plain we were then riding over was at once their battle field and graveyard. The slaughter which took place was cruel and excessive, but proportioned only to the system of retaliatory warfare, or to a struggle for independence on the one side, and extermination on the other. We return to our quarters before sunset, as pleased as it was possible to be with an excursion which passed off without accident, and failed even to bring us into conflict with Momein brigands.

22nd JUNE 1868.

'Masa Tahzyungyee, the chief military officer at Momein, but subordinate to the Governor (who is both Governor and Commander in Chief), has called to invite us to an entertainment, specially prepared for us at his own residence. It would be difficult in any society to pick out a man of more polished habits or cultivated taste in his domestic arrangements than this soldier of fortune in the Panthay army.

The feast at his house commenced with a dessert of plums, peaches, sugar-candy, and sweet toddy. Next several courses of roast, boiled, and curried meats, with rice and vegetables, wine, shamshoo, &c.

Tahzyungyee joined us at the final course, and a large jug of hot grog was brought to the front and set down before him. He filled a large goblet and handed it to me. One mouthful sufficed to take away my breath and leave an after-taste of alchohol and pork fat. The goblet was passed round several times, Tahzyungyee joined us in turn, taking his liquor like a man and a Mussulman. I was glad to see that he was less of a Wahabee in this respect than many of his confrères in Chinese Mahomedanism. At the same time, he is a man of note in the Panthay Government, and acted as general in chief of the Panthay force which made an irruption some five years ago into the northern Shan States and brought them under Panthay rule.

His household arrangements are elegant and in good taste. The reception hall was hung with Chinese paintings. The panelling of the walls and ceiling, the window frames and some of the beams of the roof, and wall plates were beautifully carved, so as to represent landscape scenes with trees, bridges, and even running water. This apartment led into a garden which was intended to be perfection of its kind, and was evidently nurtured with special care, but with the negative merit of stunting rather than of promoting growth. The walled inclosure was painted with Chinese frescoes of exaggerated design. Lofty crimson hollyhocks in full bloom grew in line at the garden entrance. The whole of the trees within this line had been artificially dwarfed into a comparative diminutiveness which made them mere marvels of nature and of man's ingenuity.

Tahzyungyee is young, and his antecedents and intelligence point him out as a man who is still destined to take a leading part in the future Mahomedan Government in Yunan.

This friendship for us over the punch-bowl had reached a climax when it led to an admission that he considered us so nearly allied to himself in race and social position, that he would

would be proud of adopting us into his family, and bestowing upon us his daughters in marriage.

This probably was the extreme of Panthay courtesy and good breeding, and represented a figurative style of speech which meant nothing. It was a critical moment, however, for any amongst our party who might have objected to being hurried *nolens volens* into a matrimonial engagement. The difficulty was soon at an end: instead of wives we were each presented with jade-stone rings and white camelias.

Moung Shwè Yah, my interpreter, told me in a whisper that our jovial host was a man of amorous propensities, and that it was his practice to drink every evening at bed-time a decoction of Sambur's horn mellowed down with honey and spirits, a medicine in great esteem in China on account of its invigorating and stimulant properties.

It struck me this might be the stimulant we were then imbibing, though nothing was said as to the additional item of pork fat; but when afterwards I mentioned my suspicions to Anderson, he assured me that he had taken a sly look into the jug, and amongst the sediment had discovered certain *débris* which bore unmistakeable resemblance to pieces of hog-skin with the bristles still adhering to them.

But the evil effects of Sambur's horn and the debauchery to which it is said to give rise, were disclosed by-and-bye, in the fact that two of Tahzyungyee's wives and three other females in the family were declared to be barren. Anderson was called upon professionally to prescribe. The inconsiderate males believed that an English physician possessed remedies which acted as a charm against barrenness or imbecility, without requiring that the patients, male or female, should themselves be subjected to professional examination. This we said was absurd. The women must show. After some little hesitation two of the supposed sterile females were persuaded into making their appearance at a screened doorway. Both were fine, healthy-looking women, but one in particular was strikingly well made, and a living development of all that seemed requisite to falsify the idea of conjugal disqualification.

It would have been a mockery to subject either women to inquiry or treatment. Anderson as much as said so, and asked for the husbands.

This was awkward. The ladies retired, and for some little time we were made to feel that a doubt had been thrown upon the practical efficacy of English medical science.

It was satisfactory, however, to find, after some little delay, that Anderson's suspicions had been rightly conceived and were duly appreciated.

Shortly before we left, a miserable-looking individual of the *genus homo* was presented to us in the last stage of imbecility, and a direct request made for medicine to cure, in the male, an affliction which had been already ascribed with palpable obliquity to the innocent female. *This* man was the husband of "living development" above referred to, and I would not have given him a place in my diary were it not that, apart from the illustration afforded of the practical working of Sumbur-horn mixture on the Panthay constitution, a light is thrown on the alleged sterility of Chinese ladies, which practically absolves them from a suspicion of infirmities, but leaves the cause of false accusation as confusing and inexplicable a mystery as ever.

24th JUNE 1868.

A Chinese festival is being celebrated to-day in honour of Ceres, or some other divinity which presides over agriculture and the fructification of trees and plants. The offerings at the several shrines consist wholly of fruits or flowers. Food is distributed to the poor, and trees are planted in the sure and steadfast hope they will live and multiply. Chinese theology or mythology is a mystery. The temple we inhabit is sacred to the memory of 10 learned doctors of medicine, who have been deified in virtue of their proficiency in the healing art. The idea seems to be that they either transmit their powers to those in the trade who seek their assistance, or that virtue passes out of them in their deified state, and is efficacious in healing the afflicted who resort to their shrine in contrite spirit *and with an abundance of offerings!*

Chinese priests in these parts appear to be mere temple scavengers, and take the place of Phyah Gyoons (slaves of the temple) at Budhist shrines in Burmah. They have a small dwelling within the precincts of the temple, clear away accumulations of dirt, renew the incense pots, and lead lives of piety and celibacy. Beyond this they do not seem to preside at religious ceremonies or take any part in expounding the Scriptures. These remarks are limited, perhaps, in their application to Momein only, or to those portions of Yunan where Mahomedan influences have been at work in demolishing idols and degrading the priesthood of an "infidel" worship.

It is evident that in the struggle which has been carried on for supremacy in Yunan there has been a decided tendency to indulge religious antipathies by a wanton desecration of places of public worship. On visiting the Panthay musjid at this place a few days ago, I found it established in an ordinary Chinese building, with no pretensions whatever to Mahomedan architecture or decoration. On expressing surprise I was told that formerly Momein contained a magnificent mosque, built in orthodox style, and fitted up with all suitable appurtenances and ornament. It had been burnt down in revenge by a Chinese rabble at the outbreak of the Mahomedan rising in Yunan.

The Panthays have retaliated without reserve by carrying destruction into every Chinese temple within their power. In this respect the war is one of religious extermination, and Panthay instincts are singularly intolerant, in spite of an affiliation with China, which is said to extend over 1,000 years.

By dint of repeated inquiry, I have been enabled to procure a few short extracts from a manuscript in Chinese, which professes to account for the origin of Mahomedanism in China. The record is very meagre, and has suffered no doubt by translation into Burmese, but it is confirmatory in a great measure of the contents of a paper read by General Fytche at a meeting of the Asiatic Society in December 1867. (I have translated it into English, and placed it amongst the Appendices.)

26th JUNE 1868.

Tahzyungyee has called to say that he is about to start at the head of 2,000 men against a large Chinese force which threatens the Panthay town of Kayto, about 30 miles in a north-westerly direction from Momein. He is afraid that we may have left before his return, and has therefore come to say "*good bye.*" I have given him a double-barrel rifle, and we may calculate on life-long friendship.

30th JUNE 1868.

The Governor has been very unwell for some few days past, but I have had a long private interview with him to-day, at which he disclosed information of much interest and importance relating to the present state of affairs in Yunan.

In the first place, letters have been received from Talee, in which the Panthay King professes to have been well pleased with the news of our arrival at Momein, and had promised to forward presents in return for those which we had made to the Governor, and which had duly arrived at Talee.

He had concluded against the advisability of continuing our present exploration into Yunan, but gave us notice, through the Governor, of his intention to dispatch a mission to Rangoon, and apprise us moreover by letter of the earliest season when the state of the country would allow a British expedition to reach Talee in safety to itself and with credit to his Government.

Tah-sa-kon further informs me that authentic intelligence has arrived of the capture of Yunan, and of its present occupation by a Panthay force.

The official letter giving details of the capture was brought and read in my presence, and proclamations in large type have been posted up upon the city walls as an official announcement of Panthay successes.

30th JUNE 1868.

A remaining item of intelligence relates to the French exploring party from Saigon. Tah-sa-kon states that the party came into collision with certain hostile tribes in the vicinity of Kyaing-yoon-gyee, and suffered severe losses. Some of their number are said to have perished. The remnant arrived in wretched plight at a place called Thela, where they were well received, and supplied with food and clothing. At that time they were in a state of complete prostration and absolute want.

The Governor regarded this information as correct and reliable in all its details. It had come to him direct, he said, from a Panthay relative who resided at Thela, and who had purchased some of the arms and other property which had belonged to the French party previous to the disaster.

It seemed to me extremely probable that the French party may have met with serious difficulties somewhere, as more than a year had elapsed since it was last heard of on the north-eastern confines of Burmah, in the Kyaingtoung Saubwaship, which closely adjoins Kyaing-yoon-gyee. I was loth, however, to give full credence to the Governor's information, and gladly persuaded myself that it may have been based on exaggerations.

More startling information as regards our own expedition is conveyed in the fact that a Burmese private mission, with presents from the King of Burmah, has been dispatched from Mandalay direct *viâ* Thinee to Yunan, and it is at present at a place called Sheedin, on the high road between Yoonchan and Talee.

I never felt myself in a more critical and awkward position than when Tah-sa-kon informed me of this mission, and asked how it was that it had been dispatched without my knowledge. Letters, he said, had reached him from the party at Sheedin, but the presents, which were being conveyed on 20 mules, and consisted principally of raw cotton, could not be forwarded on account of the unsafe state of the roads between Sheedin and Momein.

My awkwardness arose out of the false position which I must have appeared to hold in the estimation of the Governor, who had been hitherto made to believe that the British expedition had set out on its travels under the express patronage of the King of Burmah.

In spite of the opposition of Burmese officials, and although I knew that much of this opposition had been practically disclosed to the Governor himself, it had nevertheless been my policy to avow that the King of Burmah was still our friend, and that the difficulties we had been made to encounter originated with petty officials, who were thereby serving their own private interests as opposed to the interests of the state and government.

It was impossible any longer to continue this belief in what had now resolved itself into a palpable illusion. It became painfully evident, as soon as *my* turn came for making inquiries and seeking explanation, that the Burmese letters from Sheedin had put the Governor into possession of information which he would not disclose, and which, for a time at least, gave him the whip-hand of me, so to speak, and produced on my part an awkward amount of reserve and confusion.

But

But Tah-sa-kon was too much of a gentleman to take advantage of his position, or to evince, by any outward manifestation, that his confidence or friendship had been in any way affected.

Still, a thousand viss of cotton coming in so insidious and insinuating a form from a monarch so powerful as the King of Burmah was a sore temptation to any Governor, and I could hardly repress either anger or humiliation at the idea that the design of the present had been studiously contrived in seeming antagonism to the British expedition.

I was further reduced to the very unpleasant and dishonourable position (in *appearances* only, be it remembered) of a political impostor, who had already defied the Burmese Government, and thrust himself forward at all risks to sow dissension and plan the future conquest of Yunan.

Had Tah-sa-kon not been a man of sound sense and ready discernment, and provided also our expedition had been in any degree offensive to the Panthay Government, the secret mission from Mandalay might have proved still more embarrassing, and placed us individually in a position of extreme degradation and positive danger.

Our departure homewards from Momein is said now to be dependent on a break in the weather. At present rivers and rivulets are filled to overflowing, and are more or less impassable.

The Governor reports fresh disturbances on the Kakhyen hills, and the Hotha Saubwa, instead of waiting to escort us on the return march to Bhamo, has proceeded in haste to his own domains to guard against an extension of disturbances in the direction of Hotha.

This is in reality only another pretext for our detention at Momein. Tah-sa-kon wants time to complete certain articles of dress which his tailors are hard at work in making up for our party. He is also in expectation of further advices from Talee regarding us, and desires that the work of the mission, as far as he is concerned, shall be made as complete as possible before he agrees to our final departure.

6th JULY 1868.

Tahzyungyee, who left this on 28th ultimo with a force of 2,000 men, has come upon the Chinese rebels at Kayto. Momein is in a state of greedy excitement to-day to learn the particulars of the late encounter. One thing is certain, the Panthays have succeeded in securing 300 ears, that is to say, 300 of the enemy have bitten the dust, and their left ears have been sliced off and sent into head-quarters, as proof of the number killed. Bare despatches are not believed in; nevertheless they have been received this morning from Tahzyungyee, and read aloud in public at Government House. The general admits that his loss even amounted to 40 in killed alone. This proves that there has been hard fighting.

Tah-sa-kon has sent to tell me that he has received further despatches from Talee. Presents have been forwarded for us from that place, but are detained at Sheedin, a large town half way between Momein and Talee.

The Burmese mission from Mandalay is also at the same place, and can neither advance nor recede. It is not known whether the mission is to go on to Talee, but Tah-sa-kon says that they will not be allowed to advance beyond Sheedin until they have first visited Momein. This latter alternative is out of the question for some time to come, on account of the disturbed state of the roads.

As an instance of the present insecurity, Tah-sa-kon mentions that out of three messengers who carried his despatches from Sheedin, two were waylaid and killed. The third escaped, and has arrived in safety at Momein, but with a portion only of the Talee despatches.

Hardly the sort of country for exploration in its present state by a peaceable body of European travellers!

Had the Panthay Government really borne us ill-will, or desired our discomfiture, nothing was easier for it than to have committed the expedition to a further prosecution of its travels, and thus have secured its certain destruction. On the contrary, its policy towards us from first to last has been dictated by a friendly regard for present interests, and a prudent desire to provide against contingencies which might destroy, in their results, all hope of profitable relations with the British Government.

7th JULY 1868.

Tah-sa-kon has called to say that letters have been dispatched by him to the chiefs of Nantin, Mynela, Sanda, and Hotha to make preparations for our return journey to Bhamo. He promises to send a Panthay armed escort of 300 men with us as far as Mynela. If the presents from Talee now at Sheedin do not arrive before our departure, they shall be forwarded with the Panthay embassy, which will proceed to Rangoon at the commencement of the next cool season.

Tah-sa-kon says that six or eight months at least must have elapsed since the disaster which befel the French exploring party in the southern districts of Yunan. He maintains, in spite of our incredulity, that some of the party were killed, and that their arms, baggage, and equipage of every kind were abandoned.

I say that he has given too ready credence to exaggerated reports, but he only smiles and affirms more doggedly than ever that his information is correct in all material respects. I probe him as far as I am able as to names of places and dates, but in these matters he is at a loss, and his ideas of geography are vague and illimitable. I do not dare to press matters

further, or commit what would seem to be a breach of courtesy, by discrediting statements which the Governor is so earnest in affirming to be true, and to be based on sound and reliable information.

Tah-sa-kon makes mention of another party of 200 foreigners, called by him *Lawmike*, who he says were sent by the Chinese Government to assist in making war against the Panthays. The party was under the leadership of a foreigner who had been honoured by the Chinese emperor with the title of *Mike-Tah-See-Dun*, the first syllable being his own name, and the latter three his Chinese title. The party is said to have come from the direction of Canton, and to have been actually engaged against the Panthays in the vicinity of Yunan. The report is, that they were defeated and nearly all killed.

Who can these rowdies be? Tah-sa-kon says they are neither French nor English. This is said out of courtesy to us, for it is hardly conceivable in his present state of enlightenment that he should be able to draw a distinction between European races. He believes in the extermination of the party, and I am fain to admit that it has been deservedly punished for gratuitous interference with Panthay possessions.

The Governor has sent to invite me to a final conference to-morrow. After the conference we are to partake of a farewell dinner. I am warned to be in readiness to move any day after to-morrow. No exact time will be fixed. The object is to get us off quickly, and give no opportunity to dacoits or other evilly-disposed parties to conspire for mischief, or waylay our route.

Stone celts are procurable in almost any quantity at Momein. They vary in size, but are of uniform shape. The Chinese regard them with the same veneration as Burmans, and believe that they have been hurled from the sky in their present shape as thunderbolts. To support this idea they say that the celts are frequently found embedded in the trunks of trees, where, under no other supposition, could they possibly have gained admittance. They are believed to possess medical and curative properties, and are brought into use as charms, and dipped into medicines under the belief that virtue has thereby passed out of them, and duly communicated itself to the thing to be administered. Officers and soldiers proceeding on active service, if fortunate enough to possess celts, carry them on their persons, and are comforted by a feeling of perfect immunity from personal mishaps. In the event of a protracted labour, women are said to derive immediate relief from the presence of one of these *sky productions*. Pain ceases, and the labour proceeds to a close with ease and certainty.

Bronze or copper celts are more uncommon, but we met with them at Manwyne and Hotha in the Shan States on the return journey from Momein. The shape of those I saw were uniform, but very peculiar. They are all provided with sockets, so as to be easily adjusted to handles. One that I purchased at Manwyne for 25 rupees (200 rupees was the first price asked) was said to have been found in a paddy field, not far from the town and not much below the surface. So precious are they, and so notorious does a man become by being a possessor, that I was frequently told, at different intervals of our journey, of a certain Kakhyen Saubwa in some remote part of the hills, who was a fortunate owner, and who, if I ever met him, might be induced to sell on the receipt of suitable consideration. Copper celts are neatly encased by their owners in small bags, and held by a guard chain, which is suspended from the neck. But whether of stone or copper, it argues a taste of barbarism, and amounts almost to sacrilege, to place a celt on the ground or in any position which, in Burman ethics, betokens inferiority. The more reverently they are cared for, the more powerful becomes their efficacy as an omen of success and good fortune in every human or inhuman adventure.

The conference with the Governor to-day has been very satisfactory. His chief officers were present, and a very fair settlement arrived at on points affecting the question of re-opening the old caravan trade between Yunan and Burmah.

Tah-sa-kon is not quite satisfied as to the means which may or may not be at hand of transporting goods between Bhamo and Rangoon, and *vice versâ*. He is afraid that the provisions of our treaty with Burmah, which directs that goods from China passing through Upper Burmah to Pegu shall pay only a one per cent. *ad valorem* duty in Burmah will cause ill-feeling and continued opposition on the part of the Burmese Government: personally he is delighted at the prospect of avoiding transit and customs duties on goods passing through Burmah, but he is apprehensive of difficulties with the Burmese Government.

I assure him on these points by stating that abundant means of carriage were at all times available on the Irrawaddy, and that we had proved the navigability of the river above Mandalay by having ourselves performed the journey in a large steamer provided by his Majesty the King of Burmah.

In the matter of transit and customs duty, I informed the Governor that he would see in the copies of our treaties with Burmah, which I had given him, that the articles of the treaty relating to duties were equally binding on both Governments, and had been specially conceived in a mutual endeavour to promote the welfare of their subjects, and secure advantageous commercial relations with the Chinese frontier. The difficulties which the Governor had very naturally deemed possible as likely to arise out of indirect opposition on the part of the Burmese Government would, if they existed, be amply met by the appointment, under our late treaty with Burmah, of British agents at Bhamo and Menhla, whose exclusive duty it would be to watch over the interests of trade and guard against any infringement of treaty stipulations.

The Governor informs me that he is determined to make the experiment this next cold season

season of dispatching his caravans to Bhamo instead of to Mandalay direct *viâ* Thinee. He has already reported his intention of doing so to the Talee Government, and been given to understand, in reply, that the Talee caravans will also receive orders to proceed to Bhamo, provided it can be ascertained that there is sufficient inducement, or rather that their goods can be sold, and that a sufficiency of raw cotton is procurable at Bhamo to load their mules to Yunan. If these points are settled, there is nothing, the Governor says, to prevent the caravans accomplishing the Bhamo trip twice and even three times during a season, and within the period at present occupied by one trip to Mandalay.

I was in a position to assure the Governor that the necessary arrangements could be made at Bhamo during the forthcoming season to supply the whole of the Yunan caravans with raw cotton, but I advised him to make the experiment with his Momein caravans, and to be under no indefinite apprehension of failure. The Governor promised to send his caravans with the mission which the King of Talee had proposed to send to Rangoon. The object of this mission, he said, would be to enter into commercial relations with our Government, and obtain correct perceptions relating to the feasibility of trading direct with Rangoon instead of with Mandalay, means of carriage, freight, charges by boat or steamers, general advantages, &c., &c.

I did all I could to impress these objects on the mind of the Governor, and to encourage the experimental trip which was to be made to Bhamo. All the advice which my position and experience justified me in offering amounted, in fact, to an urgent appeal in favour of the overland trade *viâ* Bhamo with China. In becoming the advocate of so noble an enterprise, I found myself in the happy circumstances of one who was appealing to a willing and sympathising people, whose interests were specially bound up with our own, and who are as keenly alive to the benefits of promoting trade with Burmah as we are eager to form a commercial relationship with South-Western China.

The experimental trip to Bhamo and the Panthay mission to Rangoon had been adopted as the readiest and most certain means of brushing away past prejudices, and of gaining personal insight into certain altered conditions in favour of commerce, which had arisen out of the British occupation of Pegu and our commercial treaties with the Burmese Government.

The Governor next called one of his secretaries, who brought and gave me a letter which I was asked to deliver to the English Governor at Rangoon. The letter was read out publicly and its contents translated. All was most favourable as evidence of our expeditionary success, and of the desire on the part of the Panthay Government to second any efforts we might make to establish commercial intercourse between Burmah and Yunan.

I noticed, however, that no mention had been made of transit or customs duties leviable on goods within Panthay possessions. Tah-sa-kon replied by saying that it did not appear to him either *courteous* or customary to allude to such matters in his first friendly letter to the Governor of Rangoon. He had no objection to furnish me separately with the list of duties payable at Momein or within Panthay territory, but at the same time he said that, in the present unsettled state of affairs, any such list was unnecessary, and could not be deemed final or satisfactory as regarded the trade of Yunan.

There was nothing to be got by pressing matters, and I allowed the Governor to conclude our conversation on this subject with the following promising, but off-hand, remarks :— "After all, what use are tariff lists? Are we not brothers? My wish is to reduce the rates to the lowest possible limit, or even to abolish them altogether, if by doing so I can entice commerce to this route. I will be guided by your advice at all times on this and other subjects."

As a winding up to our conference the Governor presented me with two seals to be used in my correspondence with him after my return to Mandalay. I also gave him two large gold seals, one engraved with a coat-of-arms cut into white cornelian; the other represents an owl seated upon an hour-glass, elaborately engraved on a large topaz. It was fortunate that these seals were in my possession at the time, as they well answered the purpose to which I have designed them, and are appreciated by the Governor. The seals I received in exchange are seals of office, as peculiarly belonging to Tah-sa-kon in his capacity of Governor of Momein. It is believed that this interchange of seals, besides being intended as a special mark of confidence and esteem, will give an impress of reality to our correspondence and secure us mutually against fraud and imposition.

10th JULY 1868.

The whole day has been devoted to ceremonial visits and leave-taking. We proceeded to Government House at mid-day to say good-bye; and the Governor almost immediately afterwards returned our visit with a full suite of his retainers and a quantity of useful presents, which he begged us to accept ourselves and to distribute amongst our escort and followers. It was expressly stated that the presents were not to be considered as in any way a return for those which had been given to him on our first arrival at Momein. Suitable return presents would be forwarded with the mission to Rangoon from Talee during the next cold season. In the meantime, the Governor wished us to accept a few articles as coming from himself, and which would be found of use during our return journey to Bhamo. The bulk of the presents consisted of—

80 cotton jackets.
80 Chinese sun or rain hats.
80 pieces of waterproof oiled paper.

Of the above, one each was to be distributed to each of the police escort and our native servants. The European members of the expedition were each presented with—

1 piece of flowered silk.
1 silk jacket.
1 amber rosary or necklace.
1 straw sun hat.
1 pair Chinese boots.

In addition to the above, the Governor presented me personally with his own full-dress mandarin suit, which consisted of a full flowing robe of blue satin covered with silk and gold embroidery, an official head-dress with ornaments—

1 pair black silk boots.
1 gold and jade-stone chatelaine.
4 Panthay spears with long silver-plated handles.

The jemadar commanding the police escort and his wife (a Burmese lady who accompanied him to Momein) were also each presented with a silk jacket and straw hat.

We could not fail to mark the kindness of disposition which led Tah-sa-kon to provide our escort and followers with means which were expressly intended to conduce to their personal comfort on the march to Bhamo. The rains had set in with violence, and the waterproof oiled paper and rain-hats had become a positive necessity, which I could not conveniently have procured myself without the Governor's kind interference.

Tah-sa-kon next handed me a Chinese document of very formidable proportions, which was opened out and read aloud by his chief secretary.

The document was several feet in length, and purported to be a transcript of the proclamation which had been posted upon the city wall as a public announcement of Panthay success at Yunan. Apart from its literary details, which are at present a mystery to us, the prodigious size of the document would make it a literary curiosity in any museum in the world.

Next came the promised letter addressed to myself on the subject of customs duty leviable within Panthay territory. The only duty stations mentioned between the Burmese frontier and Momein are those situated at Mauphoo and Nantin. On my noticing the deficiency as regarded the Shan States, the Governor remarked that those states had always been a mere dependency, and had no special right to levy customs duty on government account. This matter had already been explained to the Shan chiefs, and definitely settled by communications which had been forwarded to them since the date of my arrival at Momein.

In reply, I said that it appeared to me impolitic to make any arbitrary distinction (in the case of the Shan chiefs) which limited their hereditary right to levy transit duty on goods passing through their respective principalities.

I was arguing, I said, against our own interests, perhaps, in advocating the cause of the Shan Saubwas, and the Governor would be able to judge thereby of the sincerity of my suggestions. Tah-sa-kon was amused, and hinted to me that the Shans knew very well how to take care of themselves. There were certain fees and perquisites attached to a Saubwaship which were very trifling and would not be interefered with. He did not think it advisable to formally recognize the right of each Saubwa to levy customs duty at will within his own state. A precedent might thereby be established which would militate against his present idea of reducing customs duty to a limit which would encourage rather than act as a burden on trade.

For the same reason also he was not inclined to fix any definite duty rates for Momein. The time had not come for so much nicety in the collections. He was himself his own collector at Momein, and his desire was, if possible, in the matter of reductions, to exceed even my own wishes. For instance, if I mentioned a 1 per cent. duty, his own inclination would lead him to be content with one-half of that sum, or eight annas!

I could not help believing in the sincerity of his intentions, for Tah-sa-kon had proved himself in his dealings with us from first to last to be a man of large-minded views and generous impulses.

I was obliged, however, to tell him that our mutual friendly regard for each other was not a sufficient guarantee to merchants in British territory who would not consent to embark in trading adventures with Yunan without some definite guide by which to calculate their chances of profit or loss, as dependent on the amount of transit or customs duty leviable beyond British territory.

After a long conversation on this subject (the details of which are too tedious for record), the Governor gave me his verbal assurance that in no instance would the aggregate amount of duty, taken at any or all of the duty stations between the Shan States and Talee, exceed (as he expressed it) 10 rupees on goods valued at 250 rupees, or, in other words, a 4 per cent. *ad valorem* rate.

I saw the necessity of being contented with this assurance. It would have been impolitic, at the very outset of our dealings with a new people and government (having in contemplation the revival of an extinct trade in their country), to have insisted on a more definite or binding arrangement. The object in doing so, without being appreciated, was open to misapprehension, and might have given rise to adverse suspicions. Besides the customs duty being the perquisite of Panthay Governors, the matter was one which affected Tah-sa-kon's private purse, and their reduction could not have been more persistently urged than they were without the fear of unnecessary offence.

Such persistency, moreover, would have been immature, I consider, as regards the present

sent state of our national relations. We therefore parted under a mutual exhortation to cherish the recollection of present friendship, and, above all things, to bear in mind that nothing would more directly tend to tranquillize Yunan and restore it with other neighbouring provinces to their former prosperity than a steady adherence to the means now offered of resuscitating the old caravan trade *viâ* Bhamo, and of thereby extending that trade by the only direct natural outlet of the Irrawaddy to the rich commercial seaboard of Pegu and British Burmah.

334. We have said good-bye to the Governor, and are on the eve of departure from Momein. It is time, therefore, to make further apologies for the unwieldy character of the present report. The copious references to my diary, and the supplementary notices and observations which are everywhere called for, have led to digressions of a lengthy, and sometimes a tedious character. They will rightly be regarded as an undue infringement of all the ordinary rules of official correspondence. To me the task of recording our experiences in their present form has been one in which I have seemed to live over again the toils and pleasures of a moderate adventure. Much of interest remains to be told. The return journey to Momein was not accomplished without an accumulation of incident and observation which would preserve its interest in almost any form; but time, ill-health, and the more legitimate duties of my present office, are all in active opposition to the continuance of the narrative in its present proportions. I am therefore compelled, somewhat reluctantly, to hurry over the return journey from Momein, and shall allow myself a limited margin only for remarks on special points in which my opinion is called for as leader of the expedition.

335. When I found, after a protracted residence at Momein, that there was no prospective chance, within a reasonable period, of my being able to proceed further into Yunan, without the certainty of encountering armed opposition and involving the government in troublesome complications, which it was my duty to avoid, I was compelled, under a variety of pressing considerations, to think of a return homewards, and preparations having accordingly been made, we left Momein on 13th July, and commenced the journey to Bhamo.

336. In my several conversations with the Governor as to the choice of a route to Bhamo, I had always taken care to let it be understood that my earnest desire was to return by a different route to that by which we had reached Momein. The Governor in his willingness to serve me feigned a compliance with my wishes, but with a certain hesitation of manner, which, at the time, was a little mysterious. I afterwards discovered that the hesitation was due to a very reasonable supposition that the other route which I proposed to explore might be made to lead direct to Yoonchan and ignore the existence of Momein altogether.

337. I combated this idea so far as to cause arrangements to be entered into by which the Hotha Saubwa was directed to meet me at Nantin, and escort us thence *viâ* Shamalon and the Hotha valley to Hotha, from which place it would remain at my discretion either to pursue the Sawuddy or southern route across the Kakhyen hills to Bhamo, or follow the direct central route, which had hitherto been universally used by successive Burmese and Chinese embassies in their political intercourse between Bhamo and China.

338. The Hotha Saubwa failed in his arrangement to meet me at Nantin, and I pushed on to Mynela in the hope of catching him there. Here, as well as at Sanda and Manwyne, the officials were openly opposed to my leaving the Sanda for the Hotha valley. Their opposition was natural enough, for the Shans, judging by what they had heard of our success at Momein, had actually realised the fact of a revived trade between Bhamo and Momein, and were reasonably averse to the idea of encouraging any proposal by which that trade would be so diverted as to exclude them from all immediate participation in its many advantages.

339. I upbraided them gently for the apparent selfishness of their motives as opposed to measures which were intended for the public good; but I could not help feeling at the same time that the reluctance to assist me, at the cost of excluding themselves from a prominent position on the newly-proposed trade route, afforded the strongest presumptive evidence of the success which the expedition had already secured for itself throughout an important section of the northern Shan States.

 340. A south-west

340. A south-west monsoon and continuous rain aided the Shans in their hospitable endeavours to retain us as their guests and prolong our stay at their several chief towns. It was not until my arrival at Manwyne that the Hotha Saubwa was induced to remember his engagements and concert measures for crossing the hill range which separates the Sanda and Hotha valleys.

341. The alleged difficulties of this route were twofold. The direct route leading from Nantin into the Hotha valley would necessarily cross the Shamalon range, which was then known to be infested by parties of Lees-hee-ta-hee's free-booters, who, having been driven from Mauphoo, had taken shelter in another hill fortress. Thus far at least I was willing to admit that the objections to the direct Nantin route were in themselves reasonable and probably correct. But on reaching Mynela and Sanda, from both of which places a practicable road was available between the Hotha and Sanda valleys (without passing Shamalon), it was at once apparent that the further objections raised for limiting our travels to the Sanda valley were based upon no more positive foundation than the simple, though very laudable desire (as it may have seemed to them) of securing a permanent commercial highway through their own states, to the exclusion of any other more available line of country which our exploration might have disclosed.

342. In crossing from either Mynela or Sanda to the base of the range which divided the Sanda and Hotha valleys, it was necessary to pass through a portion of the Mynela district (already alluded to), which owed allegiance to no particular chief, and had existed for some years past in a barbarous state of outlawry and misrule. It was affirmed with some show of truth that the demonstration which had been made against us on the march between Manwyne and Sanda on 15th May had been planned and carried out by the lawless inhabitants of this disaffected district, and it was through a portion of this same district that our present route must of necessity pass in crossing the range between Sanda and Hotha.

343. I will not attempt to describe in detail the laborious conferences with Shan officials, the protocoling between Sanda and Mynela, and the various *points d'appui* which had to be maintained or conceded before a practicable breach was made in the formidable *cordon* by which our too-loving Shan friends of the Sanda valley had designed to make us exclusively their own.

344. They succeeded in forcing upon us the Sanda valley as far as Manwyne; but this resulted, I consider, in a positive advantage, for whereas there was no particular object to be gained by proceeding direct from Nantin to Hotha, the prolonged stay amongst our friends at the chief towns of Mynela, Sanda, and Manwyne did much to familiarise us with the people and afford them convincing testimony of the sincerity of our intentions.

345. The final arrangement by which a passage through the Mynela disturbed district became in anywise practicable, was due to our having won over to our cause two Shan officials who had each acquired a moderate degree of notoriety as friends of disorder rather than as peaceable subjects of their respective Saubwas. Both men have already been mentioned; one was the Poogen, or head-man of Manhleo, who had resisted our advance whilst at Ponsee, and proclaimed himself to be in open antagonism to all who claimed alliance with the Panthay Government.

346. The other was Kingen, a Tamon of Mynela, and one of the deputies on the part of the Mynela chief who was sent to meet us at Poonsee in May, and afford escort from thence to the Shan States. It was not until after his duty had been performed on that occasion that I subsequently found cause to suspect that the hostile demonstration of the 15th May was in great measure due to his secret influences. Both men were possessed of authority in the disturbed portion of the Mynela district, and it was very evident that all the authority of the Mynela and Sanda chiefs must have proved ineffectual in opening a way between Sanda and Hotha, unless I succeeded in subsidising those who were powerful only in their association with outlaws.

347. It may be one of the anomalies of the present Shan Government that these said outlaws were allowed, in the presence of their legitimate Shan chiefs, to guarantee us safe conduct through a state in which its lawful rulers were impotent

impotent and unrecognised. It is stranger still that the same chiefs, instead of asserting their rights and branding the outlaws, should have acknowledged their power and urged me to accept the proffered guarantee. As in Yunan, so in the Shan States, brigands belonged to a recognised order, and legalised rule had dwindled into outlawry: might was right. There was no other line of interdependence between Kakhyens and Burmese, Burmese and Shans, Shans and Kakhyens, Chinese and Shans, Panthays and Chinese, Shans and Panthays, or the numerous other changes which might be rung on this high-toned mass of incongruous material.

348. But there was order in chaos—outlaws and states were equally tractable. Manhleo and Kingen were staunch in their adherence, and zealously worked in the cause of our mission. I paid them abundantly; metallic passes were frequent and effectual. Their services were recorded by me, at their special request, in separate written certificates, which they instinctively prized as their chief reward. Certificates were also asked for by the Shan deputies of Sanda who accompanied us on the return journey as far as Manwyne. I was specially requested to stamp them with my seal, and give the documents an impress of validity which would secure the notice of future travellers and pave the way to further good offices. I parted from outlaws and deputies alike, under a deep sense of gratitude for faithful service and a steady adherence to the cause of our mission.

349. Amongst the events which marked our homeward journey, I must pause for a moment to mention the arrival of Mr. Robert Gordon, who had been dispatched to take the place of Captain J. M. Williams as engineer to the expedition.

350. Some 10 days previous to Mr. Gordon's arrival, a Burmese armed party of 100 men had reached Mynela with 5,000 rupees, being a portion of the 10,000 rupees forwarded from Rangoon for our use by the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah. The Burmese officer* in command of this party was afraid, according to his own account, to move beyond Mynela, and had failed even to send on any communication by which news of his advent would have reached me at Momein. He happened to be the same official who headed the Burmese miners at Ponsee, and who had at that time conducted himself towards us as a baneful, obstructive, and dangerous oppositionist. He was now abject and submissive, and crouchingly entreated me not to bear resentment towards him for past offences, but to consider him my slave, and trust henceforth his aid and fidelity.

351. It had become a part of the Burmese programme that the Sayay-dau-gyee should make amendment for past shortcomings by proffering aid when no longer required, and exacting an acknowledgment of Burmese obligations. It was with grief, therefore, he learned I could do without him; but his disappointment was complete when I ordered him to leave, and signified my intention of exploring new routes between the Shan States and Burmah. The tables were turned, and the Sayay-dau-gyee knew it. *We* were masters of the position, and despised and dreaded a Burmese connectionship. The Sayay-dau-gyee was obliged to leave, but I afterwards heard that he lingered at Manwyne in the hope we might still abandon our plans and return in his train as rescued dependants.

352. Mr. Gordon's arrival has been a matter of unquestionable importance in supplying the desideratum of a professional opinion on a greater portion of the route which the expedition has traversed. As compared with *our* trials and disappointments, his journey from Mandalay was signalised by facilities of significant good omen. Not only was he favoured by the *active* support of the Burmese Government, but profited to the full by our policy of conciliation. The Shans received him with open arms, and his welcome everywhere was signal and triumphant. This is fortunate, for Mr. Gordon, in his zealous resolve to join the expedition at all risks, and under a misconception, no doubt, of probable consequences, had conceived the idea of *fighting his way* across the Kakhyen hills, and of rising superior to all opposition. All chances of conflict had been happily

* Goung Byoo Sayay-dau-gyee.

happily averted, and Burmese officials, under altered circumstances, vied with each other to be as complacent and yielding as they had formerly proved themselves inimical and obstructive.

353. There was further cause for congratulation in the fact that the advance of 150 armed Burmese to Mynela, as bearers of supplies to the British expedition, would work its effect on Panthay comprehensions, and add a link to our own significance. But the crowning boon was the receipt of rupees. I could now indulge in comparative munificence, and provide the means of adding to our collections. In Shropshire, as elsewhere, perhaps, "money makes the mare to go," but in the Shan States and amongst Kakhyens its effect is electrical, and outstrips the measure of mere horse rapidity. But it is time to push on.

354. We left Manwyne at 10 a.m. on 10th August, and the first few hours were passed in dubious efforts to cross the Tahpen. The baggage had already been packed on mule panniers, and sent down the river in canoes to a point where the river communicated with a creek on the opposite bank. The object of sending the baggage by this creek was, that it could be transported to a desired point without being subjected to the necessity of passing through a morass on the bank of the river opposite to Manwyne.

355. This morass was originally paddy land, which had lately acquired a large residuum of alluvial soil from recent and continuous river inundations. The overflow had subsided a short time only before our arrival, and one or two days of sunshine had caked the mud sufficiently to give it the appearance of smooth sticky clay, bared of all vegetation, and cracked up into a network of fissures, which were the more awkward on account of the treacherous inconsistency of the immediate subsoil. Nevertheless we worked our way onwards for a considerable distance without extraordinary effort or exertion, until apparently a point of greatest depression had been reached, and the next hundred yards of our journey was ludicrously suggestive of a whole expedition hopelessly bogged!

356. My pony was leading, and floundered head-foremost. I disengaged myself in time only to get my legs into the clay, instead of my head and shoulders. Others were less fortunate. Long legs were an advantage. Captain Bowers was obliged to pay down rupees and submit to be dragged out of each fresh lodgment to which a move of position inevitably consigned him. By two p.m. we were well across, and fairly extricated from our clayey attachments.

357. The road at starting led up an abrupt lateral spur, which, to the height of 1,000 feet or more, abounded in boulders and outcroppings of pure white marble, similar in all respects to that which occurs in the same range, and at the same elevation, in the vicinity of the Ponsee silver mines. Time being a consideration, we pushed on without a halt until we had climbed 3,200 feet in four hours, and had reached a point, before night-fall, from which the Hotha valley was revealed in all the beauty of serene twilight. The longing desire which had so long possessed us to see and know the physical character of the country beyond the eastern range of the Sanda valley was at length gratified by the disclosure of another valley similar in general features to the Sanda valley, and flanked by a well-defined continuous ridge which lay parallel to the range we had then been crossing.

358. The ascent from the Sanda side had been steep and abrupt; we were now descending the counter slope into the Hotha valley, and looked down on what, within a few hundred feet of the base of the range, appeared in the distance to be a billowy accumulation of grassy knolls, caused by the gradual projection into the valley of multitudinous spurs and their intersecting ravines and water-courses. The valley itself, never perhaps more than from three to four miles broad (measured from the base of the flanking ranges), stretched away in a straight line for 20 miles, and was numerously studded everywhere with villages and plantations.

359. Darkness intervened long before we had reached the level of the valley, and as one of the inconveniences and mishaps arising therefrom, a small party with which I had become detached lost its way, and arrived, at 9 p.m., at a Shan

Shan village, several miles out of the direct route, and where the presence of a European was as novel and unexpected as if we had suddenly tumbled (as, in fact, we almost had done) out of the clouds. The ride after nightfall down rugged descents in close proximity to occasional precipitous ridges, which, fortunately for our peace of mind, were partly shrouded in darkness, was anything but pleasurable when allied to the fact that we had lost our way too irretrievably to hope for relief, at least till the morrow.

360. Anderson was with me, and we formed a select party, which consisted of the Manhleo Poogen, my Shan interpreter, three Burmese policemen carrying Tah-sa-kon's silver spears, and two lascars with my guns and ammunition. We reached a monastery, the Phoongyees of which, in affording us bare shelter, were mutely apathetic as to other necessities. Food and bedding were out of the question. It was divinely suggested, however, that an apple tree grew by the way, heavy with fruit, which we were welcome to, if any of our party could be persuaded into first going in search of the tree, and then climbing up it in total darkness.

361. We had evidently fallen upon inhospitable quarters. A Burman Phoongyee would have done the good Samaritan at all costs of usage or convenience, but the Shan divine was a little less tractable; so we lay down on the wooden floor as we were, and would soon have forgotten temporary cares in sleep had not the priest and his collegiates chosen this particular time for Budhist vespers, which they screached out for an hour in most irreverent discord. The hour was an age. The priests and their sanctity were a hideous nightmare, more inimical to sleep than the hard floor or the clothes in which we lay, still clammy and caked with clay incrustations.

362. One of the incidents of this prayer meeting roused me from stupor to a sense of reality. The well-known voice of my Shan interpreter appeared to mingle with the prayers of the Phoongyees, and turning half unwillingly in the direction of the voices, I noticed that the interpreter held out a silver coin, and was bargaining lustily for a measure of rice. The chief Phoongyee got up, took the money, supplied the rice, and returned to his devotions.

363. Such arrant unorthodoxy in a priest of Budh can only be appreciated by those who claim an acquaintance with Burmese Budhism.

Shan Phoongyees are evidently beings who disregard mere forms which place a barrier between themselves and the world, and would limit their utility to mental abstraction and religious imbecility.

364. Their night's devotion or my interpreter's coin had given a stimulus to priestly charity, for the Phoongyees relented about midnight, and supplied mats and Phoongyee clothes as a protection against cold. There was no inducement, however, to indulge in a morning's snooze, and we were up and on the move at daylight.

365. What a lovely valley! What thrift and care is exhibited in the nice definition of garden and paddy land, and economical means of drainage and irrigation! A substantial roadway leads mid-valley over grassy slopes, passed carved stone fountains and Budhist shrines, across neat stone bridges and shining rivulets, through orchards of apple trees and groves of chesnut, solitary firs and clumps of bamboo, and brings us too soon to our Hotha terminus.

366. On reaching the Saubwa's "haw," or palace, we were received with a salute of guns, and by the Saubwa himself in full official robes, who conducted us inside and claimed us as his guests. The life at Hotha from 10th to 27th August was full of novelty. Living *en famille* as we did with the chief and his household, many precious opportunities were afforded of acquiring a correct practical knowledge of Shan domesticity and national characteristics.

367. With the exception of the Saubwa's palace, there is nothing in the appearance or condition of Hotha as a town to distinguish it from any of the other numerous towns or villages of the entire valley. This valley includes two Saubwaships known respectively as Hotha and Latha, but collectively designated Mynetha, an appellation which has also been extended to its inhabitants to distinguish them from other divisions of the great Shan family.

368. The dress, language, and general physique of Mynetha Shans proclaim them to be distinct in tribal origin from their neighbours in the adjoining Shan States. The women wear short trousers and an apron (very masonic), with a broad stiff-embroidered belt, which is passed round the waist and gives support and configuration to the back and loins. The jacket is ornamented before and behind by masses of silver plate embossments. Instead of the inverted pyramid-shaped *puggery* worn by Shan women of the Sanda valley, the ladies of Mynetha plait their hair, twist it into a horizontal chignon at the crown of the head, and hold the whole together with a circlet of flat silver-headed hair pins, which are arranged so as to form a head ornament singularly unique and fancifully attractive.

The *tout ensemble* of both men and women, including dress and general physiognomy, has a decided Chinese tendency, which is little in accord with the Shan originalities of Manwyne and Sanda.

369. As regards language, there is a marked affinity between that spoken by the Mynetha Shans and the Leesaw hill tribes, who occupy portions of these hill ranges, and extend far away beyond Momein into Central Yunan. I have already remarked that the Leesaw language bears a striking resemblance to Burmese, and it is difficult at present to account for this triple connectionship in language between races which, though perhaps ethnologically allied, have been separated for many centuries from contact or intercourse. The Leesaws are nearly allied to Chinese, and on this account I am content to particularise them as Chinese Kakhyens, although the Kakhyens look upon them as a slave race, and will not admit to even a tribal relationship. The singular resemblance in the language of these three distinct races is no mere coincidence, and may be accepted as an interesting base for philological inquiry.

370. But I must go back to the expedition. The principal point for determination at Hotha was the selection of a route across the Kaykhyen hills between Hotha and Bhamo. My original wish and intention was to have proceeded from Hotha across the range which separates it from the Shan state of Mynewun (in Burmese Mowon), and to have pursued the route from thence to Sawuddy, a small town on the Irrawaddy, 12 miles south of Bhamo. But on arrival at Hotha I was induced by a multiplicity of considerations to decide upon a practical exploration of the direct central or embassy route, which from time immemorial had constituted the grand highway between China and Burmah, and was the route, *par excellence*, which Burmese and Chinese embassies had invariably traversed when deputed by their respective Governments to the capitals of either country.

371. This route had, however, been practically closed for more than five years, owing to the murder of seven unoffending Kakhyens by a drunken Burmese official of Bhamo. The principal chiefs through whose districts the road passes, having applied in vain for justice and redress, entered into a compact to avenge their wrongs by forswearing all communication with Bhamo and combining in a plan of reprisals on Burmese villages.

372. Notwithstanding these temporary drawbacks, the Hotha Saubwa favoured the idea of re-opening this route under pleas and considerations both reasonable and advantageous. He affirmed that the journey between Bhamo and Momein was shortened by two days as compared with the northern route *viâ* Ponlyne, and by five days as compared with the line known as the southern or Sawuddy route. He further urged that he was on intimate and friendly relations with all the Kakhyen chiefs who held the route between Hotha and Bhamo, and guaranteed his influence over these chiefs as sufficient, under the protection which would be afforded by the residence of a British agent at Bhamo, to put an end to present feuds, and restore, through the medium of our interference, a renewal of friendship between Kakhyens and Burmese.

373. The immediate objection to the Sawuddy route as regarded ourselves was, that doubts were disclosed at Hotha affecting the unfriendly disposition of the Mynewun Saubwa, who had succumbed, it was said, to Burmese influences, and was generally averse to European intercourse.

374. My Shan and Kakhyen interpreter, Moung Mo (himself formerly a Burmese official), suggested, rather significantly, as a reason for avoiding the Sawuddy route, that the Burmese authorities had been led to speculate upon our return

return *viâ* Mynewun, and might therefore interest themselves in raising difficulties or, placing indirect obstacles to our progress by influencing the Kakhyen chiefs who held the passes leading to Sawuddy. It was not without mature deliberation, on these and other material points affecting the welfare and eventualties of the expedition, that I finally determined to proceed by the direct central route from Hotha to Bhamo, and detach an assistant surveyor of the party to make a flying survey of the southern route leading *viâ* Mynewun to Sawuddy.

375. But before we leave Hotha, I may be excused for dwelling on a few incidents of interest illustrative of a residence in the Mynetha valley, and of our unrestrained intercourse with its friendly inhabitants.

376. I have already spoken of the Mynetha Shans, as distinguished by dress, language, and general characteristics from the people of the neighbouring Shan states. My impression is, that these distinctions are traceable to local causes or circumstances of position, and to a more general infusion of a Chinese element than is ordinarily met with amongst the average inhabitants of the northern Shan states. The chief of Hotha is a Chinaman by descent, and positively affirms that more than a half of his Mynetha subjects were originally Chinese, who, by long contact with Shan associations, have lost much of their originality, and degenerated at length into a Shan race.

377. The Mynetha valley is elevated 1,800 feet above the valley of Sanda, and enjoys on this account a climate which has enriched it with the varied productions of a temperate zone; apple, pear, chestnut, and peach trees have taken the place of bamboo and mango. The hedgerows abound in bramble and roses. Here and there is an occasional fir, and the hill sides are forests of chestnut and bauhinia.

378. The Shans themselves affirm that Mynetha exceeds in elevation all the valleys by which it is surrounded, and that a considerable descent is made on leaving Hotha to proceed to either Sanda, Mynetha, Mynetee, Mynewun, or Mynemaw. This assertion as regards its elevation (that is to say, the level of the Mynetha valley proper) holds good, I was assured by the Saubwa (no mean authority in such matters), in its application to a system of valleys similar in general direction to that of Sanda and Mynela, and which are continued in almost endless succession (in the Saubwa's words) as far as Quantong (Canton), by which he probably refers to the nearest seaboard of Cambodia or Cochin China.

379. During our stay at Hotha we accompanied the Saubwa at his own invitation on a picnicing expedition to his country-seat at Saykow (ancient Hotha), very charmingly situated on a slight eminence at the north-western extremity of the Mynetha valley. The ride through the valley was a source of gratification in unfolding exceptional beauties of scenery and landscape, and affording evidence of the economy and care which Shans bestow on agriculture and irrigation. It is at once apparent in this valley, as well as in the other states we have visited, that the whole population is purely agricultural. The land is held in hereditary allotments, and is the property of peasant proprietors, who live on its produce.

380. The strongest possible inducement is thus given to industrious activity, and the result is improved production and universal abundance. The land not immediately under cultivation is retained for grazing purposes, and consists generally of undulating slopes, which are covered with a green velvety sward, and intersected occasionally by an abrupt ravine or sparkling rivulet as it finds its way from neighbouring heights to join the central stream of the valley.

381. The roads are excellent in their way in supplying the wants of the population, which are limited as regards carriage to mules and pack-bullocks. In most places liable to inundation, they are raised and paved with stone slabs laid on horizontally, and fitted to each other with great nicety. The bridges are of stone, and built, after the Chinese model, of one or more high circular or hemispherical arches, flanked at either extremity by zayats or rest houses.

382. The direct road to Nantin from Hotha (a continuation of the old embassy route from Bhamo) leads out of the Hotha valley at a point where the hill ranges converge, and shut in the valley at its north-east extremity. The ascent from the valley to this pass is so gradual as to be almost imperceptible; and as the height of the Hotha valley is on a level, or nearly so, with the elevation of

Nantin, I am led to believe, from a general view of the configuration of the country, as well as from the information of the Hotha chief, that the intervening distance between Hotha and Nantin is free from any serious physical obstruction, such as that caused by the Mauphoo range on the direct highway between Mynela and Nantin.

Another road leads from old Hotha into the Sanda valley in the direction of Mynela, through a gorge of very diminished elevation as compared with our mountain experiences between Manwyne and Hotha.

383. The Saubwa's country seat at Saykow consists of a series of buildings, which lead into each other by a line of consecutive courtyards and small garden inclosures. The house in which the Saubwa and his family reside is a wooden structure of Chinese design, and is specially interesting on account of the elaborate carvings and ornamentation which is everywhere displayed in prominent elegance.

384. The Saubwa accompanied us a short distance from the town for the purpose of visiting a very interesting group of Chinese temples which had lately undergone extensive repairs and re-ornamentation. The temples are Budhistic, after a Chinese misconception (*sic mihi videtur*) of orthodox Budhism. The principal range is occupied by a colossal figure of the "Thugea men," or king of angels, who is enshrined in a huge casement of wood-carving of the most chaste design, and with graduated proportions, which give grace and symmetry to what must otherwise have resembled an exaggerated sideboard.

Gaudama and two other Budhs have a building to themselves below, and are encompassed by a multitudinous group of life-size designs, which represent the embryo god in the several existences which preceded an emergence into perfect Budh.

The greater portion of an adjoining temple is appropriated to Quah-gnein, whom I have already mentioned as the goddess of conception, and physician in ordinary to all women afflicted with barrenness. Here also, as elsewhere, she is represented nursing a naked babe with an inordinate development of male organisation.

385. The Saubwa entertained us sumptuously at his country quarters; dinner was served in really good style, and with a profusion which takes a novice by surprise. One of the objects of these entertainments is to leave no available portion of a dining table without its appropriate burden. Dishes are drawn up in lines and squares, so as to occupy the whole centre space of the table, and allow only a small outer margin for the convenience of guests. We drank *shamshoo* out of tumblers, and finished off with a dessert of unripe pears eaten with salt.

386. The eclipse of 18th August occurred during our stay at Hotha, and was seen to perfection, but in the latitude we were in (25° N.), there was of course no approach to totality. The first contact took place at about 9.45 a.m., and the last at 12.30 p.m. Not more than two-thirds of the sun appeared to be covered during the time of greatest obscuration, and though the quality of the light was sensibly affected, I could not perceive any appreciable diminution of its power. This fact was so evident that the Shans and Burmese who watched the eclipse with us, regretted that its existence would not be noticed by their fellow-countrymen of the neighbouring towns and villages. They were not aware that I had already foretold the eclipse at Mynela, Sanda, and Manwyne, and that the chiefs and Phoongyees would eagerly seek to verify my prediction.

387. At Hotha itself the excitement was intense. The Saubwa with his usual intelligence was apparently impressed with our explanation of the causes which gave rise to an eclipse. He endeavoured to explain these causes himself to the superstitious crowds who flocked around him. Nevertheless we were specially requested to fire off our guns, and aid in a general noisy demonstration, which was intended to avert calamities, and more especially to terrify a leviathan frog (if there is such an animal), which, according to Shan belief, devours the sun by degrees, and requires intimidation to make him disgorge.

388. If the contact commences from the right limb of the sun, Shans view the phenomenon as a sign of approaching famine. Contact from the left signifies plenty and prosperity.

In

In the present instance the contact was from above, and opportunity was afforded of allaying anxieties. Personally we had reason to be thankful that the eclipse was only partial, and that on that account it failed to attract general notice. Otherwise the prognostication of evil thereby implied would have been associated in the minds of the superstitious with our own advent, and have been prejudicial to ourselves individually, and affected the interests of future exploration.

389. My conversation with the Hotha Saubwa on various subjects more or less connected with the prospects of re-opening the old embassy route between Bhamo and Yunan, not only proclaim him a man of shrewd intelligence, but testify also to the personal interest which he has taken in the present expedition. He is by no means disinterested, and looks forward to trade as a channel of emolument to himself and of wealth to his countrymen. He promises himself to be the chief trader on this route, and guarantees to dispose of all the produce that arrives at Bhamo. But at the same time he feels that the conflict in Yunan between Chinese and Mahomedans must operate, as long as it lasts, in preventing a corresponding export of produce from Yunan itself and the adjoining provinces. There would be a difficulty in this respect in procuring return produce in exchange for foreign goods imported from Bhamo. Neither he nor Chinese traders from Yunan would have it in their power to pay advances for goods. Purchases would be made on credit for payment by an equivalent in Chinese produce within a given period. The introduction of a system of credits of this kind would tend, he believed, to renovate trade on a scale hitherto unknown, whereas the present mode of cash payments or immediate barter had the effect of reducing it to very circumscribed limits.

390. When I asked the Saubwa how he would ensure himself and others against accidents or contingencies, at all times imminent on account of the disturbed state of the country, and the existence of an almost recognised system of theft and brigandage, he replied by assuring me that he was not likely to purchase goods unless with the certainty of safe transport to their intended destination.

It was as easy, he said, by proper arrangements to come to terms with dacoits and brigands, as with recognised chiefs and legitimate governments.

391. This confirmed the impression I had already formed of the Saubwa's capacity for making things pleasant with all parties, under all conditions of time, place, and circumstance.

At present I know that he openly maintains a separate understanding with the dacoit leader Lees-hee-ta-hee, and the more renowned brigand chief Leoqwanfan. Nevertheless he is the acknowledged friend of the Governor of Momein, and pays tribute to the Panthay Government. Amongst his own people he preserves a dignity suited to his position, and is deservedly respected within his little kingdom at Hotha. Numbers of Kakhyen chiefs, too, with whom he communicated, treated him as their superior, and obeyed all his orders.

392. As regards ourselves, it is not too much to say that he esteems us as friends, and his intelligence, combined with the little experience which our society has afforded, has taught him that western civilisation is a model of superiority which entitles it to the reverent imitation of all Shan creation.

It is this belief in British superiority which has allied the Saubwa to our cause, and is destined further, in connection with his own private interests, to place him in a prominent position as a pioneer in the reconstruction of a vast trade between Burmah, the Shan States, and South Western China.

393. On one occasion the Saubwa sat down to table, and dined with us by invitation, with all the familiarity and good breeding of a polished Shan gentleman. He tasted freely of all that was offered to him, and exhibited only one peculiarity, viz., a vigorous pull at his pipe between courses. This he explained had been a life-long practice, and caused tobacco at meal times to be as essential a portion of his dinner accompaniments as any other consumable production.

394. After dinner his conversation took an unusually sentimental turn. He was labouring under a presentiment of impending calamity. Either the Shans would fight amongst themselves (as was their wont sometimes in the Mynela district), or the Chinese or Panthays, as alternately victorious, would come down

with a swoop and lay the country under ruinous contributions. The late destructive inundations and landslips were ominous of still further disturbances, and some change of vast import for good or evil was assuredly on the cards, and must inevitably be fulfilled.

395. I quite agreed with the Saubwa in believing in his presentiment of coming change, and reminded him that an event was now in progress which affected his country with more serious interest than the ordinary consequences of landslips or invasion.

The present expedition was intended to produce a revolution in fact and ideas, which would rouse the Shans to a sense of their interests, and combine all races for mutual good. This was the change which was being effected, I said, in spite of landslips or other portentous phenomena, which had raised misgivings in the Saubwa's mind. The chief laughed and courteously succumbed; but he proved himself still sceptical, by saying that, if disturbances arose which threatened the Shan states, he would flee for a home, not to Burmah, but to the secure borders of British territory.

396. It was during the interval of our stay at Hotha that I was enabled to collect confirmatory evidence of sinister designs on the part of the Burmese government, by which our plans were opposed and our existence imperilled.

Kingen (the Tamon of Mynela), who has already been spoken of as a prince of outlaws, but a man of wonderful resources under proper management, made known to me certain of his experiences which related to the time when the expedition was first spoken of as likely to enter the Shan states from Bhamo. He swears that at that time he read letters in the Shan language, forwarded from Bhamo, in which the people of the states were called upon, as they valued their country, to oppose the British Mission, and to refuse it admittance into the Shan states. He also held conversation with Burmese Shan emissaries from Bhamo, who brought these letters, and sedulously strove to create false impressions of evil, and incite the masses to suspect and hate us.

397. But Shans, according to Kingen, are shrewd, and argued as follows:—

"If the English are so dangerous as they are represented to be, why did the Burmese allow them a passage through their country? Having permitted the expedition to pass their frontier, why do they now ask us to be the medium of its destruction? There is something wrong and unreasonable in this. We will wait and judge for ourselves."

398. The Hotha Saubwa too, in referring to the subject of Burmese opposition, spoke on one occasion as follows:—

"Whilst you are still at Bhamo, and before the mission entered the Kakhyen hills, Burmese emissaries had arrived in the Shan states, and created a feeling of hostility to your advance.

"This *must* have resulted in disaster had you attempted to enter the states before you did. Indeed, you could not have done so without fighting, and your small party would soon have been overpowered. My belief is, that the Chinese at Bhamo bribed the officials there to spread these reports, because they feared that an influx of British merchants into Bhamo would interfere with their monopolies. I have always believed in the sincerity of your intentions, and am prepared to live and die in the good cause which has brought you to this country."

399. On another occasion he told me that the messengers who were first sent to hire mules for our party in the Shan states (the expedition had not then started from Bhamo) advised the Shans to send their mules without any regard to hire, and to feel secure as regarded payment by a proposal to seize and appropriate our baggage. It was never intended, they said, that we should cross the hills; but, having proceeded a certain distance only, means would be improvised for our discomfiture, and property and baggage would be quietly appropriated by our fortunate carriers.

Mule proprietors were soon attracted by so pleasant a mode of becoming enriched, and the necessary complement of animals was at once collected.

The above fact, as related by the Hotha Saubwa, throws considerable light upon the conduct of our mule men at Ponsee, and their sudden and abrupt departure without notice, permission, or even a demand for mule hire.

400. I asked

400. I asked the Saubwa whether he could further account for this peculiarity in their behaviour?

Saubwa.—"Of course I can. You knew nothing about the arrangements under which they had agreed to render services, and were unable therefore to divine the cause of their departure without a demand for legitimate wages.

"Their intention in leaving you was simply to secure their mules, and then join the Kakhyens in a simultaneous attack on your position and baggage."

Political Agent.—"But no attack was made; what saved us?"

Saubwa.—"Your own good fates, or rather a supernatural power against evil, with which you are endowed, as the result of good deeds in former existences! All other aid would have been unavailing. Some unseen power interfered to confound the designs of your enemies. When I first heard of your troubles I had determined upon setting out myself to your assistance, but was prevented by learning that the Burmese officials of Bhamo were conspiring to injure you. I was fearful of offending against Burman policy, and did not wish to be mixed up in their treacherous designs."

401. The above conversation has been copied from my rough notes, in the exact words in which it took place. The Saubwa's idea of our supernatural power to avert calamity is not very flattering, as it sets aside the supposition that tact and endurance were brought into requisition as an aid to the unseen agencies which the Saubwa believes effected our deliverance.

402. I have good reason to suspect that the Saubwa was himself at Bhamo at the very time that the conspiracy was hatched to ruin us at Ponsee. He eventually joined us at Mynela, after Burman intrigue had been successfully combated, and every Shan state had agreed, under Panthay pressure, to contribute its mite towards our march to Momein. The fear of offending the Burmese government by awarding us favours was no longer individually paramount, after a general combination had been entered into by all the states to side with and assist the British expedition.

On this account the Saubwa of Hotha was encouraged to befriend us to the end, and to make us his guests for a lengthened period at his Hotha headquarters.

403. One of the causes which contributed to this prolonged stay in the Hotha valley was, that preparations had to be made there for crossing the Kakhyen hills by the central embassy route to Bhamo.

The route having been virtually closed to general traffic for several years past, it was necessary to summon the several chiefs, and confer with them on the plan proposed by the Hotha Saubwa for allaying existing feuds between Kakhyens and Burmese, and obtaining consent in the present instance to our making use of it in returning to Bhamo.

404. The first Kakhyen Saubwa who answered the summons was the chief of Nambouk. He arrived with a strong party of well-armed followers, most of whom rode ponies, and were more civilised in appearance than the ordinary Kakhyens we had met with at Ponsee.

As soon as the chief saw me, he rushed forward eagerly and greeted me as his friend. We had met before once only at Bhamo, where the chief had received a few presents for which he even now seemed grateful. He had set out, he said, the very moment news reached him of our arrival at Hotha, and it was his intention, had he not been informed by the Saubwa of our intended visit, to have left several days earlier with a view of meeting us at Sanda or Mynela, and of persuading us to follow the embassy route in preference to that which passed through Ponsee.

405. He expatiated at length on its many advantages, guaranteed the friendly aid of all Saubwas *en route*, and volunteered a sufficient supply of mule carriage to take us the whole way from Hotha to Bhamo.

406. I could not help noticing, during my conversation with this chief, the striking difference between a Kakhyen when left to his own natural impulse, and the same being when subjected to the advice and sinister influences of domineering Burmese. The Kakhyens have learned to judge of us by our actions,

and their verdict is in favour of truth and fair dealing. Here, at least on the Shan border, they can act independently of Burmese counsels, and know by intuition that it is to their advantage to render us honest services. The two months' residence at Ponsee has established for us a reputation throughout Kakhyen land which cannot fail to be serviceable, for a generation at least, to all white faces which stand in need of Kakhyen assistance.

407. I must pass on to the time of our departure from Hotha, which took place on the 27th August. All the chief Saubwas who occupied territory through which the central embassy route passed had previously made their appearance (in person or by deputy) at Hotha, where a general meeting was held on 22nd August, and formal arrangements entered into for the survey of that route from Hotha to Bhamo.

408. The Saubwas themselves from the first expressed very general satisfaction at the determination arrived at to proceed and survey the central route.

The route, they say, has been untraversed for years, and that the rainy season was not a favourable one for coming to a decision upon its particular merits. Nevertheless, they believed in its practicability, and guaranteed to supply carriage and afford safe conduct so soon as we were prepared to start from Hotha.

409. I have already mentioned that, in electing myself to return by the embassy route to Bhama, I had made provision for a flying survey of the southern route *viâ* Sawuddy, by detaching an assistant surveyor (Moung Thazanoo) to proceed from Hotha to Mynewun for that especial purpose.

This survey involved both risk and responsibility, owing to the supposed opposition of the Mynewun Shans, and the absence of all means of communicating direct with the Kakhyen chiefs, whose consent was necessary to a free passage between Mynewun and Sawuddy. It was essential, therefore, that the surveyor should proceed somewhat in disguise, and attract as little notice as possible by travelling almost alone, and with only such instruments as were indispensable to enable him to judge altitudes and direction, and prepare a rough sketch-map of the country he might pass through.

The object was not so much to obtain a complete survey of the route as to gain some idea of its physical conditions (as observable by a practised surveyor), and compare them with information already acquired from other sources.

410. Moung Thazanoo, being a Burman, was easily transformed (in appearance) into a Shan, and set out from Hotha on 18th August, accompanied only by two followers; one a Shan guide, who spoke the Kakhyen language (and recommended by the Hotha Saubwa as a man intimately acquainted with the principal chiefs on the Sawuddy route), and the other a Shan and Kakhyen interpreter of my own, who could now be spared from amongst our followers.

411. My instructions to the surveyor were that, if he found the chiefs *en route* inclined to favour the project of establishing a general trade route *viâ* Sawuddy to Bhamo, he might disclose the true nature of his undertaking, and assure them, with reference to my own survey of the central or embassy route, that our object was to ascertain the most practicable route between Bhamo and the Shan states, and that the final selection of that route would depend in great measure on our present means of survey and exploration. If favourably inclined towards us, the chiefs would of course find it to their advantage to assist those means, and Moung Thazanoo's work be simplified by a comparative absence of risk and difficulty.

412. The surveyor fully answered to the good opinion I had already had occasion to form of his diligence and ability. He not only managed to find favour at Mynewun, but the Kakhyen chiefs with whom he held intercourse rendered all the assistance in their power, and expressed a strong desire that British merchants would select their route as the one best suited for the transport of merchandise between Burmah, the Shan States, and South-Western China.

413. On crossing the eastern range of hills which separates the Hotha valley from the Shan states of Mynewun, the surveyor found another valley similar in extent and general direction to those of Hotha, Sanda, and Mynela, bounded on the east by another parallel range, and drained by a mid-valley stream, which found its way in a southerly direction to the Shwèlee river, one of the great affluents of the Irrawaddy.

414. The

414. The surveyor's report of this route is a very satisfactory confirmation of all that has been urged in its favour by information obtainable at Bhamo and elsewhere. The road is reported throughout to be a broad beaten track, passing for the most part over undulating country with gradual ascents and descents, and free from those rugged declivities which are occasionally met with on both the northern and central routes. I append Moung Thazanoo's report in the vernacular, with a translation and sketch-map. Other particulars will doubtless be reported by Mr. Gordon, who joined us at Mynela, and was in charge of the engineer's department from thence to Bhamo.

415. Our own departure from Hotha took place on the 27th August. The Hotha Saubwa accompanied us as far as the boundary between the Hotha and Latha States, and then said "Good-bye." The parting with his family was earnest and affectionate. Many were the wishes and prayers that our affairs might prosper, and lead us back in haste to Hotha. Two grown-up daughters of the chief were amiable, handsome girls, full of fun, and innocently eager to learn our peculiarities. I am not sure that in our communications with them we ever exceeded the bounds of decorum, but this did not prevent them from indulging in what may have been a Shan modification of prudery, and constantly reminding us that we were to regard them as sisters, and never venture upon passages of love. It was not quite clear from their own behaviour at what point Shan young ladies draw the line between platonic affection and brotherly familiarity. Judged by their own standard of moral excellence, some of our actions (hand-shaking in particular) were open to misconstruction, and many of their own secret contrivances for facilitating communication and familiarity with ourselves, would hardly have passed "muster" as mere sisterly affection in a well-ordered state of Belgravian society. But this is another digression, which would hardly be pardonable unless it afforded a glimpse of Shan society, and instanced the freedom with which English gentlemen have been admitted to "sororize" with ladies of high rank in the family circle of a friendly Shan chief.

416. The route from Hotha lay in a south-westerly direction, along the right bank of the Namsa, a small tributary which drains the Hotha valley, and finds its way into the Tahpen a little south of Ponsee. We cross the Namsa by a wooden bridge opposite to Latha, the chief town of another state of that name, within the Hotha or Mynetha valley.

417. It was my wish and intention to have visited the Saubwa of this state, and to have remained a day or two within his territory. But a family feud existed between the chiefs of the two states of Hotha and Latha, and it was, moreover, made to appear that the chief of the latter place, besides being old, imbecile, and superstitious, was possessed of an idea that our advent into his house or town presaged evil to himself personally, and would be followed by injury or death to some of his family. In so little esteem was the Latha chief held, that his neighbour of Hotha professed on many occasions to ignore his official existence, and assumed the exercise of jurisdiction and authority, in disputes which arose within the confines of Latha. With the exception of this idiosyncrasy relating to the supposed evils which he believed would arise out of a personal interview, the Latha Saubwa was neither unfriendly in disposition, nor seriously opposed to our passage through his state.

418. The Hotha Saubwa had from the first been averse to my visiting Latha, and seemed to regard my desire of doing so as a personal matter which concerned himself. I was therefore constrained, for prudential reasons, to avoid Latha, and give its imbecile proprietor as wide a berth as our route admitted.

I took care, however, on the day we passed through the Latha district, to send the Saubwa a suitable present, which was well received and satisfactorily acknowledged. A return present was brought by my messengers, who were directly instructed by the Saubwa, in person, to inform me that, as far as he was himself concerned, he would have been glad to meet me, and receive our party with becoming hospitality, but some of his people had listened to stories which made us out to be sorcerers or magicians, and dangerous alike as friends or enemies. He had deferred in this instance to the scruples of his people, and respectfully urged us to leave his coasts. He nevertheless begged me to be assured that on our return (whenever that happy event might take place) we should be well received, and that in the meantime he would do all that was

required of him to restore confidence, and teach his people the value of our friendship.

419. This message was intended to be both complimentary and reassuring, but it did not alter or falsify realities. It was the Saubwa himself, as opposed to his people, who had given way to fear and distrust, and who deprecated our visit out of superstitious misgivings which boded injury to himself, and direful ills to all his household. I afterwards learned that he had been infected with the poisonous emanations which were foully issued from a Burman source, at a time when all other means of indirect opposition had failed to restrain us to Burmese territory.

420. After crossing the Namsa at a long wooden bridge opposite to Latha, the road begins to ascend gradually, and leads through a gorge into a lateral valley, and from thence over spurs with intervening valleys (valleys within a valley), the principal mountain ranges still maintaining their general parallelism, until we are fairly within that bewildering cluster of elevations hitherto vaguely described as the "Kakhyen hills."

421. We halted at Nambouk at 5 p.m., after a march of 14 miles performed in five hours. The Saubwa received us with a salute of three guns, and had prepared a shed for our accommodation. He thought it due to his hospitality, and to our own sense of propriety and convenience, that we should remain in his village for at least three days, and thus afford an apportunity to Kakhyens far and near, who had already been favourably prepossessed towards us by report of our fame at Ponsee, to come in with presents and offerings, and receive in return the usual tokens of our friendly regard.

We contrived, however, after an extraordinary expenditure of arduous pleading and a varied distribution of substantial inducements, to waive a portion of his affectionate restrictions, and got off from Nambouk at mid-day on the 29th August.

422. The 28th was passed in all the misery of making settlements with turbulent mule proprietors, who pressed forward certain hopeless claims for payment or extra payment with all the violence and obstinacy of their race.

The real difficulty in these cases is to find out what the recusants actually require. A too ready acquiescence with their imaginary demands (which I was inclined at times to admit without controversy on the principle of anything for a quiet life) is a fatal error, which adds tenfold to the distraction and worry which it was my anxiety to avert. *Their* object is to get a traveller fairly into their power, and then enforce a compliance with their demands. But they are mere bullies at heart, and succumb at once as soon as they find themselves properly confronted. The rule is to proffer all that is due in justice, but reject all claims which are pressed with bluster.

423. The temporary unpleasantness of these inevitable outbursts was more than compensated for by the manifest good feeling of the Kakhyen population. Their houses were our houses. We shared the accommodation of a Kakhyen homestead without inconvenience to its proprietors or annoyance to ourselves. Our presence caused no observable change in their domestic arrangements: pigs, buffaloes, and ponies herded in our apartments. The men smoked opium. Women sung songs, nursed their children, pounded paddy, or weaved cloth whilst we eat, dressed, slept, took notes, and made love, with all the zest of kindred companionship.

424. We did not succeed in getting away from Nambouk until after mid-day on the 29th. The road, or rather mountain pathway, was bad and overgrown from long disuse. Halted before dusk at the village of Ashan, distance about eight miles from Nambouk. Ashan and Nambouk are on much the same level, and neither place is more than 300 feet above the level of the Hotha valley. The road, which at present is made to pass over elevated spurs which rise at least 1,000 feet above these villages, might with ease be reduced to a uniform level.

425. The direct embassy central route, after leaving Ashan, passes *viâ* Kangouk to Hoton, which is only one good day's march from Ashan. But some of the most influential of the chiefs, under whose conduct we were proceeding, would not be comforted unless we made a very considerable detour, which would enable

enable them to introduce us to portions of the hills over which they exercised special sovereignty. We were thus constrained to make three marches instead of one, and to halt successively at Monwye and Loaylon before we were allowed to reach Hoton.

426. From Ashan the road dips down at once 1,000 feet again to the bed of the Namkhon, a mountain torrent which empties itself into the Tahpen opposite to Ponsee. From this a steep ascent leads up 800 feet to the village of Lassee, and we dip once more to our Monwye encampment. It rained incessantly throughout the day, and the road on most of the inclines had been converted into slides, down which men and ponies glided at times with ludicrous rapidity.

427. Loaylon had been determined upon as our halting-place after Ashan, but the Saubwa of Monwye, who had acted as our guide during the day's march, was led in his zeal to enveigle us to Monwye, instead of following the direct road to Loaylon. In this he deceived his own confrères, most of whom had gone on with our baggage to the village of Loaylon and there awaited us. The chiefs expressed disgust and annoyance, but in our case there was no room for displeasure, for the offending Saubwa had prepared accommodation, and was profuse in that careful ministration to our creature comforts which induced good humour, and healed the sore of temporary misarrangement.

428. We started from Monwye in the midst of pelting rain on the 31st of August, and descended a long steep declivity to the Mynekha stream, which forms a natural boundary between two divisions of the Kakhyen hills occupied by separate families of the Kakhyen race, under the tribal denomination of Kowlee and Lăkhon. Both races possess characteristic distinctions which are said to be very marked and determinable as amongst themselves, but to casual observers, Kowlees and Lăkhons assimilate in dress, language, and religion, so as to be apparently identical.

429. The Kowlee chiefs had assembled at Loaylon (called Mynekha) to receive us, and were determined to vie with the Lăkhons in their outward manifestations of hospitality and kindness. We were bound under certain conditions of Kakhyen etiquette to change horses, or rather mules and porters at Loaylon, although I had tried hard to book ourselves through from Hotha to Bhamo. The direct object of the change was that each section of the Kakhyen people, through whose territory we passed, might have the advantage of supplying carriage, and of profiting in other indirect ways by our temporary presence amongst them.

430. A halt for one day was necessary at Loaylon, and the time was not unprofitably or unpleasantly spent in friendly intercourse with the chiefs, and in special communications with the Muthin Saubwa, a man of rare excellence and intelligence, though only a hill chieftan in the wilds of Kakhyen land. He and the Loaylon Saubwa are sons of the old Muthin chief, who, during his life-time, was acknowledged to be the richest and most powerful of all the hill chiefs bordering on Burmah.

He, too, was the chief who had headed a confederacy to avenge the Burman murder of seven of their race by closing the embassy route, and instituting retaliatory measures against Burmese villages. His son was now present to wipe out existing feuds, and open out his country again to its former usefulness.

431. The present Muthin Saubwa spoke Burmese with ease and even fluency, and his ideas and principles, as deducible from general conversation, marked in him a higher degree of civilisation than that which is compatible with the ordinary supposed state of a semi-barbarous hill race.

"Every hill in the country," he said, "rejoices at the news of your intention to renew the old trade with China. The project was one which enlisted at once the sympathies and interests of all Kakhyens, and held forth to them the prospect of wealth and happiness."

432. In presenting us with fowls, eggs, beer, *shamshoo*, and a young bullock for slaughter, he apologised for shortcomings, and begged that I would remember that he was not at the time within the limits of his own saubwaship. He is disappointed that we are in a hurry to return to Bhamo, as he had calculated on detaining us at Muthin for a few days, and giving us a true impression of Kakhyen hospitality.

433. This never-ending desire to procrastinate is an unfortunate failing in the welcome afforded us by every Kakhyen chief. It was of no avail to plead that the season was unfavourable; that some of our party were not in good health; that the incessant rain might induce general sickness; that we were badly off for clothes and provisions; and that our long sojourn for nine months in a strange land had made us intent on a speedy return to our homes and country.

The only plan by which I succeeded in finding a way to the fulfilment of our wishes was by a direct appeal to Kakhyen future interests, and by honestly pointing out that any needless excess of time occupied by me in pursuing the journey between Hotha and Bhamo would be viewed by our Goverment as an argument against the practicability of the embassy route, and afford cause for its rejection in favour of a highway which was more easily traversed or less obstructed by the courtesies of chieftains.

434. This had its good effects in expediting our departure from Loaylon on the 2nd September, but it did not save me from a mountainous detour of 15 miles *viâ* Loaylyne and Muthin to Hoton, instead of a comparatively easy march of six miles by the direct route *viâ* Sakhiy. But the digression was not without its reward. The reception of Muthin was not only honourable in itself, but satisfactory as instancing the advanced state of Kakhyen civilisation, and the eager desire of the people to welcome the prospect of renewed foreign intercourse. A salute of three guns announced our arrival, and the beating of gongs and cymbals was continued from the time we entered the village until we were fairly housed within the Saubwa's inclosure.

435. The village of Muthin is situated at a considerably higher elevation than any Kakhyen village we have as yet passed, being more than 5,000 feet above sea level, whereas it has all along been observable that Kakhyens limit themselves, or rather their villages, to heights which do not generally exceed 3,000 feet.

436. The chief's house is a Kakhyen palace, and occupies the highest point of an undulating table-land on which the village is situated. It is approached by a broad flight of stone steps, which lead to an arched gateway and walled inclosure of Chinese design. The house itself is a wooden structure, built on the elongated single ridge principle peculiar to Kakhyens. It is palatial in size, finish, and ornamentation, as compared with the residences of ordinary Kakhyen saubwas. The ornamentation is confined to an abundance of wood carving, which is everywhere prominently in view on the posts, wall-plates, cross-beams, and door-frames.

437. We sat down in a lofty shed adjoining the house, drank Kakhyen beer, and were introduced to the chief's family. Crowds of women and children had assembled within and without the inclosure, many of them fine interesting specimens of their race, and comely to a degree, despite their matted locks and once-a-year ablutions.

There were other special attractions of a less delusive nature, which would have induced us to loiter at Muthin and enjoy the hospitalities of its intelligent chief, but the day being already far spent, it was necessary to push on so as to reach our halting-place at Hoton before sunset.

438. The descent from the Kakhyen hills by the central or embassy route to the Bhamo plain (or rather to the belt of land which lies between the base of the hills and the left bank of the Irrawaddy) commenced at Muthin, which, as before remarked, is more than 5,000 feet above sea level.

Hoton is an important Kahyen saubwaship, about two miles from Muthin. Within these two miles we have descended a thousand feet, and can now gaze over a magnificent expanse of plain, bounded on the north by the Mogoung hills, on the west by the lofty ranges which divide Burmah from Arracan. On the south, the view is lost at an illimitable distance in haze and horizon. The course of the Irrawaddy, swollen now by rain and flood to a breadth computable in miles, is seen threading its way through mid-plain in a slender line of silvery brightness. The view would at any time be enchanting, but under present circumstances, our followers, native and Burmese, strained forward to the plain as to a land of promise, and spoke out their joy in bounds of excitement.

439. But

439. But we are still at Hoton, and had we been allowed to reach it direct from Ashan *viâ* Kangouk and Sakhiy, instead of passing through Monwye, Loaylon, Loaylyne, and Muthiñ, we should have performed *one* comparatively easy day's journey instead of three toilsome marches, which were imposed upon us as the penalty of friendship, and because we were fit subjects for a display of Kakhyen hospitality.

Hoton is a place of importance on the central or embassy route, being the first Kakhyen village of any size which is reached on ascending the hills from the Bhamo plain. The direct dry weather route leads from Hoton *viâ* Momawk to Bhamo, but the plain through which it passes is more or less flooded during the rains, and I found it necessary on this account to descend immediately to the valley of the Tahpen and proceed by boat from thence to Bhamo.

440. After spending the night in the chief's house at Hoton, we were prepared to leave the next morning, but *l'homme propose* and the Kakhyen deities which ruled at Hoton were disposed as ever to favour postponements. The old Saubwa of Hoton, almost in his dotage, with his two wives and descendants of more than one generation, put in an appearance in their best attire, and presented me with the usual quantity of fowls, vegetables, cooked rice, and beer. They were followed by the Saubwas of Kadaw and Sakhiy with their families, the men wearing old black satin jackets of ancestral date, and the women clad in neat Kakhyen costume, but with a profusion of silver ornaments which proclaimed their Shan predilections.

441. The young Saubwa of Kadaw, who died of small-pox during our stay at Momein, was the son of the old Kadaw chief, who was now our visitor. The old man took his leave with every token of friendship, and under an assurance on my part that, on reaching Bhamo, I would consult with the Kakhyen chiefs, who had promised to accompany me and do what was considered just and expedient in making some amends for his family losses.

But another member of the family, a brother of the deceased chief, was not as easy to deal with. He not only became turbulent and obstructive, but insolently demanded immediate compensation.

442. I had become by this time sufficiently familiarised with Kakhyen incentives to thought and action to know that this blustering impudence was the simple result of my own indiscretion. I had foolishly allowed myself in a moment of weakness to make allusion to the young chief's death, and start the idea of pecuniary consideration. It was a well-known fact that the young Saubwa had died a natural death, and that, though he had followed me to Momein, the action was a gratuitous one on his part, and carried out against my wishes. It could not be said then that the death had taken place in our service, much less that it was in any way ascribable to our evil influences. But leaving a broad margin for Kakhyen influences and the superstitious element which would be infused into their mode of reasoning, I deemed it prudent, out of regard to our future interests, to deal liberally in the matter and leave no cause for misconception.

443. But the blustering brother in assuming the offensive had enlisted the sympathies of a few of our mule-men, and whilst preparations were being made for our intended start, I was distressed to find that baggage animals were not forthcoming, and that our final departure was made to depend on an immediate compliance with the brother's demands. We were thus once more in a Kakhyen dilemma which called to mind the experiences of Ponsee.

444. The natural inclination of Kakhyens, more especially if they happen to be mule proprietors, is to wrangle and create a savage discussion on every occasion which yields a chance of successful extortion. Chiefs are not above a jolly good quarrel with their subjects, and abuse is given and taken with a wonderful amount of outward demonstration, but little or no resulting action. Either party works itself up into a fury of wrath which promises death and extermination as the most insignificant of its denunciations. Old scores are jealously registered, to be paid with interest by succeeding generations, but present punishment or immediate penalties form no part of the Kakhyen criminal code. A furious quarrel of an hour's duration ends as it commenced in nothing save smoke. This was the case on the present occasion. All I had to do was

to expostulate with the chiefs kindly, but firmly, and, having secured a strong party feeling on our side, to look on with indifference and let the disputants fight or rather wrangle it out.

445. We got off about mid-day and commenced at once a descent to the plains. The road led through the village of Mantai, where the Kakhyen saubwa urged us to enter his house and accept the hospitality of himself and his family. He received us with a salute of guns, and we were made to sit down and drink home-brewed beer, which was poured out for us by a very demonstrative woman (his wife) and two lusty good-looking girls, his daughters.

446. This was the third time during the march from Hotha that we had been received with salutes of honour on entering the head-quarters of a Kakhyen saubwa. The fact is full of promising significance. It teaches us, I think, that a people who love rupees, drink beer, and fire salutes in honour of European travellers, are neither dead to enterprise nor dangerously opposed to friendly intercourse.

447. We are principally indebted to Burmese policy, or the conservative tendencies of its imaginative government, for a fearful picture of Kakhyen *bogeeism*. The picture is now pronounced a daub, without form, colour, or truth. It was hideous only in its unseen blackness; exposed to light it has vanished into nothingness. This state of Burmese conservatism is the more apparent from the fact that the Kakhyens bordering immediately on Burmah derive all their civilisation from China, and in a very large number of instances speak the Chinese language fluently, whilst utterly at a loss to understand or to express themselves in Burmese.

448. The distance from Hoton to the level of the plain, where we halted on the left bank of the Nanthabet river is 12 miles, and the difference of elevation between the two places more than 4,000 feet. The heavy rain of the past few days, the wetting mist, the steep declivities and slippery pathway along which we were hurried with slithering rapidity, all conduced to make us believe that we had fairly been washed out of Kakhyen localities.

449. The Nanthabet river was at this time a broad deep stream, full to the banks and alarmingly rapid in its current. The only means of effecting a passage was by a raft made fast to a rope of platted bamboos. Both rope and raft were imperfect, and our baggage being in rear, we were obliged to halt and pass an abstemious night, *sub jove frigido*, supplemented by a rustic canopy of bamboo jungle. Luckily it did not rain during the night, but the morning, which promised fair, changed suddenly to foul, and rain fell in torrents. We were drenched in a moment. All hands laboured for full two hours during heavy rain in the construction of a serviceable raft. Captain Bowers superintended, and it required not only considerable personal exertion, but all the professional ability which he was known to possess, to join and plat split bamboos, so as to improvise a hawser 200 feet long which could bear a strain in any portion of its length of several tons.

450. By 10 a.m. we were all across. Burmese officials appeared by degrees, and actually *apologised for having kept us waiting!* Their astonishment at seeing us in the flesh after an eight months' absence and a profound belief in the certainty of our annihilation had confused their ideas, and made them view us for some time either as a charmed species of humanity or as veritable apparitions.

451. But the sun had come out. We were now on the plains; care was behind; success ahead; and welcome everywhere. "All nature smiled" with radiance, which inspired a love for even Burmese enemies. At 12 we had reached the Tahpen, and found rafts and boats ready to transport us to the village of Sit-gna, where temporary accommodation had been prepared and our wants supplied in plenteous abundance.

452. The broad glassy Tahpen, now gliding peacefully between banks of plenteousness, was a pleasing novelty as contrasted with the noisy rush of foaming torrents which had charmed to satiety. The rafts on which we had crossed from Namphoung to Sit-gna were nicely furnished with chairs, curtains, and carpets. A band of Burmese musicians was also in attendance, but their performances

formances were abandoned in favour of two large Chinese gongs which had come overland with us from celestial regions, and were triumphantly beaten by our followers into a clang which drowned all meaner sounds of Burmese harmony.

453. The rafts were towed by war-boats, and we glided across to Sit-gna *in state*. How great the contrast between now and then! *Now*, when difficulties had been surmounted, assistance no longer needed, and even neglect and insult a matter alike of contempt and indifference, the Burmese officials not only treat us as superiors in the prudish forms of colloquial address, but provide gratuitously, when no longer required, a profusion of supplies, which money and remonstrance were powerless to procure in an ill-starred season of comparative adversity.

454. We left Sit-gna on the 5th September in the rafts and boats which had been provided at Namphoung, and dropped down the river towards Bhamo in an ecstacy of calm but triumphant satisfaction. And in this ecstacy we reach Bhamo, and close the narrative of a journey which, however bare in material incident, is big with signs of future promise, and marks an era in our commercial destiny.

455. My narrative is at an end, and although I believe that what has already been stated is abundantly comprehensive, when read as a whole, to admit of clear and practical deductions, it may not be inconsistent with the obligations I am under as leader of the party to conclude this report by expressing a few of my own opinions and convictions on points which call for special elucidation.

456. In the first place, then, I may remark, that two questions of vital importance had worked themselves up into prominent notice on our return to Bhamo. Reference may accordingly be more conveniently made to them here than in any previous portion of my narrative.

The first of these questions relates to the adoption of means for facilitating transit across the Kakhyen hills, and of securing, as one of the permanent results of our enterprise, the friendship and good-will of the Kakhyen hill races.

457. The second has reference to the establishment of a British agency at Bhamo, and both questions appeared to me at the time to be so immediately urgent as to require special report, as contained in my letters Nos. 193 and 194, of 25th September 1868, to the address of the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and agent to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India. These letters contain, in a condensed form, all that it is of interest or utility to make known, in connecting the subjects they relate to with the present report or with the plan and purposes of the recent expedition. I deem it advisable, therefore, for the sake of preserving uniformity and sequence, to enter the letters *in extenso* in the body of the report, rather than submit them as correlative matter only in an over-crowded appendix.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, Mandalay, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General.—No. 193, dated Mandalay, the 25th September 1868.

As one of the necessities arising out of the late expedition from Bhamo to South-Western China, I do myself the honour of bringing to your notice that the establishment of a British Agency at Bhamo deserves very prominent and immediate consideration.

2. My experiences of the last few months lead me more than ever to believe that the Burmese government will still require considerable pressure before it will voluntarily facilitate trade relations between Burmah and China. All its feelings and antipathies are, and always have been, opposed to our free intercourse with foreign states through Upper Burmah, and it is not too much to say that its energies will steadily be applied to the adoption of indirect means whereby to prevent and discourage foreign trade by the overland route now open through Bhamo.

3. If my suspicions as to the insincerity of the Burmese government in this respect have any real foundation, it may rightly be assumed that the indirect means above referred to can be more readily and effectually applied at Bhamo than at any other place. *There* it will be a simple matter for the government to use its influence in a variety of ways by which to undo and reduce to a profitless minimum most of the advantages which the exploration party has so far secured.

4. It is with a view to counterbalance and counteract, if possible, these sinister influences that I now advocate the immediate appointment of a British agent, whose duty it will be to reside at Bhamo under the late treaty, and watch over the interests of inland trade. For let it be understood that although the tendencies of the Burmese government are opposed, in my belief, to the extension of trade *viâ* Bhamo, it nevertheless professes to be actuated by different motives altogether, and would wish us to believe that it is as eager for overland trade and intercourse with foreign countries as we are ourselves.

It is on this account that the appointment of a British agent at Bhamo is likely to have a beneficial influence in checking certain preventive measures whereby the Burmese government would otherwise have it in its power to obstruct and retard the revival of overland trade with China.

5. But apart from Burmese considerations altogether, the British agent at Bhamo becomes a necessity, not only as a guarantee of protection to traders from British territory, but as a means of encouragement and protection also to traders from beyond the Burmese frontier, many of whom have confessed to me that under no other security or consideration will it be possible for them to avail themselves permanently of the overland trade route between Bhamo and Yunan.

6. The Governor of Momein, as well as all the Shan and Kakhyen chiefs with whom I have conversed on this subject, were unanimous in their desire to have a British official permanently established at Bhamo, and received my announcement that such an appointment was likely soon to become a reality with expressions of unfeigned satisfaction.

7. I may mention that the (31) thirty-one Kakhyen chiefs who accompanied me lately from their hills to Bhamo, and there took an oath of fidelity to protect and give safe conduct at all times to traders of all denominations by the old embassy route across their hills, begged me very earnestly to reside myself at Bhamo, or at all events to remain there until another official might arrive, and take up the appointment of British agent.

8. I am sorry to say that this request was made in consequence of the bad feeling which at present exists between Kakhyens and Burmese, and which leads the Kakhyens to assume with reason that Burmese officials under their present Governor at Bhamo are much inclined at the present time to despise and keep them at a greater social distance than ever. But this is a matter which it is my intention to submit to you in a separate communication. I merely refer to it here as another reason for our availing ourselves, as soon as possible, of some of the privileges provided for in our late treaty with Burmah.

9. A remaining point for consideration is the pay which the agent should receive, and in this respect I attach more than usual importance to the position which his salary and accompaniments will enable the agent to assume and keep up at Bhamo. It will be necessary, moreover, to sanction the expenditure of sufficient funds wherewith to build a good and substantial residence, which would not be inferior in any respect to that occupied by the Governor himself. I am inclined to be particular on these otherwise trivial points, because we cannot blind ourselves to the fact that Shans, Kakhyens, Chinese, and Panthays will judge of us by first impressions, and will estimate our official agent at Bhamo, amongst other qualifying considerations, by his ability to maintain appearances, and possibly also by the length of his purse.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, Mandalay, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General.—No. 194, dated Mandalay, the 25th September 1868.

I DO myself the honour of informing you that on my return to Bhamo with the expedition party which I was appointed to lead into South-Western China, I was accompanied by 31 Kakhyen chiefs and nearly 200 followers, who had availed themselves of my escort and protection to enter Bhamo and conclude arrangements for free transit and safe conduct to all trade and traders by the grand central or embassy route which I had just traversed from the Shan state of Hotha to Namphoung on the Tahpen river.

2. The Burmese officials at Bhamo, I am sorry to say, viewed my familiarity with Kakhyens and *their* ready acquiescence in my wishes with jealous distrust, which provoked the contempt and ridicule of even the Kakhyens themselves.

3. I had for some time past had in consideration the question of an annual subsidy to be paid to Kakhyen saubwas as a means of making them our friends and of securing a safe and ready means of transit across their hills. The idea of a subsidy originated of course with the assumption or belief that by no other practicable means would it have been possible to enlist the sympathies of these hill people, or cause them to regard our presence in the capacity of traders as a source of advantage and prosperity to themselves. Having satisfied myself, however, by ample experience that Kakhyens are more eager and interested in the re-opening of a trade route through their hills than we are ourselves, and that their ready co-operation may be freely relied on in any attempt we may make, either to open out old routes, or construct new ones, I have been advisedly led to avoid the inconvenience and complications which a subsidy might have given rise to, and hold to the fact that fair dealing, and kind and straightforward treatment on our part, are all that is required to secure

secure the friendship of these people and ready access to Kakhyen land for all the essential purpose of a through-route between Bhamo and South-Western China.

4. Whilst, however, the opportunity presented itself, it was of importance to secure certain benefits which seem to arise out of the friendship already contracted with the several chiefs who had accompanied me to Bhamo. These benefits would be obtained by a partial adoption of the Kakhyen's natural custom, by which it is usual with them on similar occasions to bind themselves over to a particular purpose by an oath of fidelity sworn to and strengthened by all the savage solemnities of a religious ceremony. Such an oath, whilst it professed to secure for us the sworn friendship and fidelity of all who participated in it, and gave to traders and travellers free access to the Kakhyen hills (or to such portions of them as are included in the oath), would not, on the other hand, bind us over to reciprocal action of any sort, or give the Kakhyens any claim on us beyond the very laudable one of drawing commercial enterprise to their particular localities, and inducing us to favour routes of which they were the sole acknowledged proprietors.

5. The Kakhyens entered into this proposed measure for strengthening and perpetuating our mutual friendship with a willingness which was the more astonishing, inasmuch as it was carried out in defiance of a certain amount of jealous opposition on the part of the Burmese officials at Bhamo. In the first place Kakhyens were first informed that they could not be allowed to perform any of their religious ceremonies within the precincts of Bhamo. Ingress to the town, or to my own residence, was as difficult and troublesome as the obstructive ingenuity of Bhamo guards at the several gateways could make it. Kakhyens were called upon to deliver up their swords on entering either of the approaches of the town. The purchase or sale of various articles, such as bamboos, and especially bullocks and buffaloes, which were essential in the ceremonial to be performed, was secretly interdicted, so as to make it a matter of difficulty to procure them. Whilst preparations were being made for the ceremony, the chiefs were called away and privately instructed by certain Burmese officials, that they were not at liberty to enter into any engagement with foreigners.

All this petty opposition was eventually overcome by my explanation to the governor, in which I proved to him that I was not acting solely on the part of the British Government, but that I was carrying out the orders of his Majesty the King of Burmah, who had expressly desired me to act on *his* account, and make use of *his* name wherever I might find it necessary by so doing, to conciliate existing differences, or secure the interests of trade, and of the expedition under my leadership.

6. The governor replied to my imputation of opposition on his part, by saying that if I had met with difficulties, *he* was not to blame, as his officials had acted without his knowledge, The Kakhyens, he informed me, were at liberty to perform any rites they pleased; and as to the difficulty of purchasing bullocks, it was explained away by the fact that Burmese objected to see their animals slaughtered in celebrating Kakhyen savage rites.

7. I was content to accept this explanation without for a moment believing that it had been given in good faith, and the Kakhyen ceremonies proceeded to completion with all the usual formalities. It may not be out of place to record a brief account of the ceremonial and form of oath taken on the occasion. For each buffalo to be slaughtered a separate building is constructed, consisting of strong posts sunk into the ground with cross pieces, to which the animal is tied previous to sacrifice. A separate altar is also prepared 20 feet in height with a platform of bamboos some four feet square, on which the sacrifice is offered. Kakhyen deities of every degree and denomination are invited to attend and bear evidence to the rite about to be solemnized.

The invocation is repeated twice: once before the animal is slaughtered, and again previous to laying the meat offering on the altar. It is performed by a special office-bearer, whose prayerful intonation on the occasion is strangely musical, and suggestive of portions of our own cathedral service.

8. The animal to be slaughtered is firmly bound by its horns to the wooden construction before mentioned, and then thrown on one side. The whole weight and strain of the body is on the neck, which is partially twisted. There is not a moment's delay; a Kakhyen specially equipped for the service rushes forward holding a plantain-leaf cup of sacred water in one hand and a naked sword in the other. The former is thrown over the sacrifice, whilst the latter is brought down with frightful effect on the portion of the neck where the strain is greatest. The result is complete. The savagery of the whole scene is somewhat atoned for by an absence of torture or suffering, from which the animal is saved in its almost instantaneous dissolution.

The carcase is cut up without loss of time, and the portion of it to which the deities are known by Kakhyen experience to be partial are alone cooked and laid on the altar to be feasted on by the gods. This is the time, whilst the deities are being propitiated with the semblance of a good dinner, that they are called upon to witness the oath for which the whole ceremony has been contrived. A small quantity of the blood of the slaughtered animal has been caught and is now mixed in a large vessel with an abundant supply of raw native spirits. The whole is stirred up with the points of swords and spears, which are dipped into the liquor *ad libitum*, and each chief, as he comes up in the supposed presence of the attendant deities, takes his draft from the sacred bowl, swears his oath of fidelity in muttered prayers which imply the most fearful denunciations as a certain consequence of infidelity..

9. The dipping of the swords and spears in the liquor in which the oath is drank is said to be typical (as far as I could understand the interpretation given me) of the violent death which would of a certainty be incurred by a departure from engagements contained in the oath. In the present instance the Kakhyens were simply called upon to protect and afford safe conduct to traders and travellers who might cross their respective hill ranges on the route between Bhamo and the Shan States. The means for securing so important an object may appear to us profane and irrational, but as a native religious rite they are natural enough to Kakhyens, and have a powerful and binding effect in keeping them to their engagements.

10. And as regards a certain profanity in the proceedings, there is unfortunately little or no distinction between the Kakhyen ceremonial and that which is of necessity enforced in the administration of oaths to natives in our own courts of justice whenever a Burman, or more particularly a Chinaman, takes his place in the witness box.

11. Altogether the oath of fidelity was sworn to by 31 Kakhyen chiefs, who are principally located on the grand central or embassy route between Bhamo and the Shan State of Hotha. The immediate benefits to those who may wish to avail themselves of the route are certain. The more remote, though not less important, results will be found to arise out of the increased influence we are likely to obtain by the notoriety of our friendly engagement with the Kakhyens, and the extensive circulation which their report of our true and liberal treatment of themselves will acquire throughout all parts of the country which we are engaged in conciliating to our cause and enlisting in the interests of trade with South-Western China.

12. It will be observed that the experiment of binding over Kakhyen saubwas by a custom of their own to protect and support traders of every denomination who may desire safe conduct across their hills has been limited in the first instance to the chiefs who occupy hill ranges between Bhamo and the Hotha valley by the old central or embassy route. I was afraid that the introduction of chiefs or Saubwas from other routes might create a spirit of jealous rivalry which might have marred to some extent the full accomplishment and object of the binding ceremonial. It will become necessary, however, in the event of a British agent being appointed to reside at Bhamo, to extend this ceremonial to the chiefs of the Ponlyne (or northern) and Sawuddy (or southern) route. If summoned in a friendly way to Bhamo, and solicited to give us a friendly support in the cause of trade, *they too* will be induced, by the anticipation of securing for themselves or for their particular route a monopoly of trade transit, to bind themselves by the customary obligation already subscribed to by their brethren on the central or embassy route.

458. The concluding paragraph of the above letter suggests the necessity of a few remarks relative to the determination of a practicable trade route between Bhamo and the Shan states, or rather we may say between Bhamo and Momein, for the particular route pursued across the Kakhyen hills practically determines its further course through the Shan states into Yunan.

459. For the sake of distinction I have already denominated the three principal Kakhyen routes with which we have become more or less practically acquainted as follows:—

1. The northern or Ponlyne route.
2. The central or embassy route.
3. The southern or Sawuddy route.

And I shall limit myself in what I have to say regarding them to a few general facts, without any desire of intrenching upon engineering details, which rightly belong to a separate department.

460. In the first place, I start with the assertion that the question as to which route is most practicable in an engineering point of view, is one which it would be premature to puzzle ourselves about for all present purposes, until we are prepared to entertain a definite scheme of road improvement, or even railroad communication.

461. What I mean is, that trade to an almost unlimited extent is now possible by any of the present existing routes, without reference to their engineering capabilities, and that the determination of either of these routes as a through-route for general traffic must depend for some time to come on questions of policy and general expediency, rather than of special adaptability or physical disqualification.

462. One of the main results of the recent expedition is, that it has assured us of the good will and hearty co-operation of the several races bordering on Burmah, in the furtherance and construction of any great permanent work which we may be led to project within their respective territories.

463. It

463. It has been further conclusive in showing that the Kakhyen hills form no real physical barrier to the construction of good practicable roads, and that the character and configuration of their several ranges are such as to afford ground for belief that a railroad which would connect Bhamo with the chief centres of trade in South-Western China, is an engineering project which may be reasonably entertained and successfully accomplished.

464. It is now a significant and important truth, that 130 miles of road or railway on the most practicable line between Bhamo and Momein would effectually tap the resources of Yunan and put us into direct communication with the wealth and resources of South-Western China. But until such a work has been specially projected, or until fresh surveys have been instituted, with a view to the final determination of a direct *through*-route between Bhamo and Momein, my opinion, with reference to the general adaptability of any of the existing routes for all present purposes of commerce and communication, is strongly in favour of the central or embassy route, which leads direct from Bhamo to Hotha, and my suggestions are that we should lose no time in utilising to the utmost the substantial advantages which have so far been secured to us by our late friendly alliances with the several Kakhyen chiefs who hold that route.

465. As soon as the British Agency has been established at Bhamo, we shall be in a position to enter into further friendly relations with the chiefs also of the northern and southern routes, and an active officer of engineers, having his headquarters at Bhamo, will be able, in conjunction with the British agent, to arrange during a single season for a system of practical surveys, which would add to our knowledge of the country, and aid in the determination of a highway (*road*, *tramway*, or *railway*), which must eventually, and at no great distance of time, connect the Irrawaddy with Yunan, or Bhamo with Momein.

466. I consider it, moreover, to be a matter of political expedience that the agent at Bhamo, or the engineer with whom he may be associated, should have it in their power to incur a considerable outlay in repairing and otherwise improving each of the present existing routes. The expenditure incurred would be amply repaid by strengthening our hold over the Kakhyen races, and securing to them the certainty of remuneration in return for labour.

467. Such an advantage can hardly be overrated, for whilst it provides us with willing labourers amongst races working, it may be said, under the incentive of self-interest, it will show these same races that our undertaking is in earnest, and that we have seriously determined upon utilising themselves and their country in the commercial openings which look towards China.

The more prospective benefits will develope themselves gradually in the means afforded for facilitating communication between Burmah and the Shan States, and of stimulating and drawing to its natural channel a trade which, for several years past, has either altogether ceased, or been influenced by a variety of causes into partial, and let me add temporary disuse.

468. And here I find myself brought face to face with the duty of resolving one of the main questions which gave rise to the present expedition. The chief objects of the mission, as laid down in paragraph 3 of my letter of instructions, No. 12, of 11th November 1867, are threefold:—

1. To investigate thoroughly the causes of the cessation of trade.
2. To discover the exact position of the Kakhyens and Shans and Panthay government in Yunan.
3. To influence these several communities towards the re-establishment of trade.

A reference to what has already been recorded in the narrative portion of this report must simplify very materially the work of coming to definite conclusions on the principal questions involved, as contained in the detailed instructions already quoted.

469. The cessation of trade between Burmah and China, consequent upon the breaking out of the Mussulman rebellion at Yunan, is of course primarily ascribable to that rebellion and its destructive influences on the resources and commerce of those portions of the country from which the chief products of trade were principally derived.

 470. That

470. That rebellion dates from the year 1855, but during the last five or six years, or since the comparative consolidation of Mahomedan rule within the province of Yunan, the necessities consequent upon comparative isolation, and the fact that Yunan was more or less politically cut off by rebellion from trade communication with other provinces of the Chinese empire, compelled the Panthays to look towards Burmah, and to contemplate a resuscitation of that trade which for generations past had found a natural outlet on the Irrawaddy, and established for itself an extensive mart at the Burmese frontier town of Bhamo. But a peculiarity, however, is observable in the Panthay mode of reviving this trade, and there is some reason to believe that at the outset of their undertaking certain political reasons may have conspired to restrict them to a long overland journey of two months (*viâ* Thinnee) from their capital at Talee to the capital of the Burmese empire situated at Mandalay.

471. These reasons were necessarily cogent and unavoidable as long as the Panthays felt themselves insecure as a government, and had failed to add the northern Shan States, bordering on Burmah, to the list of their conquests. During the interval, however, whilst the Panthay Government was in a measure debarred from reaching the old established and comparatively proximate trade mart at Bhamo, the necessities of its position were of so urgent a nature that trade with Burmah was profitable at any cost, and the conquerors of Yunan found it to their advantage to commit their caravans to an expensive land route of two months' duration to Mandalay, rather than submit to complete isolation from all trade intercourse with Burmah.

472. But when the way to Bhamo had been to all intents opened by the conquest of the northern Shan States in 1864, and friendly alliances had been entered into with the Kakhyens, so that no apparent barriers remained to prevent the recurrence of trade to its former natural and legitimate outlet, it is a rather significant fact that the projectors of the Yunan caravans should *still* have found themselves restricted to the long overland journey to Mandalay, instead of being guided by interest and expedience to strike the Irrawaddy at Bhamo, and reduce by one-fourth their time and their expenditure.

473. The reply to this seeming inconsistency is to be looked for, I conceive, in the anomalous attitude of the Burmese Government. It may be casting a slur on our diplomatic acumen to confess that I am only now beginning to realise to perfection the full amount of stern opposition with which the Burmese Government has indirectly confronted us in denying a highway through Burmah to China.

474. I can now account to myself for the reality of a hint thrown out in a former paragraph of this Report, that the British occupation of Pegu has of late years been made to play more than a subsidiary part in Burmese policy, in causing a cessation of the old Irrawaddy trade with South-Western China. What Burmah has always dreaded in that occupation is, that British interests would not be confined to British possessions, but that contingencies might arise which would give the foreigner the right of extending his influence to Upper Burmah, and to a point above and beyond the limits of the present Burmese capital.

475. Such a contingency was always imminent as long as it could be made demonstrable, in any way, that Bhamo might again become the natural emporium of a direct overland trade between Burmah and China. The same objection did not hold good, provided Mandalay could be made the mart for that trade instead of Bhamo, for in that case the intrusive foreigner would still be somewhat under control, and his operations for good or evil would not probably extend themselves in the same dangerous degree or direction, as they seemed destined to do if allowed to ramify from an emporium on the extreme confines of the empire, and in direct contiguity with races which did not owe allegiance to his Majesty of Burmah.

476. On this account the Chinese or Panthay caravans have been encouraged to come to Mandalay to the exclusion of Bhamo, and I most unhesitatingly conclude, from careful observation and from experience gained during the late expedition to Momein, that the causes which have actuated the Burmese Government

Government in its deliberate discouragement of all communication with China, *vid* Bhamo, have arisen in a great measure out of an instinctive and almost superstitious fear that the extension of British influence, beyond the capital of Burmah, would prove fatal to Burmese supremacy and destroy the vaunted exclusiveness of the Burmese Government.

477. Other predisposing causes have not been wanting in inclining the King of Burmah to hug this political conservatism, and to enforce it to the detriment of his subjects, and at an enormous loss to his own private and public exchequer.

One of these reasons is that he knows that the vast increase of commerce, which would be created by a resuscitation of the Bhamo route, would necessitate the presence of a fleet of English steamers, on the Irrawaddy, above or to the north of his capital. His avowed objection to such a contingency is that the steamers, being English, would come into collision with hostile influences, and that differences and complications would necessarily follow between the British Government and his own.

478. Another cause for political anxiety may have been that since the curtailment of Burmese power and resources, by the occupation of Pegu, the opening of a direct and proximate means of ingress and egress, *to* and from China, might conduce to a dangerous influx of Panthay material, and threaten the dominions of Burmah on her northern frontier, and at no great distance from her royal capital.

479. Compassed about, then, as the question was by all these obstructive elements of political discord, it will naturally enough be asked how the Burmese Government was ever persuaded into agreeing to our proposed survey of the Bhamo route? or why the King of Burmah encouraged our advances for such a survey by cordial approval, and with promises of hearty co-operation?

480. The apparent anomaly is now disclosed in all the bare nakedness of truth and fact. Refusal would have argued a want of interest in what concerned the prosperity of his own, and of our possessions. Compliance would only strengthen his own secret policy, by giving us the opportunity of practically demonstrating the utter inutility of our combined efforts to open wide the portals to China. In this latter belief he was of course supported by the conviction that, despite royal assurances of co-operation and aid, indirect obstructions could be successfully applied, in manifold variety, to defeat expeditionary efforts, and convert them into a furtherance of his own loved scheme of conservative retrogression.

481. The history of his failure is imperfectly recorded in the above narrative, and will be best noticed by a supreme disregard. At the same time, *we* too have a policy to pursue in the interests of our subjects in Burmah, and of commerce everywhere, and the influence of that policy should be promptly exercised in removing the cobweb of Burmese obstruction by honest straightforward diplomacy if possible, but with a determination of purpose which, if it fails to secure our legitimate ends, will, at all events, afford a proof that we no longer submit to cajolery and bad faith or to nefarious designs against the lives of our officers after they had been duped into dependence by false promises of aid and protection.

482. My report would be considered defective, perhaps, unless it specially touched upon the capabilities and resources of Yunan as a profitable centre for the extension of British trade *viâ* the Irrawaddy and Bhamo.

It would be equally defective, I conceive, were I to adopt the opposite extreme, and assume that the journey to Momein gave us any definite claim to speak with authority on the statistics of Yunan. My note-book contains information which might be cooked up into price currents and other statistical memoranda, more valuable as literary curiosities than as aids in investigating the commercial status of Yunan province.

483. As an instance of this I may notice that in Yunan itself the real price of natural productions had become greatly enhanced by reason of continued disturbances and temporary scarcity. European importations, very rarely met with in the bazaar, sold for amounts which varied from 300 to 500 per cent. above English prices.

From this it will readily be perceived that lists prepared in conformity with prices at present ruling in Yunan would be dangerous as a guide in estimating the value of the Yunan trade. One large consignment of European goods to Momein, or the first sensation of a return to tranquillity, would swamp the Momein market, and make present price lists a mere parody upon the ordinary realities of supply and demand.

484. The productive capabilities of Yunan may be more confidently estimated.

Its mineral wealth and natural resources have already been widely proclaimed by speculative theorists, who have zealously urged the expediency of reaching them by a Chinese overland route through Burmah. Those who have read the able report of Captain Bowers, who has been associated with the present expedition as mercantile representative, will see that his practical experiences are a valuable addition to our commercial knowledge of Yunan, and bear out all preconceived ideas of its adaptability to the requirements of British trade.

485. My own opinion, deduced from observation and such information as was obtainable at Momein, is that the mineral wealth alone of Yunan entitles it to special notice as a country with which it is almost a crime that British possessions in Burmah are not already allied by links of friendship and commercial intercourse.

I am not exceeding facts when I state that most of the products of Yunan which would find favour in a European market are at present procurable at Momein and its vicinity, at prices which vary from 50 to 100 per cent. below English rates. That these prices have ruled for years past, and that they are in excess even of the prices which obtain further within the interior of the province, may be reasonably inferred from the fact that Yunan merchants find it a profitable speculation to convey their produce by an expensive overland journey of two months to Mandalay, to pay all transit dues thereon, including a 10 per cent. customs duty in Burmah, and finally to dispose of that produce at rates which leave a large margin for profit in the English markets. At the same time, it is always necessary to bear in mind that a large or sudden demand, such as that which would inevitably follow a renewal of the old trade with Burmah, might produce a sensible influence on present prices in Yunan, and (for a certain season at least, or during the prevalence of present disturbances, or until our trading capacity is fairly understood), produce disappointment by a probable failure of export supplies.

486. The present importance, therefore, of commercial relations with Yunan, in its more immediate results on the trade of British Burmah, must be estimated rather by its capacity to consume European manufactures than as a producer of material to a European market. On this subject, however, in which I am approaching the intricacies of trade details, I can only speak suggestively, and with a diffidence proportioned, I hope, to my own want of experience. I am nevertheless firmly convinced, under all conditions of policy or circumstance, in the practicability of a large and extensive trade through Burmah with China, and without any wish to discourage the proposed attempt of reaching a point in Yunan by a direct line of communication from a Rangoon terminus, I am bound to express an opinion founded upon the experiences of our late expedition, and to declare that the Irrawaddy route *viâ* Bhamo to Momein is already an accomplished reality, and requires only the stimulus of ordinary encouragement to develope itself into a mine of incalculable wealth to our Eastern possessions.

487. The task of aiding this development rests with us, and depends upon the extent to which we are inclined to urge and enforce a progressive policy on the notice of the Burmese government. The disturbed state of Yunan itself may probably prove a more serious difficulty, and makes it premature to calculate upon the fulfilment of an established trade until a definite understanding has been come to between the Panthay and Chinese governments. This was the opinion of Panthay officials at Momein, and it will be traced very clearly in the tenor of the letter which I have had the honour of conveying from the Governor of Momein to the address of the English ruler at Rangoon.

488. It will be seen, however, in the account of our residence at Momein, that the Panthay Governor expressed himself very clearly in favour of a proposition

to

to terminate hostilities in Yunan by the influence and intervention of the British Government, acting through its ambassador at the court of Pekin.

The exigencies of our mercantile interests in British Burmah, and the great importance to the commercial world at large of this question of direct overland trade through Burmah with China afford ample justification for the exercise of even extraordinary political means for the attainment of a charitable as well as an eminently advantageous result.

489. There are numerous other points connected with this expedition which have either been inadvertently omitted in the present report, or which, if touched upon at all, may perhaps call for further special explanation.

I must plead the inexhaustibility of the subject, the ramifications to which each section of it leads, the urgency of time, and the undue limits to which my report has already extended, as a few of the excuses which necessitate the reservation of further details.

For the same cogent reasons I am bound to withhold much that might have been profitably said regarding the languages, ethnology, and customs of the several races who have fallen under observation during the progress of our journey to and from the city of Momein.

490. My concluding remarks must be strictly confined to a brief *résumé* of the more prominent results of the recent expedition.

1. The Panthay government has approved of the proposal to revive overland trade *viâ* Bhamo, and volunteered on its own part to dispatch a friendly mission to Rangoon to institute general inquiries into the most practical means of carrying on direct trade with British Burmah.

2. It has further promised that mule caravans from Yunan shall in future make Bhamo their terminus on the Irrawaddy instead of Mandalay, provided assurances are given that produce from Yunan can be profitably disposed of at Bhamo, and that return produce will be available there to meet all requirements.

3. The Governor of Momein has addressed a letter to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, and afforded written testimony of the friendly regard with which the Panthay government has viewed our desire to promote commercial intercourse with Yunan.

4. He has also given me a writing under seal, in which mention is made of certain transit duties on goods passing between Burmah and Momein. But on the point of duties generally, the Governor convinced me that it would be premature at present to lay down definite rules for their collection. From personal observation I am enabled to state, with some degree of certainty, that 12 annas per mule-load* will clear goods as far as Momein, and as regards their further transit into Yunan, the Governor's assurances are, that duties on exports and imports between the Kakhyen hills and Talee will in no case exceed an aggregate *ad valorem* rate of 4 per cent.

5. That portion of the Shan States which is principally involved and interested in the resuscitation of overland trade between Burmah and China has been effectually explored, and chiefs and people who were found to have been influenced by Burman intrigue and misrepresentation into a state bordering on active opposition, have been gradually converted, by a truthful recognition of facts as practically disclosed by our residence amongst them, into hearty supporters and undisguised friends.

6. All three routes by which the Kakhyen hills are crossed from Burmah in the direction of the Chinese frontier, have been more or less explored and surveyed, two of them by our whole party, and a third by a competent surveyor who was specially detached on that duty. The results of these surveys, in conjunction with other modifying considerations of policy and convenience, will eventually aid in the determination of a definite line of road between Bhamo and Momein.

7. Thirty-one

* A mule is warranted to carry 50 viss. This weight is exacted in the case of cotton bales, but ordinary packages should not be made to exceed 75 lbs. each, two to the load.

7. Thirty-one Kakhyen chiefs of the central or embassy route have been bound over by an oath of fidelity to protect trade, and afford at all times safe conduct across their hills. The Kakhyens, too, of the other routes have been won over to friendship, and eagerly crave for their own particular line a monopoly of transit, which I tried to convince them would in time be sufficiently extensive for profitable distribution amongst them all.

8. We have been practically assured that, although the discontinuance of trade between Burmah and South-Western China is primarily ascribable to the breaking out of a Mahomedan rebellion in the province of Yunan, the causes of present commercial inactivity may be traced to the adverse influences of the Burmese Government, and the jealous opposition with which it strives to guard against the extension of our commercial ascendancy beyond or in rear of the Burmese capital.

9. Finally, I record with deliberation my firm conviction that the Burmese government, if in earnest (or any other government by which it may be supplanted, and holding the same geographical position), has it in its power at the present time, almost without effort, and in spite of present Yunan disturbances, to open an immediate trade *viâ* Bhamo, not only with Yunan itself, but probably also, under suitable arrangements, with other of the outlying provinces of South-Western China.

491. It only remains for me to notice the services of those officers who have been associated with me on the recent expedition.

Captain J. M. Williams, the engineer who was first appointed to accompany the expedition to South-Western China, severed his connectionship with it at Ponsee, under circumstances the responsibilities of which I have already shown rest entirely with myself.

492. I find it impossible to laud too highly the services of Dr. John Anderson, Curator of the Indian Museum, who was associated with the expedition as medical officer and naturalist. The earnest and searching nature of his inquiries into all matters of scientific interest, his devotion to the objects of the mission, the zealous and attentive care with which, as a medical officer in the treatment of disease, he ingratiated himself into the good opinion of the several races with whom we came into contact, and impressed them favourably with a sense of English science and English generosity, and of the English mission generally, are facts which were patent to all, and deservedly invite the recognition of Government.

493. In one department of his duties, Dr. Anderson was called upon to select and purchase valuable specimens from amongst the products and manufactures of the countries visited whenever our funds admitted of such an expenditure. It was deemed to be a matter which affected the well-being and interests of the expedition to pay well for specimens, and thereby add to the certainties of collection. By this means vendors were induced to part with their property, or Shan and Kakhyen collectors found it to their advantage to roam the forests and return with an occasional valuable addition to natural history or botanical discovery.

I would earnestly recommend that all such expenditure should be borne by Government, and be adjusted as an item of expedition accounts.

494. Captain Bowers, commercial agent attached to the expedition, deserves special mention as an officer whose varied experience and professional knowledge have been of special utility in an enterprise with which he has been happily associated. I feel a true pleasure in recalling the numerous instances of unselfish and disinterested zeal with which he applied himself in every emergency to the solution of difficulties and the general furtherance of our expeditionary interests.

495. Mr. T. Stewart served with the expedition as mercantile representative, appointed by the Rangoon Chamber of Commerce, up to the time of his departure from Ponsee at the end of April 1868. I am indebted to him for many personal kindnesses, but more particularly for the readiness which he manifested at all times to sink private considerations and make them subservient to the interests of our enterprise.

496. Mr.

496. Mr. Robert Gordon, who took the place of Captain Williams, and joined the expedition at Mynela on the 16th July, has evinced throughout a laudable activity which well merits the notice of the Chief Commissioner, and of his departmental superiors. Of his professional abilities it would ill become me to speak, but I may allude to an excess of professional zeal, which required rather restraint than extraneous impetus to excite it to full action.

497. This fact leads me (now that I conceive I have fulfilled a duty, imperfectly, perhaps, to all my associates in the recent expedition) to record in addition to my thanks my earnest apologies for having on many occasions interfered with their professional utility, by contracting the sphere of successful inquiry. It resolved itself into a duty at times to curtail inquiry, and more especially to forbid the use of scientific instruments whenever I saw that our acts were suspected, and that reason and explanation were impotent in themselves to stifle prejudice or remove misconception.

498. No one who has not accompanied the expedition throughout, or who does not bear in mind the force of retarding influences, the conflict of interests, Burman intrigue, and, above all things, the natural suspicions which would attach themselves to our first contact with much that was discordant in race and religion can form any idea of the necessities for extraordinary caution in the minutest of our investigations.

499. To allude to these particulars, or to mark the instances in which an interdict was necessary, would be to resume the narrative of our expedition experiences. I can only beg, therefore, that my own shortcomings, and that the shortcomings of any other member of our party, whose fund of information in his particular department may seem to fall short of ordinary expectation, be laid to the charge of expedition interests, without casting a slur on individual inclinations.

APPENDICES.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, British Burmah; dated Bhamo, the 22nd January 1868.

I ARRIVED here last evening after a most pleasant trip, which has been signalised by the absence of difficulties of every kind in river navigation. The problem, as regards the practicability of the upper waters of the Irrawaddy for steamer navigation, has been satisfactorily and finally settled. There is no doubt whatever that the river is better in this respect between Mandalay and Bhamo than it is between Mandalay and our frontier. True, our steamer did not draw more than three feet of water, but with this draft we never grounded; and though the vessel bumped now and then on a sandbank, it was only to fall back again immediately into comparatively deep water. Our Burman captain had a good eye for water, and the journey might have been completed in five instead of eight days, had not the dense morning fog interfered with our starting hour, and made it often 10 instead of 6 a.m. We stayed, too, occasionally at places which promised an equivalent for delay, either in scientific or sporting results.

The murder of the old Bhamo Woon has had rather a depressing effect in these parts. The Kakhyens are said to show a more decided spirit of independence than ever. Yesterday, whilst the steamer was at anchor off Shwè-goo-myo, I went on shore with Williams and a small party of our followers; we passed through several small Burmese villages, all of which were fortified with interlaced split bamboos, as a protection against the attacks of murderous and kidnapping Kakhyens. The villagers were afraid to leave their fortifications, and cross the short distances (not a mile) which separated some of their villages, unless in armed parties of five men and upwards. It was with some difficulty that I managed to get a Burman to accompany and show us where we might possibly fall in with a Kakhyen encampment. It was moderately risky work, but we were too strong to fear attack, and felt sure that the Kakhyens, if properly spoken to and unmolested by us, would not attempt harm. Some villages had been deserted by Burmese in fear of Kakhyen inroads. We passed them, and after a while our cautious guide pointed to a hut in the distance, in which he said we should find what we wanted. He remained, and we went on. The house or hut was filled with Kakhyens. When first they saw our party, strong in numbers and arms, they made a sudden movement, which might have been construed either into an attempt to spring upon or away from us; but immediately I spoke they were quiet, and understood that we meant peace. There were a dozen or more Kakhyens in the house with their chief or Saubwa, who spoke Burmese. They spread mats in the most polite manner, and invited us into the house. Our followers advised caution, but we entered and sat down, when a pleasant and interesting conversation took place. I was called the Engleit-mengyee, and treated with every respect. After a time I persuaded the whole party of Kakhyens, with their Saubwa, to leave their house and accompany us on our way back to the steamer; but after proceeding some distance they held a council, and then informed me that press of business would not allow of their coming all the way to the steamer. They were of course afraid of putting themselves too much in the power of the Burmese authorities at Shwègeo, though they had so far placed reliance in us as to let us lead them through the centre of some of the villages specially fortified against their ingress. We parted as good friends, and I relate the incident at length because it augurs well for success in our further dealings with this much-belied race.

This morning two Tsitkays of Bhamo have paid me a formal visit on board the steamer. I received them formally, and our escort was drawn up on either side with shouldered arms. The written order which I caused to be forwarded from Mandalay to have mules in readiness here for our onward journey only reached the old Bhamo Woon, at Momeit, a few days before his murder, and the sensation produced by the murder itself, and the absence of a Governor at head quarters to arrange matters, has resulted in a miscarriage of intentions. The consequence is, that everything in the way of procuring carriage has to be done now. One road through the Kakhyen hills is closed on account of recent disturbances. This is the central Momouk road; but the Sawuddy route on the south, and the Tahpen route on the north, are reported to be practicable. Still no traffic exists on either. The Shans and Burmese on either side do not openly attempt the passage, and the Kakhyens alone do a small trade in salt and gnapee.

But I do not intend to take more than ordinary notice of these sensational reports, which originate more in funk than reality. I have caused letters to be written by the Tsitkays to the saubwas and chiefs on the Tahpen route (the most direct one), and sent my own men with the Tsitkay's people to watch events and explain our advent. In six days, if all goes well, we are to be supplied with 200 mules and 100 Kakhyen coolies. In the meantime I have leisure to make arrangements here and prosecute useful inquiries. It is not improbable that I may take the steamer up to the first defile above this, and test the navigability of the river as far up as I can. This will be better than absolute idleness. The

authorities

authorities are building us a "thandai" on shore. For the present we retain our quarters on board.

Bhamo is a ruin of former prosperity. The extinction of trade and intercourse with China has reduced it from health to downright insignificance, and even poverty. Most of the formerly-inhabited portion of the town is now deserted and overgrown with jungle. The old stockade is dilapidated and useless for all practical purposes of defence. The Chinese population thrive as Chinese seem to do everywhere, but I have as yet to ascertain their special mode or means of livelihood. Every variety of Indo-Chinese race abounds, and there is abundant food for ethnologists and photographers. Our steamer is daily crowded with curious visitants of all these races, who come in anxious bewilderment to look at the large fire ship, which moves apparently of its own accord against all opposition. The steamer has done her work well, and Burmese captain and Burmese crew are acknowledged by all of us to be superior on trial to native lascars in all save cleanliness. To-morrow I go in state to return the Tsitkay's call. Before I left Mandalay the King gave me two gold umbrellas by way of adding to my importance on the journey, and I intend to bring them into use at once.

In a few days there will be more to say of a reliable nature regarding our route inland towards China; now we can only speculate on results; but the present absence, so to speak, of direct impediments is suggestive of success, and no party was ever in greater earnest than we are.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, British Burmah; dated Bhamo, the 23d January 1868.

THERE has been a delay in the despatch of the boat from this, and I am able to send a few additional items of information. This morning I repaid the Tsitkay's visit with all due ceremony, and was received most courteously and hospitably. All promises well so far, but I cannot quite shut my eyes to the wild stories afloat regarding the difficulties of our expedition. No Burman or Chinese inhabitant here believes that we shall succeed. The difficulty does not lie with the Kakhyens, but the Shan states and the Chinese frontier have become impassable, it is said, owing to the depredations of large gangs of dacoits and marauders of all kinds, who have been compelled, by a state of protracted civil war, to get a livelihood by any other than lawful means. So much for report; we shall know very little for certain on this subject until we get further on towards the Chinese frontier; but with reference to the Kakhyens and late disturbances at Momeit, I am sorry to find that the Burmese authorities here have not acted in a way which is likely to ensure us a safe or hospitable reception when once we leave Bhamo. No Kakhyens are allowed to enter this town, and the sale of salt and gnapee to Kakhyens is absolutely forbidden. I have interfered to have these restrictions removed, but the authorities believe they have good reason for punishing the Kakhyens, and it will be difficult to make them desist from retaliatory measures on our account whilst the Kakhyens show a hostile front and continue their depredations on isolated Shan and Burmese villages. I may be able to do something with the new Governor of Bhamo on his arrival, though in many respects it will be more advantageous, I believe, to treat directly with the Kakhyen chiefs, if possible, without any Burman intervention whatever.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, British Burmah; dated Bhamo, the 27th January 1868.

WE are likely to remain here a few days longer, I am afraid. In reply to the Tsitkay's letters to the neighbouring Kakhyen saubwas, they sent to say that without the direct orders of the Bhamoo Woon they would not come in to Bhamo. The men I sent were successful after a time in getting the Saubwas to understand that it would be to their advantage to come in and talk to me without any reference to the Bhamo officials; and I am assured the principal Kakhyen chiefs who have charge of the route I intend taking (the Tahpen route) will most probably be here to pay me a visit to-morrow or the next day. The only immediate difficulty will consist in procuring carriage; but if this is not obtainable, we must go without it, or take only what we can get. The chiefs will do nothing, they say, until they have seen and arranged with me independently of the Burmese authorities. The satisfactory portion of the whole is, that these chiefs, as far as I can at present ascertain, promise us safe conduct through Kakhyen land; and I feel pretty sure they will do all that is required by us if we manage them properly. The Bhamo Woon has not as yet arrived, but I expect him daily. The delay here will be profitable in many respects; it enables us all to collect information of various kinds. The mercantile representatives have no faith as yet in the practicability of trade being carried on to any extent, even though we penetrate China. Reports from the frontier of Yunan describe a state of chronic disorganization, and a chaotic confusion of conflicting interests, which no *present* means can possibly cure. There seems now to be no doubt that the road between Momein and Tali is occupied alternately by Chinese and Panthay outposts in open hostility to each other; no one supposes

that we shall ever succeed in passing these outposts. But more of this anon. A boat is just starting without much previous notice, so I will not add more now. They have built us a residence on shore, but we still retain the steamer here, and live on board. I think it right to keep the steamer until the Bhamo Woon's arrival, or until the Kakhyen chiefs present themselves and we come to final arrangements with them.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, British Burmah; dated Bhamo, the 31st January 1868.

The Kakhyen Saubwas made their appearance for the first time yesterday; only two have come in, but one of them, the Ponlyne chief is supposed to be a host in himself. I have had a long public interview this morning, at which all the officials in the place attended. The Kackhyen saubwa was very reserved, and for a long time every kind of opposition was offered to the several propositions I made regarding the journey across Kakhyen land. First, the excuse was that carriage could not be procured, or, if procurable, each mule would cost 15 rupees from Tahpen to Manwyne, the first Shan village on the other side of the Kakhyen hills. Next, the chief said that he would only be answerable for us within his own particnlar district, would not supply us with anything *en route*, &c. &c. It struck me that most of the opposition was forced or due in great measure, if not entirely, to the presence of Burmese officials, and the knowledge the chief may have been brought up in to the effect that the Burmese government had ever been averse to British officers penetrating beyond Bhamo. I succeeded eventually, at a more private interview, in getting the Saubwa to say that he was glad to hear we intended crossing his territory; that he would supply men and carriage, which should take us safely all the way to Manwyne, and even build sheds for us at the several halting stations. So far so good; but we are entirely dependent on this Saubwa, and this produces a feeling of helplessness; a single false step, and we should never get beyond this place. As it is, I am obliged to be cautious in every thing I say or do. No one here wishes us to proceed; the officials look piteously upon the members of the expedition, and say in their own way that we are tempting Providence. Chinese and Burmese residents feel certain that success is an impossibility. They would rather remain as they are at present, and keep any small pickings there may be at Bhamo to themselves, than assist in keeping a road open for trade competition at all. They do not openly say so; on the contrary, they tell us "we should be glad to see the old trade route open again; but we know that this is an impossibility," &c. I will not say more about our difficulties. The great drawback is the feeling and knowledge that everything is done to discourage rather than give zest to our enterprise. Our zeal, I hope, is none the less. I am determined to push on, in spite of everything short of actual or imminent danger. We are well supplied at present with the good things of life, most of which I say must be left behind when once we make a start. This does not accord with the feelings of some of our party, who have only now begun to find out that travelling through Kakhyen land implies also an abnegation of certain personal and creature comforts. I have written thus far in the hope of being able to dispatch letters to day.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, British Burmah, dated the 2nd February 1868.

The King's steamer returns to Mandalay to-day. I kept her here a few days for our own convenience partly, and because I wished the Kakhyen Saubwas to have an opportunity of seeing for themselves that I have come up with the consent of the Burmese government. All are now convinced that I possess authority at head-quarters, however great the opposition may be on the part of petty officials here and at Mandalay. There has been a good deal of this petty obstructiveness to contend against. My interview with the Kakhyen saubwa yesterday was very satisfactory. Everything is arranged regarding transit and carriage between this and Manwyne, the first Shan town on the other side of Kakhyen land. Carriage is very expensive, each mule 12 rupees and each cooly 6 rupees, but a good deal of haggling took place to secure anything even at these rates. I took the Saubwa into my own room and talked to him privately. He emerged, all at once, from a state of savage stupidity into one of reasonable intelligence. He confessed to me that his only fear in taking us across his hills is that he will thereby incur the enmity of the Chinese of this place, and the Chinese dacoits between Manwyne and Momein, with whom he is now on friendly terms. He also confessed that the Chinese here had written to him and told him not to come in to me. The opposition of the Chinese has its foundation at Mandalay; I hope to be able to trace the matter out satisfactorily by-and-bye. One thing, however, is certain, viz., that the Bhamo Chinese have written to their dacoit friends on this side of Momein to stop us. I hope to outwit them. We shall still be here another week I expect, as the Saubwa requires time to collect mules. The Bhamo Woon has not as yet arrived, and the officials here are at loggerheads with each other. This makes them very useless to us. There is very little to be learned even here about the true state of the country beyond the Kakhyen hills. All accounts represent it as chaotic and disturbed. The object is to persuade us against an advance.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, British Burmah, dated Bhamo, the 15th February 1868.

I HAD hoped ere this to have reported our departure from Bhamo, but it is of no avail now to ignore the fact that it was never the intention of the Burmese authorities, either here or at Mandalay, that we should commence our journey before the new governor's arrival at this place.

The King hinted as much when he placed his steamer at my disposal, by saying that I was not to go quickly, but arrange so that the governor, who would be unavoidably detained at Mandalay after my own departure, might catch me up by boat before the steamer's arrival at Bhamo.

It is not improbable that the authorities, King included, speculated upon the chances of a break down, and the compulsory return of the steamer to Mandalay, where provision would have to be made for a new start by boat. This would have occasioned a month's delay at the very least.

The new governor left Mandalay on the 25th January, and will not be here until 20th instant, if even then.

Had I fully comprehended the state of affairs here before I left Mandalay, I would have waited and brought up the governor with me in the steamer.

The absence of a chief controlling power at a frontier station like this gives rise to a disorganization which gradually permeates with evil effect, until the disturbing causes affect the lowest strata and conditions of society.

A Burman subordinate, in the absence of his chief, is afraid to assume power or authority. Orders are given with the certainty (or intention perhaps), that they will never be obeyed. Liability attaches to itself no one in particular. Add to this the probabilities of secret instructions, and the natural obstructiveness of Burmese officials at loggerheads amongst themselves, and my state of helplesness, as regards the avoidance of wearying delays, becomes painfully manifest.

By dint of urgent pressure of a kind and conciliating form, the Kakhyen chief of Ponlyne has been induced to accede to my requisition and collect mule carriage.

One hundred mules have been brought, I hear, from Shan towns beyond the Kakhyen hills. A certain amount of delay in procuring them was unavoidable. The mules cannot or will not come here, so we go to them. They are collected at a village called Hentha on the Tahpen river, some 20 miles above Bhamo.

The officials are determined that the old arrangement of not allowing us to start until the Governor's arrival shall be strictly carried out. I am not sorry for this. As matters stand at the present time, it is very desirable that I should see the Governor, and confer with him in person.

The presence of a Burmese Governor as Bhamo exercises a decided influence over the hill tribes to the east, who affect, however, to be independent of his power in all save a mere nominal allegiance.

The confused and abnormal state of affairs, produced by the murder of the old Governor, the protracted absence of his successor in office, and the imbecile action of the present authorities in this province, are manifest aids to failure at the very outset of our undertaking which must be provided against before we can leave Bhamo.

The Governor's presence here, and the moral effect of his implied support, may act as a guarantee against the present prevalent idea that the Burmese Government has no connectionship or concern in the future of the present expedition. Not that the Burmese Government is powerful, or feared as a government by either Kakhyens, Shans, or Chinese, but it has in its power, amongst the inhabitants of Burmah proper, very many Shans and Chinese families, who are connected, more or less, with the dacoit leaders on the frontier, and are known to have advised their friends to oppose our progress, and even loot us at discretion, *en route*.

I have tried myself to conciliate the Chinese here in every way in my power. They profess friendship, but offer no encouragement to our undertaking.

The whole of the petty trade of Bhamo is monopolized by them, and their private interests in this respect, coupled with a fair share of obstructive advice, which comes up from their Mandalay brethren, who profit by the Thinnee route, and therefore deprecate the resuscitation of trade *viâ* Bhamo, makes them believe that, if our expedition is successful, a crowd of English capitalists will come into the field and cut them out in their present petty speculations.

It is fortunate in some respects that we have not been able to leave Bhamo in too great a hurry; otherwise, under the present condition of affairs, we should certainly have got ourselves into inextricable difficulties. The instructions of Government, which so forcibly warn me to avoid all risk of collision with the tribes and people through whose country we are to pass, are too peremptory to be hastily got rid of or evaded by a too earnest desire to succeed, without finally clearing up, as far as possible, all apparent causes of doubt and difficulty.

Eager, therefore, as I personally must be to risk much, and endure more, in the successful accomplishment of a much desired object, I am by no means sure that those with whom I am associated on this expedition would feel any confidence in my leadership if I neglected all available means of dispelling or counteracting a prevalent belief in the supposed certainty of our proceeding only to meet with armed opposition and disaster.

We have nothing to fear from the Chinese, Panthay, or Shan Governments, where there is a Government; but the danger of ruin to our enterprise exists in the resistance and avaricious greed of large bands of reckless and irresponsible dacoits, who have sprung up out of the Chinese and Panthay disturbances, and who are and ever have been the real impediment and obstruction to trade with China, *viâ* Bhamo, since the period of those disturbances.

This obstruction is irrespective of other serious drawbacks more closely connected with those disturbances, but the nature and extent of the obstruction itself will not be understood until we get further into the country, and are able to record our practical experience on this and other matters, which rest now on mere supposition.

But I have said enough for the present. I shall probably not have an opportunity of forwarding this until the Governor's arrival.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen,* Political Agent, to Colonel *Albert Fytche,* Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, British Burmah; dated Bhamo, the 25th February 1868.

EVERYTHING has been so uncertain that I have put off writing till the last moment. Even now there is only time to say that our baggage is being sent off, and we make a start in earnest to-morrow morning.

The new Governor arrived on 20th instant, but did not land from his boat till 23rd. He has not proved himself our friend, and is downright obstructive in the matter of not allowing it to be openly seen that our expedition is favoured and supported by the Burmese Government. I cannot enter into explanation now on this subject.

The Kakhyen chief, Ponlyné, has come in again, and guarantees to conduct us safely as far as the Shan town Manwyne, but no further.

Manwyne is about five marches from this; there we must hire fresh carriage for the onward movement to Momein. Whether we succeed or not in this is still a matter of much uncertainty.

A few days ago I dispatched a letter privately to the chiefs at Momein; told them the object of the expedition; asked them not to believe false rumours; forwarded copy of letter from Burmese Government to them, soliciting their assistance and co-operation, and finally inserted copies of our former and recent treaties with Burmah. If the chiefs wish us to come on to Momein I have asked them to send and meet us with an escort at Manwyne.

I cannot rely entirely on the success of this letter, but it is a "*diplomatic venture*" in the right direction. I hope to confound the politics and villainy of the Chinese petty traders here. Panthay assistance alone will enable us to defeat the opposition of Chinese dacoits who hold the roads, and are to some extent in the pay or under the influence of the Chinese merchants or petty dealers of Bhamo.

I am hard up for funds. Duncan sent nothing to pay the police escort. We lose 30 per cent. in exchanging our rupees for silver bullion. The mercantile representatives find themselves badly supplied, and say they ought never to have accompanied the expedition. There are no immediate prospects, *according to their own account,* of a renewal of trade. They have learned that, even if we succeed in getting to the Chinese frontier, the present obstacles to the renewal of the old trade route are insurmountable, at all events, for some years.

Williams is seedy, and down in the mouth. He does not believe in this route. It is not an easy matter to be very cheerful under these circumstances. We have a very exciting time before us.

This will be the last you will hear from me for some time.

APPENDIX (A).

PROCLAMATION.

TAHSAKON, Governor of Momein, hereby publishes for general information, a proclamation, issued by his Highness Tayenshine, Commander in Chief of the Panthay army.

The enemy has been defeated in all the battles fought by Tayenshine; we have advanced without opposition, and established our government throughout the country. The opposition offered to us may be compared to that of an egg in conflict with stone.

Some time ago several divisions of our army proceeded to attack and reduce the city of Yunan. General Mahtatseeyoon, who was sent against the city of Reemin, effected its capture. He afterwards, with the connivance of Htinchinree of Tsinshin, Rankyeinbon of Khwenyah, Kyanyindin and ex-General Yopeetah Kyankyin, *alias* Mah Chein Sin of Whaikyan (all of whom opened the gates of their respective cities, received the General and united their forces with his), attacked and captured the cities of Cheinkon and Anlee. Their united forces then marched upon Yunan and overran the districts of Hookoon Tsanyinkikezay and the highlands of Woonsho, which are situated to the south of Yunan. They captured more than 50 stockades and killed 2,000 men.

Another division, of the army under Lyotahtsakyein and Mahtahtsalin attacked and captured the town of Pyeekyeekoon, and subsequently entrenched itself in a position to the west

west of the city of Yunan, whence it issued and captured more than 60 Chinese villages and killed not less than 3,000 men.

A third division, commanded by Generals Mahtasakhwin, Yantatseekein, and Myeeta-tsee-shin, after capturing the town of Hoomyin, fixed its head-quarters in more than 20 stockades on the northern out-skirts of the city of Yunan; and, after killing 2,000 men, took possession of more than 40 villages in that quarter of the Yunan suburbs.

Yunan is closely invested, and we are confident of effecting its capture. The enemy has lost an innumerable number in killed, including their leaders Ngyo-sho-yoh, Shah-tsoo-sho, Waytoohton, Kyintsan-mah, and Way-shay-kyeing. Such is the terror inspired by our presence that the city gates are closed and the enemy has lost heart and will not fight.

General Tahseekho, who had marched by a different route, attacked all the villages from Boomyin to Chankho; more than 10 towns were captured, and not less than 2,000 men killed. Mahsyanlin and Mahyinkyo of Tsongmyeng opened the gates of that city, and received our General Tahtseekho, who has since marched and laid siege to Yanlintapanch-yonk and Neelyan. Both cities must soon fall.

Another division under Generals Syneyanway, Tah-too-too, and Mahtatseetoo marched from Boomyin, by the Tsintin route, and attacked Reelampah, which, with more than 10 other towns, was taken, and a large number of the enemy slain. The capture of about 10 other towns has been delayed, as the country on all sides is inundated. The enemy, to the number of 50,000 or 60,000, advanced from the city of Tongyoungchyoo, and is now engaged in defending the city of Tsintin and the hills of Khonetsan.

Mah-htinshwin and Mahwaitchein of Tsintin have sent in their submission, and have been honourably treated. Our forces, with the aid of the troops under Syneyanway and Tah-too-too, managed to open communication with each other by filling the surrounding low land, under water, with firewood, branches, and hay, and which enabled them to commence operations against the enemy. Our troops effected the capture of more than 10 towns, and killed not less than 3,000 men. The inhabitants generally of the villages about Khoonkyoon have sent in their submission, and are now our subjects. The troops were subsequently collected at Tsintin, and from thence they marched, and a battle was fought at Khonetsan hill, where the Chinese gave way, and were put to the rout. They were pursued and more than 4,000 men perished. The inhabitants of Tonechyoontsin came out, tendered their submission, and were spared.

The Generals Tah-tsee-too and Tah-too-too next held a council of war, at which it was resolved that, as the city of Yunan had not as yet been taken, it would be imprudent to enter it without due precaution. So Tah-too-too was left with his troops to garrison the city of Tsintin, whilst Tah-tsee-too received orders to march and fight his way along the Yanlintapan valley. Mahsheetai, Mahkhwei, Mahhowk Yantsinkyee, with about 10 of the chief officials of Yunan, acknowledged themselves beaten, came out with presents, and tendered submission. They were spared themselves, and their city thus saved from assault.

Tayenshine having reason to believe that the people of Htinchinree would forsake the religion of the country and become Mahomedans, admitted them as auxiliaries to the forces then besieging Yunan.

Rankyeinbon and Kyanyinlin were respectively honoured with the titles of Tahtseelyaw and Tahtseekyee. Mahsyeetai, Mahshanlin, Mahyingyo, Mah-htinshwin, Mahwaitchyein, Mahtsayinkyee, and Mahkhwei were also honoured with the titles of Tahsarankyins and Kyareetsarankyins.

More than 60,000 men from different parts have given in their submission. The news of our successes has been noised abroad, and caused Kyinwoonkyoung of Kwaikyo to join our forces with contingents from the cities of Shineree, Kyeingbon, Tsinchein, and Nan-an.

Kyinwoonkyoung has accordingly been honoured with the title of Tah-too-too. A large body of fighting men from different parts of the country placed their services at our disposal, and with them their own provisions and equipments. Yunan is now like a "fish out of water," ready to be chopped up and put into the frying pan.

The enemy under General Seinyooyin has succeeded in raising troops at Linan, and laid siege to the towns of Reemin and Boolin, which had fallen into the hands of our General Tayenshine. The enemy also dispatched troops from Whaichyoon under Generals Yeinreekhaw and Panhtee Yein. They encamped about a mile distant from the town of Tahyowk. Our General in Chief Mahtatseeyoon ascertained that a strong force of the enemy had been sent for the express purpose of recapturing the towns of Yetma, Wooto, and Lawsee, and dispatched a force under Mahpyin-nan Tahtsarankyin to counteract this movement. The enemy was attacked, routed, and lost 2,000 men. We also captured and destroyed more than 60 intrenchments. The troops engaged in beseiging Boolin were also attacked by Lyohawkyankyin and utterly routed. More than 40 towns were taken and destroyed, and upwards of 300 persons burnt to death.

Generals Mahtatsapyin and Yowhtatseeway marched with a force of 2,000 men from Seizin city by way of Tahyowk to the towns of Wootee and Lawsee, and engaged the enemy under Ramreekhaw and Panhteerein. Several stockades were destroyed, and not less than 3,000 men were killed.

We have not as yet retaken the towns of Wootee and Lawsee, but there is every probability of their early capture.

This proclamation is issued for general information to generals, officers, soldiers, and the people of the country. The inhabitants of Yunan are in a state of alarm; our enemies have been defeated in every engagement. Their gods even withhold assistance. We are destined to be victors.

But we must still watch and guard against evil. Do not be deceived, but regard what I say as the warning of Providence.

No return has as yet been published of the numbers killed in the engagements at Reemin, Lansee, Boolin, Yeimah, and Wootee.

I pity those who must still perish. All are hereby warned that death awaits them if they give ear to the words of our enemies.

Issued this 7th waxing of the month of Wahzoh, 1230.

(True translation.)
(signed) *E. B. Sladen,*
Captain, Political Agent, Mandalay.

APPENDIX (B).

From *Tahsakon*, Governor of Momein, to the English Ruler.

HAVING been informed that the political agent, Captain Sladen, was expected to arrive at Momein, *viâ* Bhamo with a party of upwards of 70 followers, for the purpose of opening a gold and silver road, and of entering into commercial relations with our Government, orders were dispatched to the officers of the several forts, outposts, and halting places, along the road by which he would pass, to protect his party from injury, and to escort them as far as Momein, where they have been received with all honour.

We beg to acknowledge with grateful thanks the receipt of the presents brought by Captain Sladen, and to inform you that it was our earnest desire that he should proceed on his journey and personally deliver the presents to our sovereign at Talee. But we regret to state that the continuance of hostilities in Yunan has rendered it expedient to prohibit foreigners and traders from entering the country during present disturbances. At the same time we beg to intimate to the English Government that it is our sincere wish to open out our country to trade, and to encourage commercial relations with other governments as soon as the country is sufficiently settled for that purpose.

We are moreover much gratified by the friendship which on the present occasion you have manifested towards us, and trust that it may endure for ever.

But as war is still being carried on throughout the country and along all the several roads by which Captain Sladen and his party would have to pass, we have deemed it right to caution him against being in too great a hurry to enter Yunan, and have been induced in our anxiety to protect him against all harm, to advise return for the present, without continuing his journey beyond Momein. The object of Captain Sladen's expedition is directed to the revival of trade, whereby a gold and silver road will be established between our respective countries. As such the expedition is entitled to, and has received, our warm support and commendation.

Our excellent sovereign has raised an army which consists of 100,000 fighting men commanded by officers who have been honoured by the following titles:—

Tah Tsee, Tah-kyan-kyin, and Tan-sankyin Tah-too-too. They have already captured and hold more than 100 districts and towns within the province of Yunan. We have also received under our government, and given the title and rank of Tah Tsee Lyaw to Sahyah, Yun-myo, and Kyein Bon of Thookhooyan and several other independent chiefs of different Chinese races. Thoogyee Kyan-yei-lin of Whaikyan has been raised to the rank and position of Tah Tseekyee Chinree of Tsinshin is styled Tah Tseehoo. Kyinwoonkyonng of Kwaichyo has the title of Tah-too-too.

Mamyoh chein-Lin of Ree-hton. Mamyoh See-yan-lin and Mamyoh Yinkyo of Tsoan-myin Mamyoh Waitchein and Htinshin of Tsindin. Mamyoh Shee Tei, Mamyoh Khwei, Mamyoh Howk, and Yan-myo Tsin-kyee, who are all officials of the city of Yunan, are conscious of our power, and have sent us presents. They further promised to assist us in accomplishing the conquest of the whole of Yunan, and have accordingly been rewarded with the titles of Tahtsayankyn, Tahtsayankyn, Tah-too-too, Kyareetsaran kyin, Sankyin, and Too-too. Upwards of 10,000 of the principal inhabitants of the suburbs have also sent in their submission. The population generally of towns and districts throughout the country has proffered help and seek to join us with arms and provisions. We have surrounded the city of Yunan and our troops have established a complete blockade. The city is without provisions, or hope of relief. The enemy has lost a million of men in the several battles which have been fought in and around Yunan; of prisoners, too, we have captured more than 1,000 officers of all ranks. Our spoils in guns, muskets, swords, spears, and arrows are too infinite to admit of calculation.

Yunan is now in the position of an egg, which may at any moment be crushed to atoms by our forces. It is a well-known fact that in every engagement victory has been with us.

Governors and magistrates have been appointed in the several captured towns and districts. Forts have also been built and garrisons placed in them. We have further established outposts along the chief lines of communication, and at all halting places within the interior of the province. Notwithstanding these arrangements, we cannot guarantee protection to foreigners travelling through the country, at the present season. If injury befell them, our government would be burdened with a heavy responsibility.

We therefore write to inform you that, in accordance with the esteem and friendship in which we hold Captain Sladen and his party, we have advised them to return from Momein without

without proceeding further into Yunan, and have signified our intention of accompanying the party on its return journey with a suitable military escort.

With reference to what has been said on the subject of commercial relations, we beg again to assure you that as soon as the country is restored to tranquillity, it is our intention to dispatch an envoy with letters to confirm and perpetuate our present friendly relations with your Government.

We wish you well (salutation), and beg that you will take a friendly interest in our affairs.

(signed) *Tahsakon* (with titles).

Dated Momein, the waning of Wahzob 1230.

(True translation.)

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

APPENDIX (C).

From *Panthay*, Governor of Nantin, to Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent.

YOUR letter of 10th Labyeegyaw reached this on the 11th, and brought the intelligence of your arrival at Mynela.

I have sent a guard to escort you from Mauphoo, and have reported your arrival to Tahsakon. He will send to escort you from Nantin.

Bring your Shan escort as far as Mauphoo; our guards will meet you there.

13 Labyeegyaw. (signed) *Wanhoo*, of Sha race.

(True translation.)

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Maudalay.

APPENDIX (D).

From Governor of Momein, to Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent.

THE Panthays send greetings to their friends.

When Lanloo and other Kakhyens came to Momein, we conversed with them freely, and were extremely happy to learn that 300 foreigners had arrived at Bhamo.

Being of the same belief as yourselves, we know your willingness to help and assist us. We are the descendants of 3,000 men of the Lerroo country, who, being unable to return to their native land, settled down in China, where we have been upwards of 1,000 years. Some 10 years ago the Chinese Government became so intolerably oppressive, that by God's help Tahin-Shee, of the Too race, was commanded to separate the good from the wicked, and obtained possession of the Western Provinces of the Chinese Empire.

At present also we are carrying on war around Yunan. The whole country has sided with us, and we daily expect to capture that city. Already our rule at Momein has become so popular, that those who were formerly inimical have gladly joined our cause and government.

The Shan chiefs have also voluntarily placed themselves under our protection, and have been confirmed in their several states.

We have given peace to the country and merchants, and people can now carry on their several avocations with ease and security.

With regard to your intention of visiting Momein, we wish to consult your pleasure and convenience. We have sent word of your intentions to Tahinshoo, our king, and will write also to the Shan chiefs to help and assist you on your journey.

Fear nothing, but come by the Momonk route which leads direct to Momein. On your arrival all matters relating to trade and merchandise will be satisfactorily settled in accordance with your wishes.

We are of the same nation. Come without fear or anxiety of any sort.

(WRITER.)—Qualyen, a friend of the Lee race.

9th day of the waxing of the moon month of Nayong.

(True translation.)

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

APPENDIX (E.)

From *Tahsakon,* Governor of Momein, to Captain *E. B. Sladen,* Political Agent.

IN accordance with the affectionate esteem in which we regard each other, and our mutual desire to open out commercial relations between the two great countries, I wish you to procure and forward price lists of goods, as per enclosed memorandum.

Orders have been issued to the several outposts and guard stations, to place no restrictions or impediments in the way of trade.

The duties leviable within our territories are as follows:—

At Mauphoo	-	4 annas per mule.
„ Chatout	-	2 „
„ Mawson	-	2 „
„ Nantin	-	4 „

At Momein itself this duty shall be reduced to a minimum rate.

It is my great love for you which has caused me now to write, and impress you with a confidence and belief that in the matter of trade it is our wish that both countries should be as one country.

(Signed and sealed.)

Tahsakon,
Governor of Momein.

Dated Momein.

(True translation.)

(signed) *E. B. Sladen,* Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

APPENDIX (F).

From *Tahsakon,* Governor of Momein, to *Saray, Loayyen,* and *Ponsee,* Kakhyen Chiefs.

As we are at present engaged in active operations with the Chinese rebels at Mauphoo, we wish our English friends to stay where they are, and not advance beyond Ponsee until we have restored tranquillity and cleared the way for them.

(signed) *Houng Shan*, *Whaw* } of Lee race.

Seventh increase of the month of Kasong.

(True translation.)

(signed) *E. B. Sladen,* Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

APPENDIX (G).

From *Tahsakon,* Governor of Momein, to the Kakhyen Chiefs.

THE chiefs of Saray, Loayyen, and Kounglah are hereby informed that the intelligence conveyed in the letters brought by Way-young-tha-yan-chin is to the effect that, owing to the continued fighting at Mawson and Mauphco, the roads are at present impassable. We are unable, therefore, to make suitable provision for our English friends.

The Kakhyen chiefs will be good enough to request them to stay where they are for the present, and wait for further advice as to the most convenient time for an advance to Momein.

Kasong lazan 14th.

Kwailwin, of Lee race.

(True translation.)

(signed) *E. B. Sladen,* Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

APPENDIX (H).

From *Tahsakon,* Governor of Momein, to the Chiefs of Manwyne.

THIS letter is sent to the Shan chiefs of Manwyne to inform them that, as the English are coming from Ponsee to Momein, I wish all to aid and greet them with a hearty welcome.

I have

I have also dispatched Lanloo to Manwyne, with full instructions. Consult with him and escort the English to Momein, where on arrival you will be well rewarded.

(signed) *Uinman*, of Sha caste,
whose title is Too-too.

Labyeegyaw Kasong 8th, 1230.

(True translation.)

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

APPENDIX (I).

From *Oolooquan*, or *Quai Lwin*, to *Ponsee Lauton Saubwa*.

SAUBWA LAUTON, of Ponsee, is informed that the chiefs of Mynela and Sanda have undertaken to escort our English friends to Momein. A careful inventory should be taken of their property. Charges on account of mule hire will be paid on arrival.

(signed) *Kwai Lwin*, of Lee race.

10th increase.

(True translation.)

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

APPENDIX (J).

From *Tahsakon*, Governor of Momein, to Shan Chief and Governor's Secretary *Oolooquan*.

HAS the Shan Chief Oolooquan received my previous messages?

Our English friends wrote on the 14th Lazan to inform us that they would arrive at Momein with upwards of 80 mules.

The charges for carriage supplied by the Kakhyen chiefs amount to 750 rupees; but as our English friends have come from a great distance to open commercial relations, Oolooquan will please pay the 750 rupees in advance.

All charges will be satisfactorily adjusted as soon as the party arrives at Momein.

Qualnin (scribe) 14th Lazan.

(True translation.)

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

APPENDIX (K).

From Governor of *Nantin*, to the Kakhyen Chiefs.

GREETING to the three Kakhyen chiefs, named Saray, Loayyen, and Ponsee.

We write to inform you that our (English) friends have expressed a desire to meet us at Momein, and are now at Ponsee.

Our desire is that the Kakhyen chiefs should receive them liberally. Our thanks will be specially due to you for this service.

We further request that the Kakhyen chiefs will procure mules for our English friends, and escort them with their baggage safely into the Shan states. We will send to Mynela and pay you in full on account of all mule charges.

We wish the Kakhyen chiefs also to come up as far as Momein. We intend to confer with them on matters relating to trade.

Tahsakon will make you suitable presents. Letters forwarded by the governors of Nantin.

Houng Shan of the Lee caste, whose title is Sayanchin, and Shee Quam of the Mah caste, whose title is Sayanchin, and Shee Quam of the Mah caste, whose title is Tahyechan.

(True translation)

(Signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

Appendix (L).

Translation of a Chinese document, which purports to account for the origin and establishment of Mahomedanism in China.

The chief queen of the Emperor Tanwan adopted a child and called him Anlaushan. In time the child developed into a man of extraordinary comeliness and wonderful intellect.

The queen was enamoured, and the adopted son became her paramour.

Anlaushan soon rose to distinction. His abilities were of the highest order, and raised him at once to fame and influence. The queenly passion was not disclosed; but suspicion had been sufficiently roused to make it prudent on the queen's part to get rid of her lover and defeat all signs of illicit intercourse.

Anlaushan was accordingly accused of being privy to a conspiracy to dethrone the emperor. The influence of the queen prevailed to obtain a conviction, and her favourite was banished from the royal capital.

But the injustice of his accusation and a sense of wrongs roused Anlaushan to action, and induced him to become in reality a leader of rebellion. He lost no time in collecting a large force, with which he was able to make head against the government and successfully encounter the troops of the emperor. In time he had approached within a league of the capital, and city and palace were alike threatened.

The Emperor Tanwan in this emergency adopted the suggestion of his vizier, Kanseree, and dispatched a mission to Soeyoogwet, and implored foreign aid. A force of 3,000 men was sent under the command and guidance of three learned teachers, who arrived in due time at Tanwan's capital. By their aid Anlaushan was defeated, and eventually captured.

The rebellion was at an end, and the foreign contingent left China, to return to its own country. Here, however, a difficulty arose. Their rulers refused them admittance, and alleged as a cause for doing so that it was against the constitution of the country to receive back men who had come into contact with pork-eating infidels. They had herded, in fact, with pigs and infidels, and could no longer be regarded as unpolluted subjects, or as fit members of a society which held pork in religious detestation.

They returned therefore to China, and became permanent sojourners in a foreign land. They are the original stock from which Mahomedanism has sprung up in China, in various communities, and under several denominations, &c. &c.

True translation.)

(Signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

Appendix (M).

List of Articles which the Governor of *Momein* has asked to purchase.

Musket, Percussion	-	No.	300	Broad Cloth, black	-	Pieces	5
Pistols, Revolvers	-	,,	20	Ditto - green	-	,,	5
Double-barrel Guns	-	,,	50	Ditto - red	-	,,	10
Gun Flints, stone	-	,,	30,000	Ditto - yellow	-	,,	5
Caps, Musket	- -	,,	30,000	Ditto - white	-	,,	5
Ditto, Gun	- -	,,	20,000	Ditto - pink	-	,,	5
Gunpowder	- -	Viss	100	Strong Silk Alpaca, red		,,	10
Saltpetre	- - -	,,	10	Ditto - blue	-	,,	20
Good Steel	- - -	,,	100	Ditto - black	-	,,	10

Judson's Dyes.

Red, Yellow, Black, Blue, Dark-red, bottles 20 of each colour.

(True translation.)

(Signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

Appendix (N).

Names of the Chiefs or Saubwas who took the Oath of Fidelity at *Bhamo* on 12th September 1868.

1.	(Chief of)	Muthin.	17.	(Chief of)	Ponsaw.
2.	„	Mantai.	18.	„	Loaysyne.
3.	„	Loaylon.	19.	„	Kădau Gyee.
4.	„	Monkha.	20.	„	Kyetyen.
5.	„	Lauyen.	21.	„	Namroung.
6.	„	Yínson.	22.	„	Lonza.
7.	„	Săkhiy.	23.	„	Pombya.
8.	„	Hōtōn.	24.	„	Maro-lonkram.
9.	„	Ponwa.	25.	„	Sinlon.
10.	„	Lăsee.	26.	„	Mynesoo.
11.	„	Lamiypan.	27.	„	Kounson.
12.	„	Myneson.	28.	„	Pongatoung,
13.	„	Kădau Kowra.	29.	„	Săraiwa.
14.	„	Kădau Manta.	30.	„	Ma-onwa.
15.	„	Pagwon.	31.	„	Oungloung.
16.	„	Myneton.			

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

Appendix (O).

Instruction to Assistant Surveyor *Moung Thazanoo*.

1. Note down distances from observation, time of starting, and time of arrival at each station.

2. Direction travelled by company.

3. Altitude of hills by aneroid.

4. Make rough sketch of route traversed, with names of principal villages, streams, &c.

5. Inquire about direct routes from Momein to Yoonchan.

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Hotha, Shan States, 17 August 1868. Political Agent, Mandalay.

Appendix (P).

Report of Assistant Surveyor *Moung Thazanoo*, on the Southern or Sawaddy Route across the Kakhyen Hills between *Bhamo* and *Mowun*.

I started from Hotha on the 18th August, and arrived at Mynewun on 19th, where I put up in the Saubwa's house, and made all necessary inquiries.

The old Saubwa of the Mynewun Shan state was murdered some years ago by his younger brother, who fled to the Loaylyne Hills, and sought shelter amongst the Kakhyens. The Kakhyens were eventually induced to give him up to the Shans of Mynewun, by whom he was put to death as his brother's murderer. The Mynewun state is now governed by the old Saubwa's mother, during the minority of her grandson, who is about 15 years of age. The old grandmother is very powerful, and has great influence over her subjects.

It is arranged that the young Saubwa shall marry in two years' time, and assume the government of the Mynewun saubwaship.

There is a constant stream of trade *viâ* Mynewun (Burmese Mowon); merchants, mules, and pack-bullocks are always passing. The route is clear of all obstructions, and is wonderfully pleasant. A very large number of traders pass along the route *viâ* Sanhoung to the east of the Mynewun River. The Saubwa-gadaw and all her headmen and councillors were of one mind in saying that, if English merchants and traders could be induced to adopt the Sawuddy route to Mynewun, a guarantee would be given of safe conduct and protection against all annoyances.

The Kakhyen saubwa of Bhagon holds the route from Synekha to Kahyee, and charges one rupee upon each mule and eight annas for each pack-bullock which passes through his territory.

This was the rate fixed of old by Chinese traders, and will be continued in the case of English traders. There will be no other restrictions of any sort. The Saubwa is agreed to this.

The next saubwaship is that of Phongaw, which extends from Kahyee to Tanza. The Saubwa is most willing that English traders should make use of this route, and guarantees

that there shall be no other restriction or annoyance beyond the customary charge of eight annas per mule and four annas per pack-bullock.

The whole route from Sawuddy to Mynewun is smooth and even throughout. There are no difficulties of a nature to induce fatigue or wretchedness. The route is yearly in constant use. Traders who pass along it, on reaching Mynewun, strike off from thence, and follow any given route according to their pleasure.

The highest portion of the route lays in the Phongan saubwaship. Looking down from the hills at this point on a clear day, the course of the Irrawaddy can be seen as far as Bhamo.

(signed) *Moung Thazano*,
Surveyor.

31 August 1868.

(True Translation.)

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay

Appendix (Q).

Memorandum of Villages from Hotha to Sawuddy *viâ* Mowun.

From what State.			To what State.			Direction.	Distance.	Houses.	Nations.
Date.	Time.	Name of Village.	Date.	Time.	Name of Village.				
1868:			1868:						
18th August	5 P.M.	Hotha - -	18th August	6 P.M.	La Kome - -	S.S.W.	About 2 hours	50	Myne-tha Shan.
19th „	11 A.M.	Lakhome - -	19th „	6 P.M.	Manhtap - -	S.E.	7 „	30	Shan Ta-Roke.
20th „	– P.M.	Manhtap - -	20th „	5 P.M.	Lome Pa - -	S.S.E.	7 „	60	- ditto.
21st „	10 A.M.	Lome Pa - -	21st „	5 P.M.	Noung Eng -	S.S.E.	8¾ „	75	- ditto.
22nd „	9 A.M.	Noung Eng -	22nd „	6 P.M.	Zayat - - -	S.S.W.	15¾ „	–	—
23rd „	7 A.M.	Zayat - - -	23rd „	2 P.M.	Phone Kangyee -	W.W.N.	12 „	90	Kakhyen.
24th „	9 A.M.	Phone Kangyee -	24th „	11 AM.	Phone Kangalay -	N.W.	4 „	12	- ditto.
25th „	8 A.M.	Phone Kangalay	25th „	1 P.M.	Man Chai - -	N.W.	7 „	25	Burmese Shan.
26th „	8 A.M.	Man Chai - -	26th „	1 P.M.	Sawuddy - -	W.W.N.	9 „	15	- ditto.
26th ,	2 P.M.	Sawuddy - -	26th „	5½ P.M.	Bhamo - -	N.N.E.	About 7 miles.	–	—

Bhamo, 31st August 1868.

(signed) *Moung Thazanoo*, Surveyor.

Appendix (R.)

Approximate Height of Places visited by the Expedition.

	Above Sea Level.		Above Sea Level.
	Ft.		Ft.
Ponlyne - - - - -	2,500	Hotha, including the Hotha Valley	5,500
Ponsee - - - - -	2,600	Nambouk - - - - -	5,700
Manwyne, Sanda, Mynela } General elevation of Sanda Valley - -	3,200	Ashan - - - - -	5,700
		Loylon - - - - -	5,400
		Muthin - - - - -	5,500
Nantin - - - - -	4,100	Hoton - - - - -	4,500
Momein - - - - -	6,300	Bhamo - - - - -	600

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent, Mandalay.

Appendix (S).

Translation of a Statement made by *Moung Moh*, Kakhyen Interpreter, Resident of Bhamo, on the 27th November 1868.

The Tseetkay, chief writer Nga Kan, officials of Bhamo, sent me and Nga Nyee Tsway with letters to the Pon Tsee Toung Tsa Tsadoo and the Powon Nein Toung Tsa Tsouk-ya. When we delivered the letter on our arrival, to the Pwon Nein Toung Tsa, he asked Captain Sladen's writer to read it to him, and he, finding that the contents of the letter were bad, took it to Captain Sladen and showed it to him. The contents of the letter were, that the two officials named, were to allow Captain Sladen, the merchants and other gentlemen, and all the followers of the party to go forward, so that they may die and be no more seen, but that no return was to be permitted; they were to be deserted, and the two officials, after leaving them, were to return to Bhamo. After this, I returned to Bhamo, and after six or seven days again went with my cousin Moung No to Pwon Tsee Toung. On my arrival, as the engineer and the mercantile gentleman were alarmed and wished to return home, Captain Sladen sent me as interpreter with these two gentlemen. On arrival at Bhamo the chief writer, who was acting as Goung of the city, said to me, "We wrote to say that the English were to be allowed to proceed, but that there was to be no return for them; how came you to bring these people back again?" After stopping two or three days at Bhamo I returned to Captain Sladen at Pwon Tsee Toung, and shortly after arrival there I received a letter from my wife, begging me to return, as she had been put in gaol because I had brought two of the gentlemen back to Bhamo. I took this letter and showed it to Captain Sladen, who said he would guarantee my wife's safety, and he wrote to the governor of Bhamo, telling him not to imprison or persecute my wife. I then proceeded with the expedition, and when I finally returned to Bhamo I found that my wife had been imprisoned for two days, and had had to pay 10 ticals of silver. The letters to the Pwon Tsee Toung Tsa and the Pwon Nein Toung Tsa said that the expedition was to be quietly deserted, to die and perish either at Nan Boung Choung or at Pwon Tsee Toung.

Rangoon.
27th November 1868.

(signed) *Nga Moh*,
Kakhyen Interpreter.

(True translation.)
(signed) *R. S. Edwards.*

Appendix (T).

Proper Names which occur in the Report, with Glossary.

Ashan.—Kakhyen village (central route).
Ayeybyne.—My Burmese official title.

Bhamo.—Burmese frontier town.

Cazee.—Panthay official.
Cheoung-oke.—Burmese official over villages on the Tahpen river.
Cheoung kan.—Ditto, under Cheoung-oke.

Deebay.—Chinese town near Momein.

Haw.—Shan Saubwa's palace.
Hawshoenshan.—Chinese town near Momein.
Hotha.—Shan state. Name of chief town.
Hoton.—Kakhyen village (central route).

Kakhyen.
Kadaw.—Kakhyen village (central route).
Kanfan.—Shan duty station (between Mynela and Nantin).
Kangouk.—Kakhyen village (central route).
Karahokha.—Chinese bazaar (between Manwyne and Sanda).
Kayto.—Panthay town (Momein division).
Keeinkhan.—Shan saubwaship (south of Yoonchan).
Kingen.—Mynela official and outlaw.
Kowlee.—A trial denomination of Kakhyens.
Kyaing toung.—Shan saubwaship. } Written according to their Burmese pronunciation.
Kyaing yoon-gyee.—Ditto. }

Leesheetahee.—Robber chief in Chinese frontier.
Leogwunfan.—Ditto.
Loaylyne.—Kakhyen saubwaship.
Lakhoh.—Tribal denomination of Kakhyens.

Loayyen.—Kakhyen village (central route).
Loaylon.—Ditto.
Lawmike.—European rowdies defeated by the Panthays in Yunan.
Lauloo.—Kakhyen saubwa.
Leesaw.—A hill race (Chinese Kakhyens).
Lonlyne.—Kakhyen village.

Mauwyne.—Town in Shan states.
Meetway.—Kakhyen priest.
Momein.—Panthay walled city.
Mynekha.—Kakhyen village (central route).
Mynela.—Shan state (chief town of).
Myne-tha.—The name of the valley which includes the Shan states of Hotha and Latha.
Mynetee.—Shan town.
Myne-mau.—Shan saubwaship.
Mynewan.—Saubwaship.
Muthin.—Kakhyen saubwaship.
Momouk.—Shan town.
Mawsoon.—Deserted fort near Mauphoo.
Masa Tahzyungyee.—Title of chief Panthay military officer at Momein.
Mike-tah-see dum.—Title of leader of European rowdies defeated at Yunan.
Moung-shoay-yah.—Chinese interpreter.
Moung-mo.—Shan and Kakhyen interpreter.
Moung Thazanoo.—Assistant surveyor.
Menhla.—Burmese duty station.
Mauphoo.—Hill fort.
Monwye.—Kakhyen village (central route).
Manhleo.—Shan town.
Mantai.—Kakhyen saubwaship.

Nantin.—Chinese town (Panthay).
Nammon.—Shan town, near junction of Tahpen and Tahaw rivers.
Nanlyaw.—Shan Burmese village.
Nambouk.—Kakhyen village (central route).
Namsa.—River. Hotha valley.
Namkhon.—Mountain torrent.
Nukhandaw.—Burmese official.
Namphoung.—Burmese village on the Tahpen.
Nyoun-gen.—Kakhyen village (northern route).

Panthay.—Chinese Mahomedan.
Phaloung.—A race of Shans.
Ponwa.—Kakhyen village (northern route).
Poogen.—Shan magistrate.
Ponlyne.—Kakhyen village (northern route). Kakhyen saubwa.
Ponsee.—Ditto - - - ditto.
Paw-myne.—Kakhyen chief (under a Saubwa).
Sanda.—Shan state and town.
Sitkaw.—Burmese village on the Tahpen.
Saray.—Kakhyen village and Saubwa (northern route).
Sehek.—Burmese village.
Sawuddy.—Burmese village.
Saubwa.—Title of Shan and Kakhyen chiefs.
Saubwagadaw.—Wife of a Saubwa.
Sit-gna.—Burmese village on the Tahpen.
Sakhiy.—Kakhyen village (central route).
Shee-din.—Panthay city.
Shamalon.—Hill range (Nantin Shan states).
Saykow.—Ancient Hotha.
Saa-too-doo.—Panthay military title.
Suddan.—Kakhyen village (northern route).
Sayfan.—Shan State.
Shoay-doay.—Chinese town near Momein.

Tamon.—Shan village head man.
Tahsakon.—Official title of present governor of Momein.
Talee.—Panthay capital.
Tahpen.—Affluent of Irrawaddy.
Tahaw.—Ditto; falls into the Tahpen near Mynela.
Tsitkay.—Burmese official (under a governor).
Thon-gwet-shein.—Name of Chinese brigand chief.
Thinee.—Burmese Shan state.
Tah-bouk-gyee.—Chinese general (name of a).

Wansen-gyan.—Name of a Chinese general.
Wacheoon.—Kakhyen village (northern route).

Yoonchan.—Chinese (Panthay) city.

(signed) *E. B. Sladen*, Captain,
Political Agent.

From Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; No. 39-61, dated 30th July 1868.

I HAVE the honour to forward a copy of a letter, dated 26th April, addressed to the "North China Daily News" by Mr. T. T. Cooper, who is endeavouring to traverse the through-route from China *viâ* Thibet to India. This letter has been kindly forwarded to me by Her Britannic Majesty's consul at Shanghai under date the 16th June.

2. It will be seen that Mr. Cooper writes from a place named Tai-tsian-loo on the extreme western frontier of China, bordering on Thibet. He contemplates, should he fail in being able to pursue that route, to try and make his way to Tali, and so to Bhamo and Mandalay.

3. From his present letter, however, it appears that he has met traders on the Yangsè-Kiang river who had been to Tali, and who intended returning, so that there would seem to be a traffic route still open between Western China proper and that portion of Yunan under the new Mahomedan ruler, who has placed custom houses on his eastern frontier.

4. The information Mr. Cooper has obtained in these western Chinese provinces corroborates the importance I have attached to the resuscitation of the trade by the Bhamo route. He states: "So sure as the Bhamo and Tali route is opened, so sure will Burmah take to herself the trade of the provinces of Yunan and Kweichow."

MR. T. T. COOPER'S EXPEDITION.

THE following letter from Mr. T. T. Cooper will doubtless prove of interest to our readers:—

Tai-tsian-loo, Western Borders of China,
26 April 1868.

To the Editor of the "North China Daily News."

Dear Sir,

Since writing you from the village of Hi-yan-su, a troublesome and dangerous journey of seven days brought us on the 9th instant, in company with the good Bishop of Thibet, Mons. Cheauvean, to this place. Our road for the first four days lay through a country similar to that about Hi-yau-su. On the morning of the 5th we arrived at Loodinchow, a small town on the left bank of the Tai-tow-ho, a branch of the river Min at Kia-tung-foo, and navigable for small junks only 80 miles west of that place. This city is famous in China for its chain suspension bridge some 150 yards in span, built about 80 years ago. Crossing the river at this point we continued along its right bank north for two days, the road winding along frightful precipices sometimes 500 feet above the river, the wall-like sides of the mountains forming gorges of terrible grandeur. At noon on our sixth day, leaving

leaving the Tai-tow-ho, we entered what is called the Tai-tsian-loo gorge or valley. This place, so I am told, is the most dangerous part of the grand route from Chen-tu to Lassa; to form an idea of it you must picture to yourself two mountains from 1,000 to 1,200 feet high, running parallel to each other, their sides perpendicular, and in many places overhanging the mountain torrent rushing in white anger at the base, their summits capped with snow and a cloud of white mist throwing into this terrible gorge the gloom of twilight. The torrent (scarcely 30 yards wide) as it leaps on its headlong course to the Tai-tow-ho washes in many places the narrow path running along its right bank with spray from numerous waterfalls, while huge boulders forced from their resting places high over head by the fierce hurricane which seems ever to sweep the bleak summits of these mountains fill the gorge with the noise of a hundred thunders as they crash into the angry stream below. Such is the Tai-tsian-loo gorge, at the head of which, 38 miles west of the Tai-tow-ho, lies this border town of Tai-tsian-loo.

The town Tai-tsian-loo divides the province of Szechuen from the Mandzu country, which extends to Kyan-kha (being so called in contradistinction to Thibet proper, which commences only at Kyan-kha, the tribes inhabiting this country generally speaking Thibetian, wearing the same costume, and believing in the same religion, and are subject to Thibet) and is of great importance as an exchange trading mart. Thither come Shansi merchants with tea, glass beads, and tobacco, which they exchange with the Mandzus for hartshorn, gold, musk (from musk deer) and lynx, fox, wolf, and leopard skins, and a variety of a commoner sort, such as sheep, deer, and yak; this is the principal trade of the place. It is also of importance as a Chinese military station, containing nearly 1,000 soldiers.

As my next step onward will take me out of China into a country the trade of which can never be of great importance to my commercial friends in Shanghai, I will take leave of them with a few words relative to foreign trade with Western China. Many merchants in Shanghai told me that the exploration of the upper Yang-tze and Western China was of no importance to their trade, and sceptically asked me to prove to the contrary. I could then only point to the enormous wealth of Szechuen, its gigantic trade with Hankow in rhubarb, hemp, native medicines, sugar, and tobacco as exports, and cotton and piece goods as imports; all this was nothing new to them, and they looked upon my expedition as likely to result only in good pheasant or snipe-shooting for myself. Even with the report of a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, extracted in your columns from "The Times" of the 6th June 1867, before them, and reading therein the importance which Sir A. Phayre attaches to the Burmah trade with Yunan, they remained unconvinced. Many, however, warmly upheld my undertaking, and to these gentlemen I address the following remarks:—

Chung-king, the trade gorge of four provinces, Szechuen, Younan, Kweichoo, and Chensi, depends upon Hankow for the supply of foreign piece goods which it annually sends into these four provinces. The present junk transport on the Yang-tze between these two places, besides being extremely disastrous to trade on account of the total loss of many junks and their cargoes, is very expensive, and this added to the mandarin's squeezes renders the price of foreign piece goods after leaving Chentu so heavy, that they are unsaleable beyond the Yang-ling range of the mountains near Chin-chi-chien, and this is the limit of foreign trade with Western China, numerous small rivers forming the arteries through which trade flows from Chung-king into Kweichow, Eastern Yunan, and Southern Chensi. The present trade between Chung-king and Yunan and Kweichow is only temporary, on account of the closure of the Bhamo and Tali route, and as sure as this route is opened, so sure will Burmah take to herself the trade of these two provinces, and if, as is probable, British merchants establish at Ava, then a rivalship for the trade of Western Szechuen between China and Burmah merchants seems almost certain, the result telling probably in favour of the latter both in export and import. Trade by this route has flourished before without European enterprise, and as soon as it is re-opened, the trade between Hankow and Chung-king will be lessened by one-third. The Mahomedan chief at Tali has already established custom houses on the eastern border of his territory, and at Hi-yan-sú I met several merchants who had come from Tali and intended to return there to trade, in spite of their having to pay Imperial and Mahomedan duty. Perhaps these facts are important for the Shanghai trade, if so, then the China merchants have but one object to gain to rival with equality the Burmah merchants, and that is the opening of the upper Yang-tze to Chung-king. The Chinese authorities might be glad to checkmate the Mahomedan chief by this means. If the king of Burmah abdicates in favour of British rule, that will place all India alongside of Western China, and no official mismanagement will cramp the energies and resources of the British merchant in Burmah. For steamers properly constructed, and drawing not more than six feet of water, the navigation of the Yang-tze to Chung-king is possible. At the lowest winter level (January 1868) known for some years, there were seven feet of water at the lowest rapids.

As to the route between Sudya and Likiang, this in Shanghai seemed to me practically useful for the Calcutta trade with China, but I am constrained to admit now the fallacy of such a hope, and this admission is based upon the following remarks of Mons. Cheauvean, who resided for many years in the neighbourhood of Tali and Likiang. He tells me, "Likiang is a name only, the place whereof is marked by a few small houses near the foot of the Snowy Mountains, which are impassable on account of perpetual snow and want of passes, while the Laotsan and Now-kiang rivers are fierce, unnavigable, and unbridged; the country through which they flow being inhabited by savage tribes, constantly at war

with each other, and beyond this, in Bing, there is another obstacle in the Pat-koi range. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that a practicable route could be found, the goods which Calcutta would send to China Burmah would send at a less cost. No! India has a brighter prospect in store for her trade with Thibet, and this must flow either through Nepal to Lassa, or Sudya to Bathang, the latter route, however, having to pass the Himalayas, and a dreadfully hilly country, to within a short distance of Bathang. At Lassa there are already over 3,000 Nepalese trading in European goods, while, to deal in the figurative, the rivers of Bathang run with gold."

For the information of my sporting friends in Shanghai, I may tell them, that so far my bag consists of one wild goose shot near Hankow, my journey to this place having been through a country destitute of sport.

Up to this time I have cherished the hope of being able to reach Sudya from Bathang, but important considerations force me to abandon the idea. Without instruments and funds I cannot and dare not penetrate the unknown country between these two places. With the help of Providence I will reach Lassa, where, disposing of my mules and ponies, I will foot it to Khatmandoo, hoping at some future time to accompany a proper expedition through this country.

Nothing can exceed the kindness of the Catholic missionaries in China, especially Mons. Desflech, bishop of Chung-king, and Mons. Cheauvean. To the latter I shall ever owe a deep debt of gratitude, while to the united help of the French and Italian Catholic Missionaries generally I am indebted for the pleasure of being at this moment on the western borders of China.

Personally, with the exception of a slight cold and profuse sweatings at night, I have nothing to complain of, or rather feel that it is no use complaining; otherwise I might fill pages with grumbling at martyrdom from vermin, bad housing, the pardonable tyranny of my Chinese interpreter, and wretched food. With regard to the latter, the ghost of departed dinners *à la Russe*, with old dry sherry and champagne, trouble me no more, but occasionally in moments of thirst dim visions of Allsopp's best India pale ale rise up before me, which are instantly dispelled by resort to the celestial drink—tea.

For the information of future travellers I should mention that beyond this place, as far as Lassa, money is at a great discount, two or three needles and a little thread, or a piece of red Chinese cloth, often procuring what money cannot. Rupees pass for 32 tael cents, but the Mandzu people do not particularly care for them, and *sycee* is used at a great loss. I have laid in a stock of needles, thread, cloth, and a kind of turquoise stone much prized by Mandzus and brought hither from Shansi. These stones, about the size of French beans, I purchased at 2½ taels per 100. The idea of becoming a needle and thread hawker is novel and amusing.

I leave this on Wednesday, the 29th instant, having been detained more than 20 days to procure mules, ponies and an interpreter. If I am stopped at Tsamdo by the Thibetans, I shall return to this place and make for Ava *viâ* Tali and Bhamo, but I hope this is the last you will hear of me until I reach Nepal.

Trusting that this will reach you in safety,

I am, &c.
(signed) *T. T. Cooper.*

From Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor General, to *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, No. 39-77, dated 19th September 1868.

I HAVE the honour to forward a copy of a demi-official letter received by me from Captain Sladen, dated Bhamo, the 5th September, announcing the safe return of his party to that town, and giving many interesting details of his visit to Momein, the seat of an important officer of the Panthay Government.

2. It will be unnecessary to remark at length on all that is described by Captain Sladen in this letter, as his official report will shortly be received, and the whole question of the trade route by Bhamo will require to be fully discussed; but I think I may even here notice one or two points of interest connected with the progress and results of the expedition. I am of opinion Captain Sladen was right in deciding not to go beyond Momein under the circumstances which he explains. The original purpose for which the expedition was started was to discover the position held by the Khakyens, Shans, and Panthays, and their disposition, or otherwise, to resuscitate the extinct trade which formerly existed through their territories. This purpose has been fully carried out. It would doubtless have been interesting from some points of view had the party succeeded in reaching Talifoo, the head quarters of the Panthay Government, but it certainly appears that the Panthay authorities, whom Captain Sladen met at Momein, were of sufficient importance and position to render their views and opinions a safe criterion of the feeling of the Panthay Government in the matter. It is evident that on their part a strong desire exists for the resuscitation of the trade. The long residence of the party among the Khakyens and in the Shan States has been productive of the best results. Apart from some local jealousies (caused by a wish to secure for themselves the advantages of having the route through their individual territories) it would seem that the Shan chiefs are fully alive to the gain to them of the renewal of trade; while

while the Khakyens seem to have realised the peaceable character of the mission and the profitable future they may secure if the route be re-established. Even the physical difficulties of the route are by no means great, and they can be materially modified, whenever it may be considered advisable to do so, by local labour, which is only too anxious to be employed.

3. The previous history of this line of commerce proves beyond doubt that there exists an important field for trade in these localities; and the knowledge acquired by the present mission assures us that the parties most interested in this commerce are eager for its re-establishment. It remains solely with Government to decide whether or not it shall be re-established. If a determination be arrived at that there is here a scheme worthy of being carefully and persistently carried out, the result admits of no doubt. I feel certain that there depends on the decision of Government a question of the very highest Imperial importance. Our sea-borne trade with China is being actively competed for by America. It seems inevitable that sooner or later it will be diverted to the Pacific coast of that continent, and that New York will reap the "exchange" on the commerce with China, which is now shared between India and England. Not content with the Pacific railroad, which is being pushed on with unexampled energy, I observe that the American Government has officially recommended to the European States the great enterprise of a ship canal to be constructed across the Isthmus of Darien.

4. I mention these considerations, because I would not have the Government suppose that, in strongly advocating the continuance of our efforts to open this trade with Western China, I am solely influenced by a wish to advance the interests of this province. The gain to British Burmah in being a new highway to China would, doubtless, be very great, but it would be entirely subsidiary to the still greater gain of the empire in having that highway established. Time becomes an important element in a question like this, and if Government is to act with effect, it should doubtless act at once. I conceive that the good effects of the visit of Captain Sladen and his party should be promptly and vigorously followed up. I strongly support his recommendation that an officer be placed at Bhamo as soon as possible. He would be there to keep up the reality of our intentions and to maintain communication with the Shan chiefs and the Panthay Government, and he would also continue to influence the Khakyens towards giving facilities for safe transit of goods. The intention of placing a British official at Bhamo has been kept in view in all our treaties and communications with the Burmese court, and it appears to me that the time has come for carrying it into effect. I should be glad to receive the views of Government on this subject. The officer would have to be carefully selected, and his proposed appointment to Bhamo communicated to the Burmese Government as soon as possible.

5. Captain Sladen mentions the fact of two Panthay officers having been shot while escorting him to Momein, and suggests that a sum of money be presented to their families on the part of Government. I would recommend that I be authorised to give 500 rupees to the relations of each of the officers, or 1,000 rupees in all.

6. I propose to await the official report of the whole course of the expedition before reviewing the various incidents which require notice; but as the specific work of the mission is virtually ended, I take this opportunity of meanwhile recording my opinion that the successful termination of the expedition reflects very great credit on the energy and good judgment of Captain Sladen. He seems to me to have acted throughout with sound discretion; and he has shown much discrimination and tact in his intercourse with the various authorities with whom he has had to deal.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, dated 5th September 1868.

You will be glad to hear of our return in triumph to Bhamo. All has been successful thus far, though some little disappointment will probably be felt at the fact of my having found it impracticable to extend our exploration beyond Momein.

Anxious and *eager* as we all were to push on to Tali, several weighty considerations combined to make a further advance into Yunan a matter which must have led to inevitable complication, in addition to the *certainty* of conflict with large bands of Chinese dacoits, against whom the Governor of Momein confessed that, with all the assistance he could give us, even to the extent of providing an escort, it was out of his power to guarantee protection, or ensure us against hostile attack. The road was effectually closed in two places between Momein and Yoonchan; and a strong body of Chinese had taken up a position in the vicinity of Sheedin, an important town where the grand caravan route from Southern Yunan and Mandalay *viâ* Theebo and Thinnee joins the highway between Yoonchan and Tali. At the time we reached Momein a Panthay force was actively engaged in an endeavour to open up the country in the direction of Yoonchan. Large bands of Chinese dacoits occupied positions in the vicinity of the direct route to Yoonchan, and their leaders assumed to hold commissions as officers under the immediate orders of the Chinese Government.

During our stay too at Momein an additional force of 2,000 men was sent out to assist in the subjugation of various portions of the country in the immediate neighbourhood, which were still a prey to Chinese influences, and opposed, therefore, to Panthay interests and the tranquillization of Yunan.

The Governor of Momein (a man who deservedly gained our respect and esteem by several friendly acts which afforded proof of a sincere desire on his part to promote our interests personally, and to further the general objects of the expedition) strongly advised me not to advance in the direction of Yoonchan. In giving this advice, he was not actuated by political considerations, or a wish to preserve Yunan in jealous exclusiveness. He naturally enough anticipated evil results if I continued my journey at a time when the route to be taken was unfortunately more than usually impracticable. He asked me to await events and to allow time for communication with Tali on the subject of our further advance through Yunan. If determined to proceed in opposition to his advice, he felt bound to provide me with a military escort; and it would be a matter of comparatively trifling concern to himself, he said, to hear that the escort had been engaged and suffered reverses; but if one of my own particular party fell in conflict with the Chinese, it appeared to him that complications might arise which would lead to further troubles and injure the hope we entertained of restoring tranquillity and re-opening trade between Burmah and the south-western provinces of China.

But in coming to a decision regarding the practicability or consequences of an advance with my party beyond Momein, it was necessary to bear in mind that evidence was not wanting which would lead to a well-grounded supposition that some of the so-called Chinese bands with whom we must have come into conflict, whilst under Panthay escort and protection, were indirectly connected with the Chinese imperial army; and that their leaders were supported and encouraged at Chinese head quarters in Yunan (city) to harass and disturb Panthay possessions within the province by every possible species of cruel and vicious hostility. To have held communication of any sort with members of the Chinese government, whilst under Panthay protection, would not only have been in itself a matter of extreme difficulty, but must have exposed the expedition to an amount of suspicious distrust which would have interfered injuriously to ruin the fair prospect of making the Panthays true friends.

These and other cogent reasons will appear by-and-bye to show that I should have been guilty of great disregard to the wishes of Government and to your own had I exceeded my instructions in advancing beyond Momein, especially so, after arriving at a belief that the several objects which the expedition had in view could be as completely realised at Momein as at Tali.

My inability, however, to make progress beyond Momein, without incurring a risk which would have compromised all the good which the expedition was intended to bring about, is more than compensated for by the knowledge that in all other respects a fuller amount of success has attended our efforts for good than could ever have been reasonably expected, when the idea was first formed of penetrating Western China by an expedition which was to take its start from British Burmah. But this is mere preface. I must take up the story of our progress from the date of my last communication, dated at Ponsee, 11th May 1868. We left that place on the 12th May, and reached Momein on the 26th of the same month. The advance through the Shan States was, in effect, an ovation. The population, generally speaking, of towns and villages, turned out in crowds, and on several occasions greeted us with unmistakable signs of welcome as we passed through their several districts. It was necessary to remain a few days at each of the larger towns of Manwyne, Sanda, Mynela, and Mynetee; and this detention will account for our not having reached Momein until the 26th May. The interval was well spent in friendly intercourse with the Saubwas and people, and in giving them a true insight into the objects and purposes of the expedition. Of all the Shan chiefs the Saubwas of Sanda and Hotha particularly have been conspicuous for the friendly welcome awarded, and the marked hospitality with which they have entertained my whole party during the time passed in their respective States. On both occasions of our visit to Sanda, going and returning, the old Saubwa himself attended at our departure, and caused salutes of guns to be fired, and his own trumpeters blowing long brass horns to proceed in advance of our party through the town to its extreme limits, an honour which is only paid to the highest authority in the country. He further asked me to adopt a boy of eight years of age, his grandson and heir to the Saubwaship, whom, he begged, I would in future look upon as my own son. A Panthay military escort met me at Mynela, and escorted us from thence across the Mauphoo range (always a dangerous locality) to Nantin or Mynetee, where a still larger body of men arrived in time to conduct the expedition into Momein. At Momein the Governor himself came out in right regal style to meet me half a mile from the city, and gave the expedition a ceremonial reception, the interest and magnificence of which will not soon be forgotten by any of us. But I must reserve details for a further report. I have already said that our advance through the Shan States wore the semblance of an ovation. On one occasion, however, whilst in the Sanda district, we experienced an imbecile attempt at opposition, made by a small party of dacoits, who fired three shots at us from the Mynela side of the Tahpen river, at the respectable or respectful distance of between 300 and 400 yards. I took no notice of them, and they found it prudent to keep the river between themselves and my party. The defaulters in this instance are well known, and their cause of grievance, in addition to the inducement held out of improving their worldly means at our expense, is described to have been brought about

about by offence taken at my refusal to proceed from Manwyne to Sanda by a route which led through their particular district.

The Mynela and Sanda deputies, who met us at Ponsee, almost quarrelled over a question raised as to which particular route the expedition was to honour in its passage through their respective States.

Again, on the march from Nantin to Momein, the Panthay escort which went in advance, in charge of our baggage, was fired into by dacoits, and the two leading men, both unfortunately officers of rank, were shot dead. The dacoits looted two mules and a portion of their loads before the escort had time to engage and put them to flight. I and the rest of my party were at the time some three miles from the scene of action. So little idea was there of opposition or attack, that we had stayed to explore and examine some remarkable hot springs which are met with on the route between Nantin and Momein, and in which we were very innocently and unconsciously disporting our naked bodies at the time of the cowardly attack on the Panthay advance guard. The death of the two Panthay officers was of course a matter of much concern to us all, but especially so to the Governor of Momein, as both were men of note, and had done good service in their time. They have left families, and having died, it may be almost said, in *our* service, I am going to ask you to solicit Government to recompense each family by a donation of 500 or 1,000 rupees. The maxim "*Bis dat qui cito dat*," will be appreciated in this instance, and I hope no great length of time will be allowed to elapse before the recompense is made. The facts of this dacoity have been greatly exaggerated, and I am only afraid that rumour will have converted them into a report of our utter ruin and discomfiture before any true statement of events can possibly have reached Bhamo or Mandalay.

Nothing can have exceeded the friendly hospitality with which the Governor almost overwhelmed us during the whole period of our stay at Momein. I was treated in all material respects with the honour due to a mission from a foreign power. It would have been a vain attempt at hypocrisy to have ignored my political existence, or the political nature of the work I was engaged in.

A spacious temple with every accommodation had been prepared for us, outside the city, in close communication with the Governor's residence, and rations, including necessaries of all kinds, were daily supplied in abundance to the whole party.

My first visit to the Governor was purely ceremonial, and we were received at Government House with salutes both on arrival and departure. The visit was returned in full state by the Governor and his suite, but after these first preliminaries had been got over, we came to a mutual understanding that our visits (which were frequent) should be made in simple friendly form, and ceremony was altogether dropped. The Governor occasionally asked us to dinner, and enlivened our stay with Chinese plays and other entertainments. But by far the most satisfactory portion of my several interviews had reference to the subject of the British Mission to Yunan, and to explained and received opinions, affecting the main objects for which the mission had been undertaken. The work was comparatively an easy one, for I found the Governor and all his officials as eager and earnest as ourselves in their desire for trade and for friendly commercial relations with foreign Governments. Perhaps the most delicate and difficult task I had to get through was that which related to our relations with the court of Pekin. I never tried to disguise the fact that the British and Chinese Governments were on friendly terms, and were bound by treaty stipulations in their intercourse with each other. I even went so far as to intimate that the friendly state of our relations with the court of Pekin might be utilised to the extent of bringing about a reconciliation of contending interests in Yunan, provided I could assure myself, during my stay in the province, that the government at Tali and the Chinese head-quarter government (wherever it might be in Yunan) could be made to agree as to the terms of a mediation. The excuse I made for bringing forward this proposition was that present disturbances in Yunan affected the prosperity of British possessions in Burmah; and our Government would not be slow at the present time, in the interests of trade, to exert itself in any legitimate manner or direction which might be deemed advantageous to the several states or countries most concerned. My meaning was understood, and received with a sincere expression of friendly good feeling. The Governor promised to communicate with Tali on the express subject of my proposition, and to give me a distinct reply before my departure. But the subject was necessarily dropped in consequence of important events which were then being enacted in Yunan. Before we left Momein official intelligence had arrived of renewed hostilities between the Chinese and Panthay governments, which had resulted in the capture of Yunan (city) by the latter, and the occupation of what may be called the whole of Yunan province by the Panthay government. I have a copy of the government proclamation, a document several feet in length, which was posted up at Momein, as an official public announcement of Panthay successes in Yunan, including the capture and possession of its chief city.

But it is time to return to our doings at Momein, where I remained for a month and a half in almost daily communication with the Governor and other provincial officers.

Tahsakon, a designation by which the Governor is officially known, is a tall handsome man, generous and liberal-minded to a degree. He has risen to power and command by the force of natural ability, added to a wonderful capacity for military adventure. It may literally and truly be said of him that he is riddled and scarred all over with a variety of wounds received in action. But to be brief, I may as well record at once the general results of my conferences at Momein, and I preface them by the remark that the results

themselves could not, in my opinion and belief, have been more complete, with the limited powers I held, even though the conferences had been held at Tali itself. Tahsakon, the Governor of Momein, is generally spoken of as second only in the government to the King of Tali; and his power to act throughout Momein province, including the Shan states dependent on the Panthay Government, is absolute in all matters in which the expedition was interested either in discussing or bringing to a definite issue.

Results:—1. The Government at Tali has fully approved of the proposal to revive overland trade between Burmah and South-Western China *viâ* Bhamo. It has expressed a sincere wish to co-operate with and assist our efforts to accomplish so desirable an object: at Momein itself the resuscitation of trade is already declared to be a certainty.

2. The Panthay government has *volunteered* to send a mission at the end of the present year from Tali and Momein to Rangoon with presents in return for those presented by me at Momein. The principal object of the mission will be to institute a general inquiry into the feasibility of direct trade with Rangoon merchants by the interchange of commodities at Bhamo or other commercial mart. The mission will also be required to obtain information on all points connected with trade, and with the facilities, means, and cost of transit of goods, including duties, between Bhamo and Rangoon, and *vice versâ*.

3. The Government at Tali has given its consent to a proposition made by me to the Governor of Momein, to the effect that the mule caravans from Yunan for the ensuing season shall proceed direct to Bhamo instead of to Mandalay, provided it is assured in time that Yunan produce can be disposed of at the former place, and that return produce will be available as desired.

(I could not myself undertake to give *assurances* on these points, because I recognised the difficulty, as regarded time, of supplying raw cotton (at Bhamo), the article in principal demand by the Yunan caravans.)

4. The Governor of Momein has given me a letter to be presented to the Chief Commissioner, in which my arrival in Yunan is spoken of in congratulatory terms. He further congratulates himself for the part taken by him in having fought and cleared the way for us at Mauphoo, as well as in having provided the means of transit and protection through the Shan states. Reasons are assigned in the letter to account for my not having been conducted beyond Momein; and assurances are given that, a beginning having now been made in resuscitating overland trade between Burmah and South-Western China, the Governor of Momein is prepared to further our commercial enterprise by all means in his power which are likely to conduce to success.

5. The Governor has further given me a writing under seal, which relates to the collection of transit duties on goods to and from Momein.

This document is of no practical importance, as it does not settle definitely the amount of duty to be taken in the Shan States, or at Momein itself. On the point of duties generally, the Governor convinced me that it would be premature at present to lay down definite rules. Having secured our friendship, he said, and considering *my* relationship to himself to be that of a brother (I believe I am styled so in the official correspondence), he promises to be faithfully guided by my advice in all matters relating to the imposition or abolition of duties and the general improvement of trade. He does not admit that the Shan Saubwas have any right to impose duties at all, but I discouraged this cavalier fashion of dealing with Shan privileges, and insisted upon the advisability of fixing definite rules or rates of duty, it being an acknowledged fact that Shan chiefs have always exercised the right of exacting transit dues on goods, though to a very trifling extent. From personal observation I may state with some degree of certainty that 12 annas per mule-load will clear goods through the Shan States as far as Mynetee; and as regards their further transit to and from Tali, Tâhsakon gave me his word and assurance that transit duty on exports and imports between the Khakyen hills and Tali, should in no case be allowed to exceed an *ad valorem* rate of 4 per cent.

6. That portion of the Shan States which is principally involved or interested in the re-opening of overland trade between Bhamo and China has been explored, and chiefs and people who were found to have been influenced by intrigue and misrepresentation into a state bordering on active opposition have been gradually converted by a truthful recognition of facts, as practically disclosed by our residence amongst them, into holding feelings of friendly encouragement and undisguised good will.

7. All three routes by which the Khakyen hills are crossed from Bhamo have been explored and surveyed; two of them by myself and party, and the third by a competent surveyor whom I detached on special duty from Hotha, at the time when the expedition was about to set out from the same place to Bhamo, by the central or ambassador's route. The result of these surveys, in conjunction with other modifying considerations of policy and convenience, will eventually define and decide the most practicable line for a through-trade route. In the meantime it may be generally stated that the Khakyen chiefs on both routes have been won over to friendship, and eagerly crave for their own particular line a monopoly of transit, which I try and convince them will eventually be large enough for distribution amongst all.

Such is the beginning which has been made; and in arriving at even these results it will be

be acknowledged that, in the absence of all real political power, I have gone to the full length of my letter, without compromising Government, or binding it to any particular line of reciprocal action in return for advantages offered and obtained. I may have exhibited the bright side of the picture in recording results, but the picture itself has not been exaggerated or falsified by over-colouring. What has been accomplished will serve primarily as a means of estimating the present disposition of the people and chiefs with whom I have held intercourse, and act as a guide to further political or commercial intercourse. Personally I cannot help feeling satisfaction at the fact that our endeavours to promote the good work for which the expedition was undertaken, whatever their result may be in other respects, have been thus far concluded without a single important mishap; and that although conflicting interests of no mean order have been at times opposed to us with all the intensity which it was possible to superadd by the insidious designs of self-interested intriguers, they have been successfully combated by a spirit of straightforward conciliation, which has given assurance to those who were inclined to waver, and raised up a genuine feeling of friendly regard for ourselves and sympathy in our undertaking which cannot fail to prove a secure base and groundwork for further exploration and commercial enterprise in all parts of the country to which the influences of our visit must eventually extend.

I commenced the return journey from Momein on the 13th July, but not until communication had been held with Tali, and the head-quarters Government had signified its approval of my visit, and dispatched a quantity of presents in return for those which I had given to the Governor of Momein. These presents only came as far as Sheedin, a large town halfway between Momein and Tali, where they were necessarily detained, owing to the insecurity of the road to Momein. Six Burmese officials had also arrived at the same place by the Thiunee route, direct from Mandalay, with letters and 50 bales of cotton as a present from the King of Burmah to the Governor of Momein! Neither the Burmans, nor their cotton, nor our presents could come on to Momein, neither could we get them, but letters had reached the Momein Governor stating the nature and object of the Burmese official visit. I rather gloried, I must confess, in the discomfiture of this Burmese secret mission, for it was by no means a pleasant idea, in the position I then held at Momein, to feel that Burman intrigue and opposition, which had so signally failed at Bhama and Ponsee, might still be following us into Yunan, to create suspicion and distrust in quarters where all had been brought into a state of mutual friendly reliance. The purport of the Burmese letter was not disclosed. Probably it contained nothing of importance; but had its contents been favourable, I cannot conceive the existence of any sufficient reason for keeping them secret after I had expressed a wish to have them made known. As a further cause for suspecting that the letter and presents signified no good to our undertaking, it is only necessary to keep in view the anomalous character of a Burmese private embassy with presents to Momein at a time when the British and Burmese Government were engaged in a *joint* undertaking to re-open trade with Yunan by the dispatch of a British expedition under Burmese patronage!

On the journey from Momein I heard at Yyne-tee of the arrival of a party of Burmans at Sanda, or Mynela, who had been dispatched it was said, to escort us back to Burmese territory! This seemed a mystery: and it was only solved on my own arrival at Mynela by the receipt of your letters and the somewhat ghostly appearance of a European in those parts in the person of Mr. Gordon.

The Burman party of 100 men had been at Mynela some eight or ten days, and the Sayaydaugyee in charge had made no attempt to get on himself or to communicate with me at Momein. He was in too great a funk I believe to do anything.

Gordon intended coming on, he says, had we not met him at Mynela; but it is very fortunate that he did not do so without first giving notice of his intentions at Momein and receiving Panthay aid; otherwise nothing can have saved him from conflict, in which I do not think that Burmans would have distinguished themselves. It is further a subject of congratulation to us all that Gordon enjoyed the *real* support of the Burmese Government, as well as the full advantage of our conciliatory policy which had preceded him, and made friends of all on the route he was to take.

The money you sent, 7,000 rupees of which reached me at Mynela, has been of very essential service. It has enabled me to spend freely, and make presents in rupees (which are more acceptable in these parts than any other kind of gift). Had your letters and rupees reached me at Momein, I might have been influenced to make a longer stay there, in the hope that something might have resulted out of the capture of Yunan city by the Panthays which would have afforded a means of my proceeding beyond Momein.

You seem to have been informed that the French exploring expedition from Saigon has succeeded in its object of penetrating China. The information I obtained on the same subject at Momein, on the authority of the Governor, tends, I am sorry to say, to a belief that the expedition terminated in disaster somewhere in the vicinity of Kiaing-Yung-Gyee.

I pressed the Governor very closely as to the sources of his information, so much so that he quite laughed at my doubts when I suggested that the story of the disaster might be only partially true, or very greatly exaggerated. The Governor assured me that his information was obtained from a Panthay relative who held some appointment not far from Kiaing-Yung-Gyee. The French party is said to have been treacherously led into difficulties and then attacked by hill savages, who killed two or three of the party and looted the whole of the baggage. An account is given of a few who escaped and took refuge in a neighbouring village, where they arrived in a state of nudity and starvation. Muskets which belonged to the French party were seen in the possession of natives, and some of them

were afterwards bought by the Governor's relative; such is the story. I do not pretend to believe it myself, though the Governor of Momein, my informant, vouched for its authenticity, even after I had warned him that the matter was a serious one, and begged that he would not mislead me or cause me to mislead others if the slightest doubt existed in his own mind as to the truth of what he related or the fate of the French party. I am inclined to think that the party may have simply met with a reverse which has been magnified into a disaster. Our hope is that *your* information is correct, and that the party has long ere this returned to Saigon crowned with success and covered with glory.

It only remains to say a few words about my return from Momein *viâ* Hotha and the old embassy route across the Khakyen hills to Bhamo. When I found, after a protracted residence at Momein, that there was no prospective chance within reasonable limits of my being able to get on further into Yunan without encountering armed opposition and involving the Government in troublesome complications, which it was my bounden duty to avoid, I was compelled under a variety of pressing considerations to think of a return homewards, and made preparations accordingly. It had always been my intention, in case the expedition succeeded in reaching its destination, wherever that might be, to return if practicable by a separate route across the Khakyen hills to that taken on my journey to Momein. I several times conferred with the Governor of Momein on the subject, and he *apparently* seconded my wishes, though with an evident hesitation which could not at the time be well accounted for. I afterwards ascertained beyond doubt that the Governor was not personally inclined to favour other routes as apart from that which the expedition had taken as far as Momein, because he laboured under an impression. not without reason, that such other routes might lead direct into Yunan *viâ* Yoonchan, and ignore the existence of Momein altogether. I tried to combat this idea, and succeeded so far as to cause arrangements to be made so that on arrival myself at Nantin or Mynetee I should be met by the Hotha (Shan) Saubwa, and be escorted by him through the Hotha valley to Mynewon (or as Burmans call it Mowon), and from thence proceed by the southernmost or Sawuddy route to Bhamo. This arrangement was not fully completed; the direct route from Nantin to Hotha *viâ* the Shammaloon hill was reported unsafe, and some of Lees-hee-ta-hee's dacoits held certain of the villages on the route. This may or may not have been true. At any rate, had there been no other reasons on the part of the Momein Governor for wishing to confine me to the Sanda valley, I think I might have crossed direct from Nantin *viâ* Shammaloon into the Hotha route. The Hotha saubwa failed in his agreement to meet me at Nantin, and I was obliged therefore after some little delay to push on to Mynela in the hope of catching him there. Here, as well as at Sanda and Manwyne, the officials were almost openly opposed to the very idea of my leaving the Sanda for the Hotha valley. Their opposition was natural enough, for the Shan, judging by my reception and success at Momein, had actually realised the fact of revived trade between Burmah and South-Western China, and were reasonably averse, therefore, to the idea of encouraging any arrangement by which that trade would be diverted to parts which would virtually exclude them from immediate participation in its advantages. I upbraided them gently for shortsightedness in opposing plans which were intended for general good; but could not help feeling at the same time an inward sense of satisfaction at the fact that their reluctance to assist me, by excluding themselves from occupying a prominent position on a direct trade route, afforded the strongest presumptive evidence of a certain degree of success which the expedition had already secured for itself within the Shan States. I stayed several days at Mynela and Sanda. Heavy and continuous rain aided to prolong my stay at each place beyond average limits; and it was not until my arrival at Manwyne that I was able to induce the Hotha Saubwa to join me and keep to his agreement of escorting the Mission to his Saubwaship at Hotha. After all there was but little reason to regret that I could not proceed from Nantin to Hotha direct without passing through Mynela and Sanda.

The prolonged stay at each of the places has done *much* to familiarise us with the people and convince them of the sincerity of our intentions. They have shown the warmest sympathy with us throughout; and at each place our departure always seemed to be a cause of regret to the population generally, who would have detained us with pleasure amongst them for months had it been in their power to do so. The real object I had in view in wishing to return *viâ* Hotha has been accomplished; that is to say we have, to all intents and purposes, inspected the whole Hotha valley, and thoroughly *done* the Khakyen hills; neither they (the hills) nor the Khakyens themselves are any longer a bugbear to trade or a bogy by which it has hitherto been the practice of Burmese officials to terrorize and obstruct would-be traders to China. The Hotha Saubwa received us in state with a salute at Hotha, and housed all the members of the expedition in his own *haw* or palace with marked kindness and hospitality. His interests are of course bound up in securing a revived trade-route through his own domains in the Hotha valley; but he would hardly dare to encourage such a route at the expense of offending his superiors or of opposing the wishes and interests of the Governor of Momein. Once at Hotha, it became necessary to decide upon the most desirable route across the Khakyen hills to Bhamo. My original intention was to have proceeded by what is known as the southern or Sawuddy route; but after mature consideration at Hotha I determined finally on exploring the grand central (embassy or ambassador's) route myself, and sending an intelligent Burmese surveyor, who was made over to me by Captain Williams when he left the expedition at Ponsee in April last, to proceed and report upon the Sawuddy route *viâ* Mowon. Both surveys have been successfully made. I remained at Hotha until all the Khakyen Saubwas had been summoned there, and had not only formally assented to our proceeding across their respective hills or districts, but had invited

invited us to do so. The Khakyens themselves provided the necessary carriage, and leaving Hotha on the 27th August, we reached this place on the 5th instant. It rained in torrents throughout the journey. This and the fact of my having found it necessary now and then to leave the direct route for the purpose of visiting the abode of some remarkable Saubwa who desired the honour of a visit will account for certain delays *en route*. The three principal Khakyen Saubwas on this route received the expedition at their several head-quarters with cannon salutes and the beating of gongs in real Chinese. Imagine the civilisation to which Khakyens have attained! and their desire to do right when unbiassed by sinister influence and intrigue! The Khakyens have faithfully adhered to their promises, and conducted the expedition from Hotha to its destination without a single loss or mishap of any kind. They vied with each other in showing us Khakyen hospitality. If two routes led to the same place, one Saubwa would almost quarrel with another for the honour of getting us to visit any particular village, or give any particular route the preference over others. Although our journey, as far as Khakyens were concerned, ended at Nanphoung on the Tahpen, some 20 miles above this, several Saubwas with nearly 100 followers have followed me into Bhamo on their own account, with the sole idea of influencing my decision and causing me to give preference to the old embassy route across the hills, and make it the sole commercial highway in the direction of China. It would be premature and out of order, I find, to think of subsidising Khakyen Saubwas at present on either of the available routes. The idea of a subsidy only originated with the false impression that Khakyen assistance was otherwise unattainable. All that Khakyens want is just treatment, a fair allowance of wages, and temperate management. With these inducements to serve, we may reasonably calculate on faithful services and free and unfettered transit for travellers and traders alike through any portion of Khakyen land to which our influences may extend themselves. Khakyens exult in the idea of our employing them as hired labourers to construct a road across their hills, or keep in repair existing routes. In this respect there will be no difficulty in the construction of any kind of road through the hills. At present nothing more is required than a good mule track in the most direct line. I am no advocate for railways at present in these parts. When they do come it is satisfactory to know that physical difficulties as regards route and country do not exist to any great extent; and that Khakyens, Shans, and Panthays will give willing assistance, and combine with effect for the furtherance of so extensive a work. For the present, at least, we shall have an open road into China, and it will be our duty to improve it as circumstances and conditions call for active interference; and as regards interference of any sort in the opening of a trade-route towards China, I am led to the very important consideration of a British agent at Bhamo, as provided for in our late treaty with Burmah. It is essential that this appointment should at once be created and filled. If possible, the agent should be a man well acquainted with Burmese character and policy, and able to combat any amount of indirect opposition and corrupt petty intrigue with which Burmese officials will still for some time continue to surround every attempt to extend our influence in these parts, or on the overland highway towards Yunan. All Khakyen and Shan Saubwas, as well as the Governor of Momein, to whom I mentioned the subject of an agent, seemed to think that under no other circumstances would it be possible to resuscitate for any length of time the old overland trade between the two countries. I perfectly agree with them, and feel convinced that, unless an agent is at once appointed and enters upon his duties at Bhamo, many, if not all, of the benefits which the present expedition has so far secured will succumb to influences over which we shall be able to exercise little or no control. I will write officially on the subject by-and-bye, but in the meantime my recommendation is that no time be lost in the selection of a competent British agent to reside at Bhamo. Let him be a man of good common sense and conciliatory in manner, but firm and inflexible in purpose. He should be well paid and provided with means and an establishment which would convince Shans and Khakyens of his importance, and show them that we were sincerely in earnest in stimulating trade in these parts at any cost.

The Burmese authorities have received me on my return here like a prince. Boats and barges were in readiness at Nanphoung on the Tahpen, and necessaries provided in abundance for our whole party. The officials are servile and subservient now, because they are conscious that they have been outwitted in former attempts to bring ruin on the expedition, and know, moreover, that the evidences of their villainy are too patent and palpable to be evaded, unless by a show of conciliatory kindness by which to compensate and atone for past offences. There is not much more to add. If I except myself, I may say generally that all the members of the expedition have returned in good health and in high spirits; though exposed to months of continuous rain and climatic extremes of all sorts, there has been little or no sickness. A taxidermist in the employ of Dr. Anderson died at Momein of small-pox, and one of the police escort died at Ponlyne, on the first march into the Khakyen hills, from the effects of an over-draught of water when heated. With these exceptions the expedition has returned as it started; and few of us are sorry to get home again, for after all there has been hard work at times, and our followers have cheerfully submitted to privations which under other circumstances would have entitled them to growl and grumble to some purpose. I am much indebted to all for hearty assistance and support on many trying occasions. A great deal has yet to be done and many drawbacks still exist (such as those resulting from indirect opposition in Burmah, the unsettled state of affairs in Yunan, and the high cost of mule carriage on the overland route), which will require modification and adjustment before any real commercial results are achieved; but a beginning has been made, and our merchants at home and abroad have reason to congratulate themselves that a road has been opened from Burmah, by

which their goods can be forwarded overland to China. That such a road is open to commerce, and that goods will be so forwarded and bartered at remunerative rates for Chinese inland produce without undue risk or opposition, are facts the certainty of which is ready for realisation as soon as sufficient commercial enterprise is brought into the field under the fostering care and encouragement of able and interested governments.

From *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to Colonel *Fytche*, Chief Commissioner of British Burmah; No. 1177, dated Simla, the 13th October 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 39–77, dated 19th September last, and of its enclosure, intimating the safe return of Captain Sladen and his party to Bhamo.

2. His Excellency in Council will await the receipt of the official report which you promise. But two points are raised in the present communication concerning which the Viceroy and Governor General in Council considers it necessary to intimate his opinion at once before the arrival of the fuller report.

1st. You propose to give 500 rupees to the relations of each of the two Panthay officers who were killed whilst escorting the members of the expedition to Momein.

2nd. You recommend the appointment of an agent at Bhamo for the purpose of maintaining and improving commercial intercourse between British Burmah and Western China.

3. His Excellency in Council sanctions the first proposal, and desires that no delay may occur in making the recompense now sanctioned for the families of the deceased Panthay officers. As regards the second of these two propositions, the Viceroy and Governor General in Council much doubts whether it would be prudent, under the existing state of affairs in Burmah, to appoint an Englishman as agent to the British Government at Bhamo.

4. From paragraph 4 of your letter his Excellency in Council apprehends that you contemplate the nomination of a British officer as agent, and not of a native, and he observes, that not long ago you yourself pointed out, demi-officially, the present insecurity of the King's position and life, and showed that another revolution was not an improbable contingency. Under any circumstances, and even in peaceful times, the officer appointed to this charge, in an isolated position, ought to be a person possessed of a certain amount of ability, and of much tact and great powers of conciliation; while, in case of any internal commotion in Burmah his position, at a distance from aid or support, would expose him to very considerable risk. All these contingencies, I am to observe, demand careful consideration, and it will be for you to say, supposing they are not insurmountable, whether there is any English officer in British Burmah whom, in the face of those difficulties, you could safely and conscientiously recommend for the post. The King of Ava must be consulted in this matter before any action is taken, and you must use all your endeavours to ascertain his real opinion on the subject of the appointment of such an agent. It should be carefully explained to the King that by this proposal the Government of India only contemplate the revival and development of trade.

5. The information which his Excellency in Council has now received, through your letter and enclosures under acknowledgment, sufficiently proves the energy and tact with which Captain Sladen, in spite of many obstacles, has carried out the work assigned to him. The report of Captain Sladen has been perused with interest, and the results of the expedition have been more successful than at one time there was reason to expect.

6. In replying to the present letter you should state what salary you should assign to the proposed agent, and what establishment he would require.

From Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, Agent to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, to *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India; No. 39–94, dated Rangoon, 30th October 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 1177, of the 13th October instant, sanctioning a recompense of 500 rupees to each of the families of the two Panthay officers who were killed in escorting Captain Sladen, and conveying to me the remarks of his Excellency in Council on the proposition to place a British agent at Bhamo.

2. I shall, as requested in your third paragraph, at once communicate with Captain Sladen regarding the early disbursement of the bonus sanctioned to the families of the Panthay officers.

3. Regarding

3. Regarding the establishment of a British agent at Bhamo, you will observe that my letter suggesting the measure was dated 19th September, and I have since received a letter from Captain Sladen, dated 25th September urging the importance of the appointment in question. In a private letter of the same date, Captain Sladen describes his first interview with the King after his return, which took place on the 24th idem. After some general conversation and congratulations on his return, his Majesty inquired of Captain Sladen:—

King.—"Are you going back to Bhamo?"

Political Agent.—"No, but I believe that a British agent will soon be appointed to reside there."

King.—"I will take care, whoever he is, that there shall be a Governor with whom he will pull well and be on friendly terms."

After these remarks no further allusion was made to business on that occasion, and I understand that in subsequent interviews with the King no remarks have been made by his Majesty regarding the expedition.

4. I have carefully considered the observations of his Excellency in Council, contained in the concluding portion of the third and in the fourth paragraphs of your letter under reply. I do not conceal from myself that there must be some personal risk undertaken by the officer placed at Bhamo in the event of internal disturbance in the Burmese territory. It is difficult to foresee in what particular shape the next civil disruption in Upper Burmah may occur, but I should not anticipate that in any struggle for the throne there would be violence shown to British officers. There certainly would be the danger of lawlessness among the people consequent on the conflict of authority, but this, it appears to me, is a kind of peril which must be accepted in our intercourse with native states. The question of course is one of degree, and I would say that the position of the agent at Bhamo would not, in my opinion, be unduly hazardous.

5. In judging of this, too, some thought must be given to the results that we hope to obtain by placing an officer at Bhamo. Are they such as would justify risk and expense? I have already indicated to Government my opinion on these points. In a commercial aspect this line of traffic seems worthy of support. Imperial interests will be gained if we can establish a highway to the western borders of China: and scientific inquiry is being directed to the tract of country, not very extensive after all, which intervenes between two such important markets as India and China. All these objects will be served by the presence of a British officer at Bhamo. If trade has any tendency to flow by this old route, it will do so the more readily that the British agent is there to protect the merchants. If the hitherto disunited condition of the authorities who hold the through route is to be changed into friendly co-operation, it will be carried out, as it has been begun, by British agency. If information is to be gathered regarding the head-waters of the Brahmapooter, the Yang-tsi-kiang, and the Irrawaddy, our knowledge will be increased by the residence of a British officer at Bhamo, the most central and the best adapted post from which to push inquiries.

6. Believing, then, in the advantage eventually to be gained from the establishment of a British agent at Bhamo, and being of opinion that the difficulties in the way are not insurmountable, I would, in reply to your query, "Whether there is any English officer in British Burmah whom you could safely and conscientiously recommend for the post?" beg to nominate Captain G. A. Strover, Assistant Commissioner, 1st grade, at present town magistrate of Akyab. He is an officer in whose judgment, discretion, and conciliatory disposition I have full confidence. I have also ascertained his willingness to undertake the duties of the appointment, provided it be sanctioned.

7. With reference to the concluding portion of the fourth paragraph, in which you point out that the King must be consulted before any action is taken, and that his real opinion on the subject of the appointment of such an agent must be ascertained, and that he must be informed that the Government of India only contemplate by the proposal the revival and development of trade, I would beg to remark that, from the conversation I have recounted in a previous portion of this letter, it will be seen that his Majesty evidently contemplated our placing an officer at Bhamo, and expressed his readiness to see his officer co-operate with the British agent. Indeed, the Court and ministers were well aware that the appointment of such an agent would be the natural result of the late expedition to Momein, and when the objects and advantages of that expedition were discussed between the Burmese officials and myself in 1867, while I was in Mandalay negotiating the last treaty, there was no concealment of the prospective establishment of a British officer at Bhamo. It will be seen from Captain Sladen's letter that the Burmese Government still profess to be actuated by the same desire to facilitate trade with China that the British Government is, but that, unless we take steps to carry out our avowed intentions in the matter, obstructions will be thrown in the way of inland commerce.

8. Doubtless the Court of Ava is half-hearted in the matter. A lingering suspicion of our ulterior views will probably induce it to give the project but faint support, if it does not lead it to covert opposition. I think all this will the sooner disappear, and be the more easily overcome by our steadily adhering to our intention, long ago announced and accepted

by the King, of, as far as in us lies, developing the through traffic with China. It will be seen from letter No. 462, of the 12th May 1862, from the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, that six years ago the attention of this administration was directed to this subject by the Government of India, and the Chief Commissioner specially instructed to keep it in view in negotiating the treaty of 1862. The importance of the question has increased rather than lessened during that period, and I should much regret to see our policy falter at the very time we have obtained information of its soundness. In accordance with your instructions, however, I shall communicate the wishes of Government to Captain Sladen, and request him to use his best endeavours to ascertain the real opinion of his Majesty the King on the subject of appointing a British agent at Bhamo.

9. In reply to the last paragraph of your letter, I would beg to recommend that the pay of the assistant agent at Bhamo be 1,500 rupees per mensem. It will be seen that Captain Sladen attaches considerable importance to the status of the agent to be placed at Bhamo; and I agree with him that the pay of the appointment should be such as to enable the agent fittingly to represent the British Government. As to his establishment, I would suggest a guard consisting of—

	Rs.	
1 Jemadar, at 50	50	per mensem.
15 Privates, „ 20	300	„
4 Peons, „ 20	80	„
1 Burmese writer, at 50	50	„
Total, *Rs.*	380	per mensem.
	12	
Per annum	5,760	
Clothing for 16 men, at 13 rupees	208	
Total, *Rs.*	5,968	per annum.

And for the first year I would, in addition to this, allow a sum of 12,000 rupees for contingencies, including the construction of a house. The total charge would therefore be for the first twelve months, say,—

	Rs.
Pay of assistant political agent	18,000
Establishment	6,000
Contingencies	12,000
Total, *Rs.*	36,000

and this amount I have included in the provincial budget for 1869–70. I would not recommend that the guard should form part of the police department, but that the asssistant agent should select and enlist his own men from such classes as he thought best fitted for the duty.

10. I think the assistant agent should retain his position in the Commission, and be "seconded" during his employment at Bhamo, at least until it is seen how far the duties of the appointment may suit the present nominee, our present measures being necessarily in some degree tentative.

From Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, Agent to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, to Captain *Sladen*, Political Agent in the Territory of his Majesty the King of Burmah; No. 39–96, dated Rangoon, 30th October 1868.

I HAVE the honour to enclose you herewith a copy of letter, No. 1177, of 13th instant, to my address, from the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, being a reply to my letter, No. 39–77, dated 19th ultimo (copy of which has been furnished you), and also copy of my letter of this day's date to Government, regarding the appointment of an assistant political agent at Bhamo.

2. Be so good as to take early steps regarding the disbursement of 500 rupees to each of the families of the two Panthay officers who were killed in escorting you to Momein. Mention again to the King of Burmah the fact of an assistant political agent being about to be stationed at Bhamo, and endeavour to ascertain the real opinion of his Majesty on the subject; such are the instructions of his Excellency in Council, but it appears to me that the King has already accepted the measure, and raised no objections to it.

From *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Colonel *A. Fytche*, Chief Commissioner of British Burmah; No. 1413, dated Fort William, the 7th December 1868.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 30th October last, No. 39-94, in which you reply to the question of the appointment of a British agent at Bhamo.

2. His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council thinks it so important that there should be no risk of misapprehension on this question, that he will refrain from passing final or definite orders on the proposal until the King's sentiments shall have been ascertained, not by means of casual conversations, but by a distinct assent to the plan carefully explained to him, as one which requires a clear understanding and a full approval on the part of his Majesty.

3. The expressions used in paragraph 8 of your letter, and the doubts thrown out by Captain Sladen in his 2nd paragraph, render it imperative that formal demand should be made, and the King's assent be as formally given, before the appointment of an agent can be settled.

4. You will therefore instruct Captain Sladen to ask for an audience of the King for this object, and to ascertain distinctly what his Majesty's views and wishes may be on the whole subject.

From Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to the Governor General, to *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; No. 39-114, dated Rangoon, 11th January 1869.

I HAVE the honour to submit, to be laid before his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, copy of letter No. 229, dated 23rd December 1868, from Captain Sladen, in answer to my communication, transmitting him copy of your Despatch, No. 1177, dated 13th October 1868.

2. When this letter was written by Captain Sladen, he had not received a copy of your letter, No. 1413, dated 7th ultimo, to my address, which was forwarded him on 16th idem, with directions to carry out the instructions of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, as therein contained, with all convenient dispatch. On receipt of Captain Sladen's reply to the latter communication, it shall be at once submitted.

3. It is to be hoped that the several references that have been made to the King on this subject will not tend to lead his Majesty to suppose that it is not the wish of his Excellency to post an assistant political agent at Bhamo, or that the expediency of such a measure is not recognised.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, Mandalay, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General; No. 229, dated Mandalay, the 23rd December 1868.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 39-96, of 30th, with enclosures, and to inform you in reply, that the amount sanctioned as compensation to the families of the Panthay officers, who were killed whilst escorting me to Momein, shall be forwarded by the first safe opportunity.

2. In my several conversations with the King on the subject of establishing a British agent at Bhamo, his Majesty has always rightly assumed that his formal consent to this measure had already been attained, and instead of offering objection to the appointment or raising unnecessary misgivings, he has promised, on the appointment being made, to arrange that a good understanding shall be maintained between the incumbent (whoever he may be) and his own Governor of Bhamo.

3. I can well remember that during the negotiations of the late treaty the Burmese Government was of opinion that one of the first results of that treaty would be the location of British agents, both at Bhamo and Menhla. It would be bad policy, I conceive, in the present case to disturb the impressions secured by treaty rights by a diffident inquiry into the risks attending the exercise of those rights.

4. If the question were now asked whether his Majesty approved generally of the establishment of a British agent at Bhamo, no amount of diplomacy in approaching the subject would conceal an implied diffidence, which must naturally suggest itself as involved in the question. The King would take advantage of our doubts and put forward serious objections,

if by doing so he saw any reasonable hope (as he certainly would do) of retarding the appointment, or of even doing away with it altogether.

5. My own belief is, that the personal risk of a residence at Bhamo would not be as imminent as those to which the political agent at Mandalay would be subjected in the event of a rebellion, which, according to Burmese history, always takes its rise or assumes its most hideous shape at the royal capital.

6. But, setting aside risk altogether, it should be borne in mind that we have been at considerable pains to obtain from the Burmese Government the very important concession of appointing British agents to reside at duty stations in Upper Burmah; and it remains for us to decide, as apart from the wishes or policy of the King (who, by-the-bye, has already assented to the measure), whether the circumstances which now call for the services of the British agent at Bhamo are not paramount to every other consideration, or to the mere risk which must of a necessity be incurred by every European resident under foreign rule in an Asiatic State.

7. Judging by my own experiences on the late expedition into Yunan, I can only add as a supplementary remark to my letter No. 193, of 25th September last, that unless a British agent is located at Bhamo in the person of an officer of standing and ability, the expedition *viâ* Bhamo to Yunan may as well have never been undertaken, and overland trade with China will remain in abeyance as long as the Burmese Empire exists, or the Burmese Government fancies that it is best serving its own interest by obstructing European progress and refusing it the means of commercial extension through the comparatively insignificant tract of country known as Upper Burmah.

From *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Colonel *A. Fytche*, Chief Commissioner of British Burmah; No. 200, dated Fort William, the 8th February 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 39–114, dated 11th ultimo, submitting a communication from Captain Sladen on the subject of the proposed appointment of an assistant political agent at Bhamo.

2. In reply, I am directed to inform you that the Viceroy and Governor in Council will await the receipt of your answer to the letter from this department of the 7th December last, No. 1413, in which the views of the Government of India, and the course to be pursued, were clearly indicated, as well as the result of the reference which was to have been made to his Majesty the King of Burmah.

From Colonel *Albert Fytche*, Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, Agent to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, to *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; No. 39–125, dated Tavoy, 12th February 1869.

REFERRING to your letter, No. 1413, dated the 7th December 1868, in which I was informed that the Government of India desired that the wishes of his Majesty the King of Burmah regarding the appointment of a British agent at Bhamo should be distinctly and specifically ascertained, I have the honour, in continuation of my former correspondence on the subject, to submit, for the information of his Excellency the Governor General and Viceroy in Council, copy of a letter. No. 252, of 16th January, from Captain Sladen, Political Agent, Mandalay, in which he describes a special interview, held on the 11th January, with his Majesty the King with the view of ascertaining his Majesty's wishes on this matter.

2. It will be seen from this that his Majesty is quite willing that an agent should be stationed at Bhamo. He naturally asked that a prudent officer should be sent, and with that proviso stated that "the appointment had his full consent and approval."

3. I would now repeat to the Supreme Government my conviction of the importance of at once acting in this long-discussed matter, and so bringing to a legitimate conclusion (on this point at least) the commercial policy towards Upper Burmah, which has guided our intercourse with the court of Ava for years.

4. I beg again to bring to the notice of his Excellency the Governor General in Council that when my predecessor, Sir Arthur Phayre, proceeded in 1862 to negotiate a treaty with the court of Ava, one of the main points he was directed by the Government of India to bear in mind was the development of through trade with China *viâ* Bhamo. He was directed to further the re-opening of the commercial route to China *viâ* Bhamo by a joint British and Burmese mission. He was to provide for the passage of British or Asiatic merchants by that route, and for their residence at Bhamo.

5. In obedience to those instructions, Sir Arthur Phayre concluded a treaty, having as its sole object these important measures, and to obtain them we abolished our frontier duties, which

which then amounted to 60,000 *l.* Viewed as a mere matter of commercial policy, I believe the abolition of these duties was a wise step. On the Burmese side a very heavy tax was levied, and it was hoped that the court of Ava would gradually reduce the rates levied on their frontier. This object was secured by my treaty concluded with the court of Ava in October 1867; and we need have no regret at the lapse of our frontier duty when we find that our inland trade with Upper Burmah, which amounted to 112,900 *l.* in 1863–64 (the year our duties were abolished), has increased to 2,545,100 *l.* in the year 1867–68.

6. Still the wise policy which led to the treaty of 1862 has been but faintly persisted in since that time. Sir Arthur Phayre reported to the Governmant of India in his letter of 21st November 1862, that the treaty was expressly framed to provide for free passage of steamers on the Irrawaddy, and for the residents of merchants at Bhamo or elsewhere; and the King and his ministers were fully prepared for their appearance.

7. Again, in my treaty of 1867, distinct provision was made for the appointment of a British agent at Bhamo, or other places in Upper Burmah, where duties were levied; and the intention of the British Government to carry out this portion of the treaty was most assuredly understood by the court of Ava. On the same occasion opportunity was taken to gain the King's assent to the dispatch of a British expedition to re-open the route from Bhamo to China.

8. So much has been written of the importance of establishing a thorough traffic with Western China that it is superfluous to go over the same ground. I have already expressed my strong opinion of the great value of such a measure in various communications with the Supreme Government. *The most immediately feasible route is undoubtedly* viâ *Bhamo*, and we may hope gradually to resuscitate and develope the valuable trade which formerly flowed by that channel. But to do this, the presence of a British agent at Bhamo is, in my opinion, essential, and having in consideration the great commercial issue at stake (one which I am satisfied will year by year become of increasing Imperial importance) I would most strongly urge on his Excellency the Governor General in Council to give his assent to the appointment of a British agent at Bhamo.

9. The detail measures requiring sanction as to the pay of the agent and his establishment I have already submitted for the consideration of Government in my letter, No. 39-94, dated 30th October 1868.

From Captain *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, Mandalay, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, C. S. I., Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor General of India; No. 252, dated the 16th January 1869.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 39-108, Foreign Department, dated 16th ultimo, and to inform you that on the 11th instant I was admitted to a special audience with the King for the purpose of explaining the nature of the Bhamo appointment, and of ascertaining his Majesty's views and wishes in their relation to the same subject.

2. During the interview I succeeded in making his Majesty conversant with all sides of the question, and begged that I might be favoured with a clear and distinct expression of his Majesty's opinion thereon, either then or as soon as it might be convenient to admit me to another interview.

3. Somewhat to my surprise his Majesty seemed to have considered the matter, and to have already arrived at a definite decision on the subject of my interview. He replied almost immediately as follows:—

King.—I have no objection whatever to the Bhamo appointment. I shall not be sorry to hear that you have appointed an agent at Bhamo, as well as at other duty stations in Burmah (Tonghoo and Menhla). All I stipulate for is, that your Government will not send obstinate or intractable officers, who will be guided solely by their own opinion, without any regard to advice or reason.

Political Agent.—Your Majesty may rest assured that the British Government will be most careful in its selection of an officer to fill the Bhamo appointment. He will be a man of prudence and ability, with special qualifications for so responsible a position.

King.—In that case I have no misgivings. The appointment has my full consent and approval. When the officer arrives I wish you to introduce him to me, and I will then cause the attendance of the Governor of Bhamo. Between us we will arrange that the Governor and the British agent shall understand each other, and be placed, as regards their mutual relations, on a sound and intelligible footing.

There is another point. I do not like the idea of English steamers proceeding above Mandalay. The population generally may be led to believe that Burmah is again invaded, and the steamers may get into difficulties.

Political Agent.—Your Majesty will do wrong, I think, to raise any question now affecting the rights of British steamers on the Irrawaddy. Those rights have already been secured by treaty, and would not, in all probability, be relinquished without difference and misunderstanding. The difficulty, as regards popular opinion in your Majesty's dominions, may be avoided by a royal proclamation on the first occasion that any English steamer attempts the passage of the river north of Mandalay.

King.—Why should your steamers wish to go toBhamo? Does it not amount to the same thing if I make my steamers available for all cargo or goods that may pass between Bhamo and Mandalay?

Political Agent.—No, by no means; such an arrangement would interfere injuriously with the rights of owners, shippers, and consignees, to say nothing of the interests and profits of trade. Besides, treaty rights cannot easily be lost sight of. It is my duty, I think, to advise your Majesty not to raise objection to the passage of English steamers beyond the capital. I am not in a position myself to recognise any such objections when I find that they involve a breach of treaty stipulations. But if your Majesty wishes it, I will communicate what you have said to the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah.

King.—No, I will take your advice; say nothing about the steamers. But I must not be blamed hereafter if British steamers get into difficulties in navigating the Irrawaddy above my capital.

Political Agent.—Your Majesty has no reason to apprehend undue responsibility in this matter. All that we can reasonably expect is the protection of a friendly government, and this protection your Majesty has agreed, by treaty, to extend to all British traders within your Majesty's dominions.

4. No further allusion was made during the interview to the Bhamo appointment, and my impression is, that his Majesty is sincere at present in his desire to avoid all suspicion of indirect opposition, past or present, in the work of regenerating overland trade *viâ* Bhamo with South-Western China. In fact, I believe that he is fast recovering from the effects of certain evil influences which may have induced him, after my own departure for Bhamo, to view the expedition with disfavour, and to try and defeat its main objects. Since the return of the expedition to Mandalay, it has been in my power to tender to his Majesty advice and information which, I am led to hope, have produced reaction in favour of the establishment of a British agency at Bhamo, and the furtherance of commercial enterprise in the direction of Southern China.

From *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, to Colonel *Albert Fytche*, C.S.I., Chief Commissioner of British Burmah; No. 359, dated the 15th March 1869.

I AM directed by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 12th ultimo (No. 39–125), and to state that, on the understanding now arrived at, that the King of Burmah is quite willing that an Agent should be appointed to Bhamo, his Excellency in Council will recommend the appointment to the financial department.

2. But his Excellency in Council would first wish you to report, after consulting Captain Sladen, the name or names of any officer or officers who possess the qualifications which the Government has a right to look for in the person who shall fill the proposed appointment. The agent, it is almost unnecessary to urge on you, should be a man versed in the language and customs of Burmah, and of acknowledged discretion, readiness, and tact.

3. His Excellency in Council is also disposed to think that 1,500 rupees a month is too high a salary for such an appointment; and that, at first, it would not be necessary to assign to the post more than 1,000 rupees a month, or 12,000 rupees a year.

4. The officer to be appointed might be styled assistant agent at Bhamo, and might be placed in subordination to the political agent at Mandalay; both officers being, of course, under your supervision as Chief Commissioner.

5. The pay of the political agent at this latter place, I am to remark, is only 1,500 rupees a month.

From Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, British Burmah, and Agent to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, to *W. S. Seton-Karr*, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department; No. 39–139, dated the 27th March 1869.

I AM directed by the Chief Commissioner and Agent to the Governor General to acknowledge the receipt of your letter (No. 359) of 15th instant, and to request that the Chief Commissioner's letter (No. 39–94), dated 30th October last, which contains in detail the information required, may be laid before the Right honourable the Viceroy and Governor General in Council. A copy of this letter is inclosed for ready reference.

2. The Chief Commissioner, I am to say, consulted Captain Sladen long ago regarding the officer to be nominated for the appointment of assistant political agent at Bhamo, and he fully concurs with General Fytche that Captain Strover is eminently fitted for the post. An officer placed in the important and responsible position which the assistant political agent will be placed in at Bhamo, and completely cut off, too, from all European society and support,

support, should be well paid. Captain Strover now draws 1,000 rupees a month, is close on promotion, and it would not be worth his while proceeding to Bhamo on the salary mentioned in your letter under reply. If he does not accept the appointment, the Chief Commissioner has no other officer here in a position to take the office, who possesses the necessary qualifications for the post.

3. As stated in your telegram just received, the pay of the political agent at Mandalay is 3,000 rupees per mensem, and not 1,500 rupees, as given in your letter.

4. A Schedule showing the pay recommended for the salary of the assistant political agent and his establishment, in paragraph 9 of the Chief Commissioner's letter above referred to, is annexed, as also copy of a notification for publication in the "Gazette of India," in the event of his Excellency thinking fit to appoint Captain Strover.

NOTIFICATION.

The Right honourable the Viceroy and Governor General of India in Council is pleased to appoint Captain G. A. Strover, Madras Staff Corps, to be assistant political agent at Bhamo, in the territory of his Majesty the King of Burmah, under Article VI. of the Treaty with his Majesty, concluded on the 25th October 1867.

SCHEDULE of the Proposed Establishment for the Office of Assistant Political Agent at Bhamo.

		Rs.	*a.*	*p.*
1	Assistant political agent	1,500	–	–
	Office Establishment.			
1	Burmese writer	50	–	–
	Personal Guard.			
1	Jemadar	50	–	–
15	Privates, at 20 rupees each	300	–	–
4	Peons, at 20 rupees each	80	–	–
	TOTAL *Rs.*	1,980	–	–

Rangoon, the 29 March 1869. (signed) *H. Nelson Davies,* Major, Secretary.

RESOLUTION by the Government of India, Financial Department, No. 677, dated 28th May 1869.

Read an extract from the Proceedings of Government, in the Foreign Department (political), No. 587, dated 30th April 1869, recommending sanction to the appointment of a British agent at Bhamo, on a salary of 1,200 rupees per mensem, with an establishment at 480 rupees * monthly, and a sum not exceeding 12,000 rupees for contingencies, including the construction or the purchase of a house.

		Rs.
*1	Burmese writer	50
	GUARD.	
1	Jemadar	50
15	Privates, at 20 rupees	300
4	Peons, at 20 rupees	80
	Rs.	480

RESOLUTION.—The Governor General in Council is pleased to sanction the proposed charges, the salary of the agent being subject to the approval of the Secretary of State.

EAST INDIA (BRITISH BURMAH).

FURTHER RETURN.

OFFICIAL NARRATIVE of the EXPEDITION to Explore the TRADE ROUTES to CHINA *viâ* BHAMO, under the Guidance of Major *E. B. Sladen*, Political Agent, Mandalay; with connected PAPERS.

(*Mr. Lambert.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
17 *April* 1871

[*Price* 2 *s.* 8 *d.*]

165.

Under 16 *oz.*

EAST INDIA (EX-NAWAB OF TONK).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 17 May 1871;—*for*,

FURTHER PAPERS

REGARDING THE CASE OF

THE EX-NAWAB OF TONK.

(In continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 119, of Session 1871.)

India Office,
18 May 1871.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary in Political and Secret Department.

(*Mr. Grant Duff.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed*,
22 *May* 1871.

CONTENTS.

From	To	Date.	Page.
Colonel Eden - - - - - - Enclosures, Nos. 1 to 8.	India Government - - -	12 Aug. 1867	1
Colonel Eden - - - - - -	India Government - - -	14 Aug. „	6
Captain Roberts - - - -	Captain Bruce - - - -	9 Aug. „	7
Colonel Eden - - - - - -	India Government - - -	6 Sept. „	9
Captain Bruce - - - - - - Enclosures.	Colonel Eden - - - -	26 Aug. „	17
Captain Bruce - - - - - -	Colonel Eden - - - -	31 Aug. „	41
Ditto - - - - - - -	India Government - - -	14 Sept. „	42
Ditto - - - - - - - Enclosures.	Colonel Eden - - - -	13 Sept. „	42
Colonel Eden - - - - - -	India Government - - -	11 Sept. „	51

FURTHER PAPERS

REGARDING THE CASE OF

THE EX-NAWAB OF TONK.

From Colonel *W. F. Eden*, Governor General's Agent for the Rajpootana States, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, No. 970–52P., dated Mount Aboo, 12 August 1867.

For the present information of his Excellency the Viceroy in Council, I have the honour to forward a copy of the papers marginally cited, regarding a collision which occurred on the 1st instant at Tonk between the Nawab's retainers and the followers of the thakoor of Lawa, in which, it is stated, six or eight lives were lost on either side, Rewut Sing, the thakoor's uncle, being amongst the number.

1. Translation of a khureeta from Nawab of Tonk, to Agent, Governor General, dated 2nd August.
2. Agent, Governor General, in reply, dated 7th August.
3. Purport of note from Tonk Vakeel, dated 8th August 1867.
4. Telegram from relations of Lawa thakoor, dated 5th August, received 8th August.
5. Letter, No. 947-58, dated 8th August, to Political Agent, Harowtee.
6. Anonymous petition, dated 1st August, received 10th August, from followers of Lawa thakoor.
7. From Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Agent, Governor General, No. 89-13, dated 7th August, received 12th August.
8. From Agent, Governor General, in reply, No. 969-61, dated 12th August.

2. Whether the Tonk authorities have been really guilty of the foul treachery imputed to them is a matter on which I cannot offer, until further evidence is forthcoming, a decided opinion. Probably the charge has been exaggerated; but I most certainly do not place reliance on the highly improbable story set forth by the Nawab. My personal knowledge of the deceased thakoor, Rewut Sing, assures me that he would never have attempted to have forced his way at night into Hakeem Surwur Shah's house as has been represented, whilst the Hakeem, an intriguing, mendacious Affghan, is just the character to take an active part in a piece of foul play with but small compunction.

3. I rest assured his Excellency will desire a full enquiry and report into this matter, and I have therefore deputed Captain Bruce, Political Agent, Harowtee, to Tonk for the purpose.

4. Trusting that the action I have taken will meet approval.

Enclosure No. 1.

Purport of a Khureeta from the Nawab of Tonk, to the Governor General's Agent, Rajpootana, dated 2 August 1867.

You are aware of the insubordinate and rebellious conduct of the thakoor of Lawa, and it is not, therefore, necessary to relate it here; but as a fresh disturbance has been created by Rewut Sing, uncle of the thakoor, it is advisable that I should acquaint you with it.

In order to reprimand the thakoor for oppressing and ill treating the subjects of Tonk residing in villages near Lawa, I summoned him to Tonk. He gave no heed to my admonition, and suddenly one day his uncle, Rewut Sing, with 40 men, proceeded to the court of the Thuggee and Dacoitee officer, and there created a disturbance and resorted to arms. The full particulars will be communicated verbally by my Vakeel in attendance on you.

Enclosure No. 2.

Purport of a Khureeta from the Governor General's Agent, Rajpootana, to the Nawab of Tonk, dated 7 August 1867.

I HAVE duly received your Highness's khureeta of the 2nd August, intimating that you had summoned the thakoor of Lawa to Tonk to reprimand him in the matter of his insubordination, &c., and reporting that a fresh disturbance had been caused by Rewut Sing, the thakoor's uncle.

I do not, however, find anything in the khureeta regarding the collision which took place, but your Highness's Vakeel informs me that Rewut Sing has been killed; and as this very grave occurrence has taken place in Tonk itself, I beg your Highness will report the full particulars of this lamentable event.

Enclosure No. 3.

PURPORT of a Note from Vakeel of Tonk, to the Governor General's Agent, dated 8 August 1867.

I HAVE to-day received a letter from the Nawab of Tonk communicating the conduct of the Lawa thakoor in creating a disturbance, &c. I do myself the honour of forwarding the letter in original for your information.

Purwana from Nawab of Tonk, dated 6 August 1867.

You have been already made acquainted with the insubordination and disobedience of the Lawa thakoor, of his tyranny and oppression to the villages near Lawa, of his other acts of misconduct, and of his non-payment of his tribute. In order to reprimand him for these matters and to obtain his tribute, I called him to Tonk, and he came about 15 days ago.

On the 1st August the thakoor's vakeel was summoned to the court of Hakeem Surwur Shah, the officer in charge of the criminal court and of the Dacoitee department. Rewut Sing, the Thakoor's uncle, and certain other Rajpoots presented themselves. Surwur Shah, the Hakeem, was inside the house insensible (" be-hosh") from sickness, but the other officers in the court entered into a conversation with Rewut Sing about the tribute and other matters, but he gave no heed, stated what was not the truth, and then went away in a rage.

About eight or nine P.M., Thakoors Rewut Sing, Bejey Sing, and 40 armed men suddenly came to Hakeem Surwur Shah's house, called for the hakeem, and attempted to enter the house. The guard, on account of the illness of the hakeem, the unseasonable hour, &c., begged them to stop; they would not, and a quarrel ensued; both parties commenced hustling each other; one of the thakoor's men's puggree fell off. On this the thakoor drew his sword and began laying about him. In the fight Rahmut Khan and Gholab Khan (a relation of the Nawab) and six (6) others were killed and nine wounded, and on the side of the thakoor's, Rewut Sing, Bijey Sing, and (8) eight others were killed, and one wounded man and seven others were taken prisoners; the rest fled. On hearing this, fearing that Thakoor Dheerut Sing, who with 25 men was in another house, would create a disturbance, I caused them to be surrounded. Subsequently the thakoor laid down his arms and presented himself; he is now in surveillance. Some sepoys went in pursuit of the thakoor's men, who had fled from the scene of the disturbance as far as Lawa, but they were fired at, and therefore returned.

The nine wounded men, as well as the seven captured men of the thakoor's, are in confinement pending an inquiry.

I am at a loss to account for this rebellious and stupid conduct on the part of the thakoors.

On receipt of this letter communicate the purport to the agent, Governor General.

Let there be no delay.

Enclosure No. 4.

TELEGRAM from *Dodey Sing and Ram Sing*, the relatives of the Thakoor of Lawa, from Jeypore to the Agent to the Governor General, Rajpootana, dated 5 August 1867.

ON the 2nd of August the Nawab of Tonk cited Dheerut Sing of Lawa, then encamped at Tonk. Dheerut Sing did not go himself, but he sent his uncle, Rewut Sing, and his brother, Bijey Sing, with some other nobles. They arrived at the house of the hakeem, the minister of Tonk, who captured them all, and put Rewut Sing, Bijey Sing, two officers, and seven other persons to death. The Nawab has imprisoned Dheerut Sing and besieged Lawa, hoping for administration for the same.

Enclosure No 5.

From the Agent to the Governor General, Rajpootana, to the Political Agent, Harowtee, No. 947–58, dated 8 August 1867.

I have the honour to forward copy of the documents, as marginally noted, regarding a disturbance which has occurred at Tonk, in which several lives have been lost.

1. Khureeta from Nawab of Tonk, to Agent, Governor General, dated 2nd August 1867.
2. Agent, Governor General's reply, dated 7th August 1867.
3. Kyfeeut from Tonk Vakeel, dated 8th August.
   Telegram from certain relations of Lawa Thakoor.

2. The tenor of these papers is widely dissimilar. If, on the one hand, the kyfeeut of the Tonk Vakeel states the truth, no immediate active action is demanded; if, on the other hand, troops are marching on Lawa and further bloodshed is likely to ensue, you are authorised to desire the Nawab promptly to withdraw his men pending the orders of the Government of India.

3. You will further, from your proximity to Tonk, be in a position to judge what caused and brought on the collision which has occurred.

It is scarcely to be supposed that the thakoor would have resorted to arms in Tonk itself without some exceptional provocation, unless the quarrel rose in a brawl, which may have gradually spread.

If it should appear from the rumors and reports, which will surely have reached you, that there has been any foul play, or that life has been wantonly sacrificed, as stated in the telegram, I beg you will at once proceed to Tonk and report fully after enquiry. Under any circumstances, it would be expedient to desire the Tonk authorities to send to you the Thakoor Dheerut Sing, so that he may be able to speak freely as to what occurred.

Enclosure No. 6.

PURPORT of an Anonymous Petition purporting to be from one of the followers of Lawa Thakoor, dated 1 August 1867.

THE Nawab of Tonk summoned the Thakoor of Lawa to Tonk; he accordingly went there. On the 1st August Hakeem Surwur Shah sent for the thakoor with his followers. The Thakoor sent his uncle, Rewut Sing. Hakeem Surwur Shah called him up alone into an upper chamber; the remainder of his (Rewut Sing's) followers remained below. By the order of the hakeem some Affghans killed Rewut Sing. Some 300 or 400 sepoys were also in readiness, and firing a volley, killed all the attendants; I escaped wonderfully. The Thakoor himself is besieged in his house, which is surrounded by a regiment of horse and foot, and they demand him to surrender. They have not yet yielded, but I am certain the Nawab will kill them also.

Rewut Sing and the others that were with him were murdered at the Nawab's order.

The Nawab, after summoning the thakoor, has committed this treacherous deed.

We ask for justice. To set this matter in a favourable though lying light before you, a Sahibzadah has been deputed to you.

A great force has also been despatched to Lawa, &c. We have no hope except in your justice.

Enclosure No. 7.

From Captain Bruce, Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Governor General's Agent for the States of Rajpootana; No. 89-13P., dated 7 August 1867.

I HAVE the honour to report that official confirmation has this day reached me of a rumour to the effect that a serious fracas, resulting in loss of several lives on either side, had taken place at Tonk between the Nawab's retainers and some of the followers of the Lawa thakoor, who it appears, had been invited to the capital.

2. On hearing that a disturbance had occurred, I forthwith despatched an agency "Chobdar" to ascertain and report all particulars, and desired him, pending further instructions, to remain with the thakoor's camp. I at the same time addressed the Tonk Durbar regarding the rumour which was in circulation, and begged reliable information of what had really taken place. I have to-day been favoured with a reply from his Highness, and although the Vakeel informs me a full report has been furnished to your office from Tonk, I deem it my duty to submit this letter on the subject.

3. The reports of this unfortunate occurrence are most conflicting. The Nawab asserts that Rewut Sing, the thakoor's uncle, who fell in the affray, brought on the quarrel by attempting an armed entrance into the house of one of the Raj officials; whilst the story told me by the thakoor's brother, who is now at Deolee, would point to treachery on the part of the Tonk Durbar, whereby the Rajpoots were entrapped and killed.

4. At present it would be premature to record any decided opinion in the matter. There is no doubt fighting took place, for the casualties, as reported, are pretty equally balanced on either side. It is, however, hard to believe that the Lawa people would have been foolhardy enough to have bearded the Nawab in his own capital, and, *primâ facie*, the circumstances induce grave apprehension.

5. Your assistant, Captain Roberts, leaves Deolee for Tonk at once, and I have the honour to forward herewith copy of a letter I have just addressed him with a view to his endeavouring to elicit, for your information, the real facts of the case whilst there. On receipt of Captain Robert's report I will again address you, and at once repair to Tonk myself should circumstances appear to render my presence expedient or desirable. In the meantime every precaution has been taken to prevent further bloodshed.

6. On hearing some days ago that a force had been moved towards Lawa by the Nawab, I at once deputed the naib moonshee of this agency to proceed there, and, if possible, prevent hostilities. I am now informed by the thakoors that the troops have been withdrawn.

7. Trusting that the action taken by me may meet with your approval.

From the Political Agent, Harowtee, to Captain *Roberts*, Assistant Agent to the Governor General, Rajpootana, No. 147, dated 7 August 1867.

OFFICIAL intimation having this day reached me from the Nawab of Tonk to the effect that a serious fracas, involving the loss of several lives, has taken place between some of his Highness's retainers and the followers of the thakoor of Lawa, and as it fortunately happens that you will be passing through Tonk to-morrow, I think it would be very desireable you should take advantage of being on the spot to enquire all particulars for the information of the Governor General's agent, to whom a copy of this letter will be forwarded.

2. I would also beg the favour of your kindly acquainting me with any details you may learn at Tonk.

Enclosure No. 8.

From the Governor General's Agent for the States of Rajpootana, to the Political Agent, Harowtee; No. 969–61 dated 12 August 1867.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt this day of your letter, No. 89-13, of the 7th instant, and, in reply, I would express my approval of the course you have adopted in respect to the recent lamentable fracas at Tonk.

2. As I am presently informed, a grave measure of suspicion attaches to the Tonk authorities as to their action in this matter, and a full report must be made for submission, to the Government of India. I assume that you will have proceeded to Tonk for this duty, as suggested in my letter, No. 947, of the 8th instant.

Awaiting an early report.

(For. Department Political—No. 981—53 P. of 1867.)

From Colonel *W F. Eden*, Governor General's Agent for the States of Rajpootana, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated Aboo, 14 August 1867.

IN continuation of my Despatch No. 970/52 P. of the 12th instant, I have the honour to submit for the information of Government a demi-official communication

munication of the 9th instant from my assistant, Captain Roberts, reporting the result of his visit to Tonk, and of the inquiry he made regarding the very grave occurrence which was transacted at that place on the 1st instant.

I am very much afraid that the conclusions arrived at by Captain Roberts are but too true, and that Thakoor Rewut Sing and his attendants were treacherously entrapped and murdered.

2. I have telegraphed to the Political Agent, Harowtee, to proceed to Tonk at once and make a full inquiry. I enclose a copy of the telegram and of the letter I have addressed that officer, and his report, on receipt, will be submitted for the orders of Government.

3. In the meantime I would merely remark that if this inquiry should establish the conclusions which, from the information presently before me, I am compelled, however reluctantly, to accept, I will solicit his Excellency the Viceroy to mark the sense of the displeasure of our Government for this wicked and bloody tragedy in a manner so prominent, that it will not only not readily be forgotten by the Tonk authorities, but leave its stamp on the minds of other chiefs in this province.

Enclosure No. 1.

COPY of a demi-official LETTER from Captain *A. W. Roberts*, Assistant Agent to the Governor General, to the Political Agent in Harowtee, dated Tonk, 9 August 1867.

I HAVE now to state for your information, and that of Colonel Eden, the various statements made to me at this place regarding the occurrence of the 1st instant.

2. I arrived here yesterday at dusk, and this morning visited the Nawab at eight o'clock. His Highness' account of the affair is, that the Lawa thakoor and his uncle came here at his Highness request to settle several matters, and that the uncle, Rewut Sing, conducted the business of his nephew. In this capacity he paid several visits to Hakeem Surwar Shah who acted for the Nawab at the Thuggee and Dacoitee office, of which department Surwar Shah is the head.

3. That on the evening of the 1st of this month, Rewut Sing, accompanied by a body of followers, proceeded to the above-mentioned office, and requested to see Hakeem Surwar Shah; that he was informed that the Hakeem was not feeling well, and did not see people at that hour; that on this Rewut Sing's party became clamorous, and whilst in this excited state some person's turban was knocked off; that on this swords were drawn, a struggle ensued, and Rewut Sing and some eight or nine of his followers were killed, and above five or six of the Tonk soldiers; and that next morning the corpses of the Hindoos were burnt, and those of the Mahomedans were buried.

4. The Nawab added that, on account of this occurrence, he deemed it necessary to keep a guard round the Lawa thakoor's house, but had lately withdrawn it.

5. When the Nawab had finished his relation, I impressed him with the necessity of allowing the thakoor to proceed at once to Lawa, and of his Highness abstaining from any further action regarding Lawa until a Khureeta was received from the Agent Governor General. I repeated this advice several times, and the Nawab in reply fully consented, and since I commenced to pen this letter the Lawa thakoor has left for his home.

6. A little after noon, the young thakoor called upon me; on taking his seat he was much overcome, and indeed his agitation was so great, that he could give no coherent answer to what I said; all that he could state was that his uncle had gone to the Thuggee and Dacoitee office at the request of Hakeem Surwur Shah, at about nine o'clock in the evening, and that he was accompanied by his nephew, Bijey Sing, Dewarree Brahmin, a Lawa kamdar, Munnee Lal, another kamdar, and several followers. In what way his uncle, cousin, and servants were killed, he doesn't know, but he added that several of the servants who went escaped to Lawa, and that they alone will be able to state what really occurred. As for himself, he was kept a prisoner for some days, and had only lately been given his liberty.

7. I then told the thakoor that the Nawab had acceded to his at once proceeding to Lawa, and that I should send your Agency chuprassee, Ram Suroop, with him. I also warned him of the necessity of avoiding all disputes with the Tonk officials, and urged him to restrain his followers from anything that might reopen the question, and I finally bid him to wait quietly at Lawa until the views of the Governor General's agent were known.

8. Impressed with the value of what you said to me in our conversation at Deolee, I determined to acquire, if possible, the testimony of one or two independent witnesses. I accordingly sent for the native doctor in charge of the Dispensary, and he informed me that on the 1st August, Surwur Shah requested Rewut Sing to visit him. The thakoor accordingly went accompanied by his followers; after they had conversed for a short time, Surwur Shah bid the thakoor and his party take off their swords; on their refusing, the Hakeem, having spoken a few words in Púchtoo, went away. On this a number of Walaitees rushed out from all parts of the building and shot and cut down the thakoor's party. The guard outside also endeavoured to secure those of the thakoor's party that remained outside, but some escaped. During the day there was an idea in the city that something was going to happen, and many persons were seen to enter the Thuggee and Dacoity Office, and when, at nine o'clock in the evening, shots were heard, persons amongst themselves observed that the Lawa party were being massacred at the "Girazee"* office. The Doctor added that from fear of the Durbar few persons would be found in the city who would dare to give evidence; that he had several authorities for what he had stated, the principal of whom was his compounder, a Mussulman whose house was directly opposite the "Girazee" office, and who had heard the firing. On my observing that I should like to see him, the Doctor said that in the first place he doubted whether the man would speak on the subject to me, so great was the dread of the Durbar; and that, secondly, he doubted whether the man would be allowed to see me.

* Thuggee and Dacoitee.

9. As I am not officially investigating the matter, and am merely recording, for Colonel Eden's perusal whatsoever I may hear in this place, I thought it best not to send for this person, as it might do him harm, and I see no reason to doubt the truth of the native doctor's statement, he being quite a disinterested person. The doctor further added that after the tragedy a regiment was at once sent off to Lawa, and some guns were to follow, but that the Nawab's uncle and "peer" had pointed out to him the foolishness of such a step after what had occurred. The guns were accordingly countermanded, and the infantry who had proceeded to Lawa were ordered to return singly and out of uniform to conceal the step that had been taken.

10. Your Chuprassee Ram Suroop's account is, that only Rewut Sing, Bijey Sing, Dewarree, and Munnee Lal, went inside the "Girazee" office; that they were the first killed, and that when their followers outside suspected what was happening, that they also drew their swords, and that several of them were killed and several escaped. He adds that the corpses of the Hindoos were immediately cut up, packed in a cart, and taken away and burnt. This in itself is most suspicious.

11. From all I have heard I have no doubt in my own mind that the Lawa party were treacherously inveigled and attacked. At first I thought the Nawab was not cognizant of the affair, but I have since changed my mind, for it could not have been done without his knowledge. The old Thakoor Rewut Sing was the most able of the advocates of the young Thakoor in his case between Tonk and Lawa; by getting rid of him and the two kamdars, there is no one left to advise the nephew, or to manage the affairs of the thakoor. The Tonk Durbar have calculated this, and promise themselves that, for the future, they will be able to have their own way, especially as the thakoor is young and has not yet evinced any aptitude to administer his own affairs. All therefore that was wanted was an unscrupulous agent; Surwur Shah filled this place; from all I hear and have seen of him he appears thoroughly capable of planning and carrying out what has happened; and to effect his means, he has at his disposal some 500 or 600 Wulaitees ready to do any deed of blood.

12. The Durbar seems fully to intend to hear what the Colonel has to say before they take any further action, so that I see no need for your coming over here. The Nawab several times promised me that nothing should be done until the Colonel writes, and I am inclined to believe him in this.

13. The native doctor has only said what he has on the promise that his name should not appear; I therefore trust that, as I gave this promise, his name may not get known, as he is in great dread that the Tonk Durbar should hear what he has stated; he vouches solemnly that it is correct in all its leading points.

14. In conclusion, the only persons who will be able to give a credible account will be those who have escaped to Lawa; those who are prisoners here are liable to be coerced.

15. Just as I close this letter the postmaster has come. His statement is to the same effect as that of the rest, viz., that Surwar Shah invited Rewut Sing to his house, that the old thakoor, with three or four men went inside; that they were asked to take off their swords; they refused; a number of Wulaitees rushed in and cut and shot down the thakoor and his friends, at the same time those outside were also attacked.

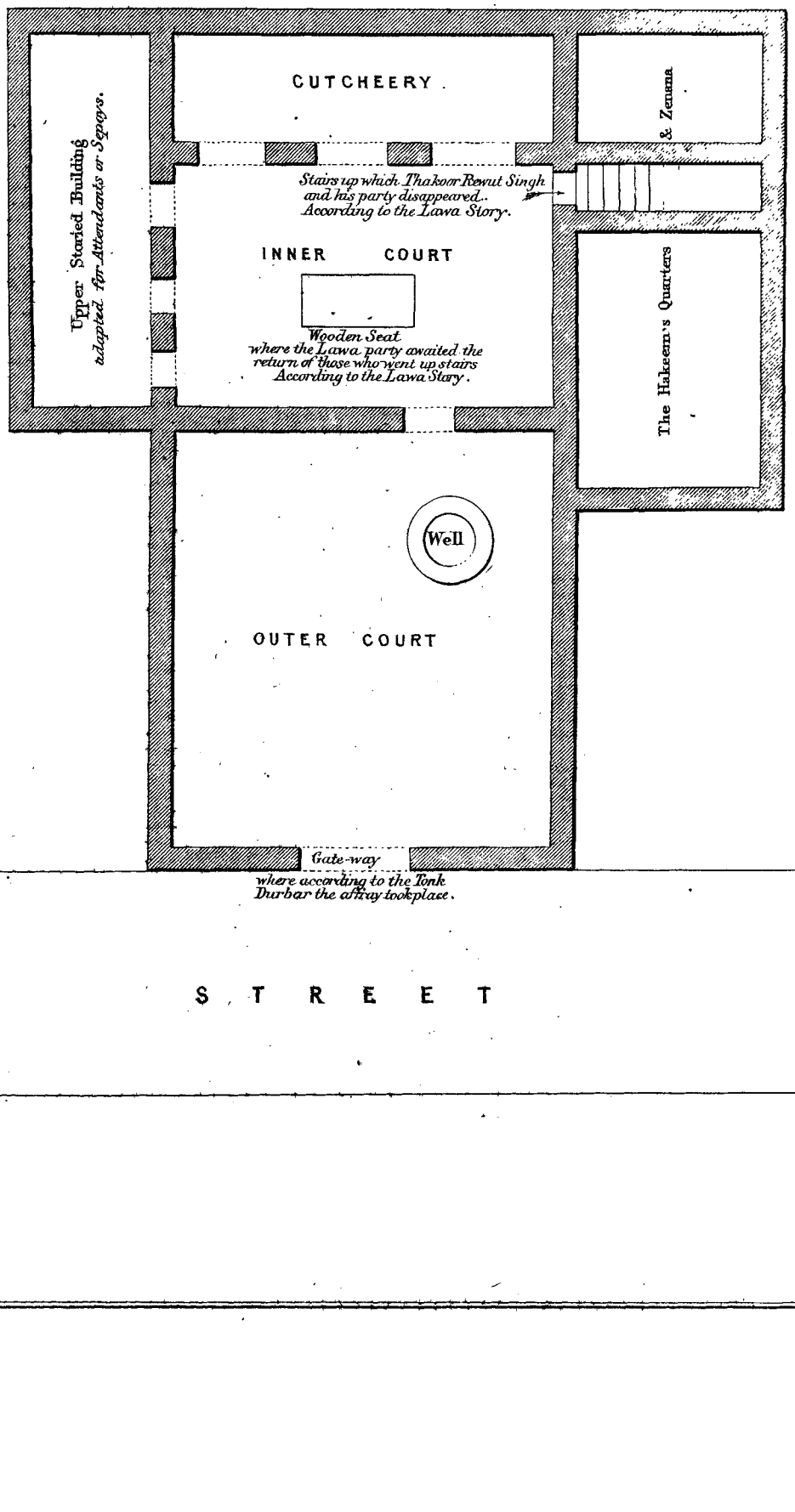
All this independent evidence, hearsay though it only is, leaves no doubt in my mind that this massacre was a deliberately planned one. I cannot absolve the Nawab from cognizance of it, for the soldiers would not have obeyed anyone else's orders.

P. S.—Excuse errors. I am anxious to get to get this off at once.
Ram Suroop has gone to Lawa with the thakoor, and will report matters to you daily.

(signed) *A. W. Roberts,*
Acting Agent, Governor General.

PLAN OF HAKEEM SURWUR (OR SURWAH) SHAH'S HOUSE

WHERE THE TRAGEDY TOOK PLACE.


CUTCHEERY
& Zenana
Upper Storied Building adapted for Attendants or Spys.
Stairs up which Thakoor Rewut Singh and his party disappeared.. According to the Lawa Story.
INNER COURT
Wooden Seat where the Lawa party awaited the return of those who went up stairs According to the Lawa Story.
The Hakeem's Quarters
Well
OUTER COURT
Gate-way where according to the Tonk Durbar the affray took place.
STREET

SERVICE MESSAGE.

From Simla, dated the 24th August 1867. | To Aboo.
From Foreign Secretary. | To Colonel Eden.

"REPORT of 14th on Tonk affair received. Communicate following instructions to Political Agent:—Viceroy desires that the evidence be taken with great care, all important points being fully brought out and irrelevant matter excluded. The building in which tragedy occurred should be examined, its condition and any marks of conflict observed, and a sketch of it made showing exact position of the two parties of the thakoor's people when attacked. Ascertain also the number of the thakoor's men who accompanied his uncle to Surwur Shah's house, and the arms each man carried; likewise the age and description of each, and especially of the leading men, as this may throw important light on the probabilities of the case. Similarly note the numbers and arms of Nawab's party at Surwur Shah's house.

"If practicable, evidence of all parties should be taken in presence of each other. To keep Native doctor's evidence secret would be inconvenient, and, indeed, almost useless. Unless given before Surwur Shah, it can be of no value. Still it is quite natural that he and others should be afraid to speak out for fear of Nawab's future vengeance. If so, assure them not only of protection by British Government, but of service being provided elsewhere similar to what they now have.

"Investigate facts connected with Nawab's alleged order for troops to move on Lawa and extent to which they were carried out."

From Colonel *W. F. Eden*, Governor General's Agent for the States of Rajpootana, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General,—No. 1085-59P., dated Aboo, 6th September 1867.

I HAVE the honour to submit a letter, No. 97-16, of the 26th ultimo, from the Political Agent, Harowtee, with enclosures, reporting the result of the inquiry instituted to ascertain the circumstances under which Thakoors Rewut Singh, Beejey Singh, and others of Lawa met their death at Tonk on the 1st of last month.

2. I may premise that your telegram of the 24th ultimo, conveying the instructions of his Excellency the Viceroy as to the manner in which the investigation should be conducted, was immediately telegraphed to Mr. Bruce; the inquiry had, however, terminated on the 23rd idem, and that officer had returned to his head-quarters at Deolee before the telegram reached him.

3. As was anticipated, the evidence that has been elicited is of the most conflicting and irrreconcilable nature. The great mass of direct testimony lies with Tonk; and I propose, in reviewing the case, first, to touch on the evidence set forth by that Durbar; next, to analyse and compare it with the circumstantial and other evidence that has been adduced, in order that we may arrive at a just conclusion as to how far the direct testimony of the Tonk witnesses may be accepted as trustworthy; and lastly, to proceed to the deposition of the sole surviving eye-witness on the part of Lawa, testing his evidence also in the same manner as that of the witnesses on the side of Tonk.

4. The Tonk Durbar's version of the story as to the circumstances under which Rewut Singh and his attendants were killed may be thus summarised:

That the thakoor of Lawa was summoned to Tonk in order that the Nawab might reprimand him for his insubordination and misconduct, as well for the non-payment of the tribute due to the Durbar and for oppressing the villages near Lawa; that the thakoor accordingly presented himself; that during the day of the 1st August, Rewut Singh, the thakoor's uncle, with about 50 men, proceeded to the office and residence of Hakeem Surwur Shah, the Dacoitee officer; that the hakeem was unwell and unable to see Rewut Singh, but sent him a verbal message by his subordinate, Ameen Mahomed, to effect that Lawa would have to contribute like others for schools, dispensaries, &c.; that on

hearing this Rewut Singh became violent and went away, using harsh language; that the same evening about 9 P.M. he again suddenly presented himself at the head of a number of attendants at the hakeem's residence; that on being denied admittance owing to the hour of the night and to the illness of Surwur Shah, the door was forcibly pushed open; that Rewut Singh and his men then poured into the court-yard; words ensued with the guard there; some one's turban was knocked off, on which Rewut Singh struck one Ally Bahadoor, and then a general *mêlée* ensued, in which Rewut Singh and nine others of Lawa were killed and one man wounded and made prisoner; that on the Tonk side Golab Khan and six Hindoos were killed and nine Mahomedans wounded; that the Nawab, hearing of the fracas, and fearing that Thakoor Dheerut Singh might create further disturbance, immediately gave orders to have the house in which the thakoor was residing surrounded and watched; that some few troops were also despatched towards Lawa in pursuit of such of Rewut Singh's men as had escaped; and that on reaching Lawa they were fired at, and therefore returned to Tonk.

Vide Enclosure C., witness No. 1.

5. In support of this statement we have, first, the evidence of Hakeem Surwar Shah, who deposes to effect that Rewut Singh, accompanied by a party of attendants, came to his office and residence during the day of the 1st August; that, as deponent was unwell, he sent the verbal message above alluded to, on receipt of which Rewut Singh went away in a rage; that he (Surwar Shah) became insensible about 5 P M., and so remained till next morning, when he learnt that Rewut Singh had presented himself the preceding evening, and that, on being refused admittance, a fracas had ensued, as before related.

Vide Enclosure C., witness No. 2.

6. The second witness, Ameen Mahomed, corroborates in almost the same words the statement of Surwar Shah regarding the mid-day visit of Rewut Singh and of the Thakoor having gone away in a passion after receiving the verbal message. Of the evening visit and of the fracas which then ensued deponent knew nothing.

Vide Enclosure C., witness No. 3.

7. The third witness, Yacoob Ahmed Khan, stated he knew little or nothing of what took place; that he saw 17 dead bodies, ten of Lawa men and seven of Tonk; that he was next morning directed to go and catch the fugitives but didn't succeed.

Vide Enclosure C., witness No. 4.

8. The fourth witness, Nusseeroodeen, deposed to having heard firing on the evening in question; that, on proceeding towards the direction of the shots, he was met by an order from the Nawab to make arrangements for surrounding the house in which Thakoor Dheerut Singh was residing.

Vide Enclosure C., witness No. 5.

9. The fifth witness, Faiz Mahomed, deposed to having gone to the hakeem's house on hearing of the disturbance, and to having there met Yacoob Ahmed Khan (witness No. 3), and to having ordered him immediately* to go and apprehend such of Rewut Singh's men as had escaped. Deponent further stated that 16 Hindoos were killed and one Mahomedan; that the bodies of the former were burnt next morning by Shahab Khan; that the names of the six Hindoo sepoys of Tonk that were killed were Lutchmun Singh, Ram Singh, Shewloll, Kulloo Ram, Bhageerut, and Hurree Ram. On being questioned as to the places of residence of these men, he stated he knew nothing about them, and further, on being asked whether it was or was not the custom to send the bodies of persons meeting a violent death to the native doctor of the dispensary for examination, deponent replied in a prevaricating manner, which may be held, however, as admitting that such is the custom in Tonk, and that in the present instance it was not acted up to.

Vide Enclosure C., witness No. 6.

10. Sixth witness, Abdool Hummed, narrates having heard firing, and that on going to the locality he saw some dead bodies, and that he heard a fracas had taken place owing to a "puggree" having been knocked off.

Vide Enclosure C., witness No. 7.

11. The seventh witness, Roopa, a klassie, whose house adjoins the hakeem's office, states that he was smoking about 9 P.M.; heard some one demand admittance into the office, which was refused; and that the request was repeated, and

* *Vide* Yacoob Ahmed Khan's statement, who states he was ordered next morning.

and shortly after a shot was fired, which was followed by several others, but that he did not leave his house from fear.

12. Witness No. 8, Abdool Rahman, No. 9, Abdoola, No. 10, Ally Hussein depose to Surwar Shah having been ill with fever and paralysis. *Vide* Enclosure C. witnesses Nos. 8, 9, and 10.

13. Witnesses No. 11, Aziz Khan, No. 14, Mahomed Syud Khan, No. 15, Mahomoodeen Khan, No. 16, Ally Bahadoor Khan, No. 17, Moleedad Khan, profess to relate the manner in which the collision commenced; they state that about 9 P.M. Rewut Singh summoned them to open the gate as he wanted to see Hakeem Surwar Shah; that he was in reply requested to come the following day, as the hakeem was ill; that Rewut Singh and his followers persisted in forcing their way in; that some one's "puggree" was knocked off, on which Rewut Sing struck Ally Bahadoor, and then a general *mêlée* ensued. *Vide* Enclosure C., witnesses Nos. 11, 14, 15, 16, & 17.

14. Witnesses No. 12, Jumoodeen Khan, No. 13, Mahamood Khan, and No. 18, Meeroo Ally, only speak of the collision after it had commenced, but in which they took no part. *Vide* Enclosure C., witnesses Nos. 12, 13, and 18.

15. The next two witnesses, Nos. 19 and 20, are Hindoos and brothers, who state they accompanied the Lawa party to the hakeem's house to see the fun, or "tamasha;" that on arriving at the gate admittance was demanded and refused, on which the thakoor's men forced the door: a quarrel ensued, and weapons were resorted to; that they fled, but were arrested by a Chobdar, and that they have been in confinement in the Tonk kotwallee ever since. *Vide* Enclosure C., witnesses Nos. 19 and 20.

16. Witness No. 21, Nanoo Singh, also deposes to having accompanied Rewut Singh, seemingly for no reason, and narrates the story of the collision in the same manner as the two preceding witnesses. *Vide* Enclosure C., witness No. 21.

17. Witness No. 22, Shahab Khan, merely deposes to having had 16 corpses burnt; witness No. 23, Lutchmun, states he was absent and knew nothing. *Vide* Enclosure C., witnesses Nos. 22, and 23.

18. Such, then, is the evidence in support of the Tonk version of the case; the witnesses all hold together, and tell the same tale with almost suspicious exactitude. Of its kind, the evidence is very perfect; I would now proceed to analyze it.

19. To commence with the causes which led to the summons of the Thakoor to Tonk, I would invite attention to the Nawab's reasons as assigned in the papers marginally noted to my address; therein it is stated that the thakoor was called to be reproved for his insurbordination, for the non-payment of his tribute, for oppressing the villagers near Lawa, &c. Compare this with the letters* from Surwar Shah to the Lawa thakoor, desiring him to come to Tonk. In these the Nawab is represented as anxious to honor and reward the thakoor, as desirous of granting him a jaghire, urging the thakoor to come to Tonk quickly, as the Nawab was going to Seronje. Here there is a palpable falsehood at starting; and bearing in mind the persistent manner in which the Nawab has endeavoured to ruin the thakoor, the sudden wish to honour and reward him would, had nothing happened, have been very singular, but, regarded in the light of the tragedy which has occurred, cannot fail to leave the strongest suspicions that Surwar Shah's letters of invitation were the first steps of the snare into which the thakoor was cunningly duped.

1. Khureeta from Nawab of Tonk, dated 2nd August.
2. A note from Tonk Vakeel enclosing perwannah from Nawab of Tonk, dated 6th August, translations of which were submitted to Government with this Office Despatch, No. 970-52, dated 12th August 1867.

20. The next point we have to consider is whether Rewut Singh did or did not visit the hakeem's office during the day of the 1st, as stated, and whether, if he did, any quarrel then occurred.

That Rewut Singh did visit the office either on the 31st July or 1st August is admitted on all sides; it cannot, however, be shown so clearly whether any high words did pass on that occasion. Surwar Shah and Ameed Mahomed (1st and 2nd Tonk witnesses) state that Rewut Singh got in a passion and went away after using harsh or abusive language. On the other hand, there is the evidence of Thakoor Dheerut Singh, as well as of Dhan Singh and Rewut Singh, to show that Thakoor Rewut Singh came back very pleased with his interview, which would scarcely have been the case had there been a quarrel; and if we remember the tenor of the Hakeem's letters of invitation to the thakoor,

Vide Enclosure C., witnesses Nos. 1 and 2.

Vide Enclosure B., witnesses Nos. 1, 4, and 5.

* *Vide* Enclosure A.; letters dated 22nd and 27th July 1867.

thakoor, dated but a few days previously, the most natural conclusion is that, as stated by the deceased Rewut Singh to Thakoor Dheerut Singh, the promises made in them were verbally reiterated. I may here remark that the value of Surwar Shah's evidence can be in some manner tested by referring to the stated date of this interview. He has deposed that it took place 10 days subsequent to the thakoor's arrival at Tonk, whereas his letter of invitation pressing the Thakoor to come, and with which the latter complied, is dated* 27th July, so that the truth of the unanimous statement of the Lawa witnesses that they reached Tonk on the 29th July can scarcely be doubted, and hence the interview must have taken place two or three days after their arrival, most probably the former, instead of 10, as affirmed by Surwar Shah.

* *Vide* Enclosure A.

21. We now come to the visit of Rewut Singh to the hakeem's office about 9 P.M. on the 1st August. The Tonk witnesses seek to establish that Rewut Singh proceeded there uninvited, and brought on the collision by his own violence.

No 1. Deerut Singh.
„ 2. Pope Singh.
„ 3. Beejey Lall.
„ 4. Dhan Singh.
„ 5. Rewut Singh.
„ 6. Ghassi Singh.
„ 7. Shenoath Singh and others.

But, on the other hand, there is the concurrent testimony of the witnesses marginally cited to prove that on the evening in question a chobdar came from Hakeem Surwar Shah to call Thakoor Dheerut Singh, who sent his uncle, Rewut Singh, accompanied by Beejey Singh, the two Lawa Kamdars, and some attendants. This of itself would be sufficient to throw grave doubts on the statements put forth by the Tonk witnesses; but, coupling it with other concomitant circumstances attaching to the case, the Durbar's version of the story becomes so improbable as to be utterly unworthy of credence.

It appears that none carried fire-arms, except, perhaps, Rewut Singh himself—*vide* Enclosures.

22. It is quite certain that, had Rewut Singh been silly and hardy enough to attempt to insult or attack Surwar Shah at Tonk itself, he would have taken a stronger party with him and better armed, and he would not have been accompanied by the kamdars, Moona Lall and Lalljee, elderly, infirm men, unused to carry arms.

23. Nor does it appear at all likely that the collision was brought on gradually, arising from a brawl, for had such been the case, the wounded would have formed a far greater portion to the number killed. As it was, every man on the Lawa side appears to have been killed outright then and there, excepting Megh Singh, who attributes his own escape to the circumstance of his having had his turban fortunately tied like an Affghan.

Vide Native doctor's Evidence, Enclosure D.

24. I am very sceptical as to the number of the casualties which are stated to have occurred on the Tonk side. One Mahomedan and six Hindoos are said to have been killed and nine Mehomedans wounded; of the latter, four were only scratched, reducing the number of those really hurt to five.

The bodies of the six Hindoos in Tonk employ, stated to have fallen, are said to have been burnt next morning, so that the Political Agent was unable to ascertain beyond all doubt by seeing the corpses whether they ever had any real existence. There are grave doubts on this point. It is most extraordinary that all the six Hindoos should have been killed, whilst their Mahomedan comrades should have escaped with the proportion of one killed to five wounded. These six Hindoos, too, appear to have been singularly friendless; no one seems to know their homes, and there was no one even in Tonk of their own religion who would perform the last funeral rites; for according to the showing of the Tonk witnesses, their bodies were burnt by a Mahomedan, one Shahab Khan.

Vide paragraphs 28 and 29 of Political Agent's Report.

25. The Political Agent clearly discredits the Tonk statement on this point, but he appears to have missed what occurs to me as the real solution of the matter.

I entertain a very strong conviction that 16 Hindoos were killed; but instead of ten belonging to Lawa and six to Tonk, the whole were of the Lawa party.

Vide Enclosure B, witness No. 1.

On referring to the evidence of Dheerut Singh, we find he gives the names of 15 persons as having accompanied Rewut Singh, and in a subsequent part of his deposition he states all, except Megh Singh, were slain. Here we can at once account for 15 Hindoo corpses, leaving a discrepancy of but one.

Vide Enclosure B., witness No. 8.

But, on turning to the evidence of Megh Singh, the only surviving eye-witness on the part of Lawa, it will be observed that he states one Siree Lall ascended the fatal staircase in Surwar Shah's house, together with Rewut Singh and Moona

Moona Lall ; and this statement is repeated in the memorandum attached to the plan of the building (*vide* Enclosure F.).

26. We may, therefore, suppose that he too was slain. Siree Lall's name is, however, not amongst those mentioned by Thakoor Dheerut Singh; probably it was an oversight; and if, therefore, I am correct in this surmise, we have the full number of 16 corpses. I have telegraphed to Mr. Bruce to make inquiry on this point without delay; his answer may be received ere I close this Despatch: should it confirm my supposition, I need hardly add that more conclusive evidence against the statements put forward by Tonk could not possibly be forthcoming. It establishes that the whole of the Tonk eye-witnesses have perjured themselves, and that not a word of reliance can be placed on what has been urged by the durbar.

27. It will be observed that amongst the Tonk witnesses there are two individuals from whom, as being unconnected with Tonk, valuable information might be looked for; I refer to Girdharee, No. 19, and Roor, No. 20. They profess, on the casual acquaintance of one of the Lawa kamdars, to have accompanied Rewut Singh on the evening of his fatal visit to Surwar Shah's house. The kamdar no longer lives to disprove the statement; but it is extraordinary that neither of these witnesses can recognise, or be recognised by, any person attached to the Lawa thakoor, although by their own showing they were at the Lawa thakoor's house before starting with Rewut Singh. The improbability of their being asked by Purohit Lalljee to accompany Rewut Singh for no ostensible purpose is apparent; and the utter failure of Roor* to prove the circumstances under which he met and made the Purohit's acquaintance, as recorded by the Political Agent at the foot of the witness's deposition, is sufficient to cause us to reject their testimony: nor must we overlook the fact that these two witnesses had been in confinement in the Tonk kotwallee, seemingly without any cause whatever. where doubtless threats and bribes were not wanting to secure their silence or co-operation.

Vide Enclosure C.

28. In like manner, I distrust the evidence of Nanoo Singh, witness No. 21; he, too, states that he accompanied Rewut Singh's party owing to a casual acquaintanceship with the deceased Moona Lall.

29. I now proceed to the reasons which have been assigned for despatching troops to Lawa, and for surrounding the thakoor's house at Tonk for some days. It seems unnecessary to do more than express my entire concurrence in the conclusions arrived at by the Political Agent, Harowtee, in his 32nd paragraph, and again in his 51st and 52nd paragraphs.

There can be no doubt that the surrounding of the thakoor's house and the despatch of troops to Lawa were part of a preconcerted plan.

30. Taking the Tonk version of the case either in whole or in part, we cannot but be convinced of its utter untruthfulness throughout.

31. I would now advert to the evidence on the part of Lawa.

We have first cordial invitations from Surwar Shah to Thakoor Dheerut Singh to visit Tonk, which the thakoor complied with, reaching Tonk on the 29th July. On or about the 31st, Rewut Singh, uncle and manager of the young thakoor, visits Surwar Shah, and returns home well pleased, informing him that their grievances are to be settled.

Vide enclosure H.
Vide evidence of Dheerut Sing and others.

On the evening of the 1st August a messenger comes from Surwar Shah to the thakoor saying that, as the Nawab was about to start for Seronje, the Thakoor would be presented with a khillut the following day, and requesting the immediate attendance of the thakoor at the hakeem's house, in order that suitable arrangements might be made. Dheerut Singh at once deputes his uncle, Rewut Singh; his cousin, Beejey Singh, with his kamdars and some attendants, whilst at the same time Beejey Lall, one of the kamdars, proceeds to a banker's house to obtain money for a suitable "nuzzar." Of the party that started for Hakeem Surwar Shah's house, there is but one witness living to tell the tale.

Vide evidence of Dheerut Singh and others.

Vide Enclosure B., witness No. 3.

On

Vide foot-note by Political Agent on Roor's deposition, No. 20 of Enclosure C.

Vide Evidence of Megh Singh, Enclosure B., witness No. 8.

On arriving at the gate, the party was challenged by a sentry, who remarked that the hour was an unusual one for a visit, but goes to announce them, whilst they themselves sit down and await his return.

He returns and conducts Rewut Singh, Beejey Singh, and two kamdars up a staircase, the attendants remaining below. After an interval of about half an hour, they were suddenly set upon and cut down by a number of Wullaitees, all being slain outright but the deponent, Megh Singh.

Vide Evidence of Dheerut Singh, Pope Singh, and others.

Vide Evidence of Gopal Singh, also Mendhi Ally. *Vide* Enclosure B., witness No. 15, and Enclosure E.

The noise of firing had no sooner reached the ears of Dheerut Singh and those who had stopped with him, than they found the house in which they were residing, the doors of which they had promptly closed, fearing treachery, surrounded by troops demanding them to yield; and early next morning a considerable body of Tonk troops appeared before Lawa, and kept up a little desultory fighting for two days before they were recalled.

32. Such, then, is the narration of events set forth by the Lawa witnesses. The whole story is in all points supported by circumstantial evidence; the very absence of all details in Megh Singh's deposition looks truthful: confounded by the suddenness of a night attack, it is impossible he could have known much that occurred beyond the plain facts that he stated. He had been a prisoner in the hands of the Tonk authorities from the evening of the massacre until the moment his evidence was recorded by the Political Agent, so that he could not have been tampered with or influenced by the Lawa thakoor.

33. In short, the direct evidence adduced by Lawa, coupled with the circircumstantial evidence and the testimony of all uninterested persons, as adverted to by the Political Agent, establishes fully and clearly that the thakoor was summoned to Tonk by the durbar with treacherous intent; that he was invited to attend at the Hakeem Surwar Shah's house on the evening of the 1st August; and that his uncle, Rewut Singh, who attended in his stead, together with those who accompanied him, were there suddenly set upon and cruelly massacred; measures being taken at the same time to capture Dheerut Singh and the remainder of his attendants, and to seize Lawa.

Vide Paragraphs 57, 58, 59, and 60, of Political Agent's Report.

34. His Excellency in Council will not fail to observe that the Nawab's own uncle and his own brother secretly admitted to Mr. Bruce the truth of the conclusion arrived at; they only endeavoured to palliate the conduct of the Nawab and Hakeem Surwar Shah in so far that they deny there was any intention of butchering Rewut Singh, and those who accompanied him, and declare that the arrest of the party was all that was desired; that through failure or bungling in execution such deplorable results ensued.

Vide paragraphs 72, 73, and 74 of Political Agent's Report.

35. The Political Agent, leaning chiefly on what he heard from Native gentlemen at Tonk, has accepted this view of the case, though he considers Surwar Shah must be held answerable for the wanton sacrifice of life that occurred, since he failed to take such precautionary steps for effecting the arrest of the party as the peculiar circumstances of the cases demanded; it being almost a matter of certainty that without due precautions bloodshed would assuredly ensue.

36. Glad as I would be to concur even in this degree of extenuation, I most reluctantly record that the stern, unbending facts on evidence wholly prevent my doing so.

37. If it had been the object of the Nawab and of Surwar Shah simply to arrest Dheerut Sing, Rewut Sing, and their retainers, this could have been easily, nay far more easily, effected by surrounding them altogether in the house in which they resided, and in which on the night of the massacre Dheerut Singh was himself confined, than by dividing the party into two, capturing each separately. What could have been easier than to have surrounded the whole in Dheerut Singh's house, and starved them into surrender, as was done in the case of the Thakoor himself?

The Lawa party could not have exceeded 50 armed men, and with such a handful resistance, as hopeless, would never have been attempted. In short, to argue that the invitation to Surwar Shah's house had for its object the division of the Lawa party to facilitate their arrest is tantamount to saying that those who planned the plot wanted ordinary sense and foresight.

38. Again

38. Again, the circumstances of the massacre, as detailed by Megh Singh, preclude us from believing that anything short of wholesale butchery was intended. The party were not summoned to surrender, or directed to throw down their arms, or even overawed by superior force, but they were suddenly set upon and cut down without any warning whatever. Further, had Golab Khan and his Wullaitees received orders to arrest, not to massacre, the party, and admitting that the Rajpoots fought to a man rather than be captured, I look upon it as a matter of certainty that some few whilst cut down and placed *hors de combat* would have survived the conflict a few hours: all were, however, killed outright, but Megh Singh, and his escape I attribute to providential good fortune rather than to the mercy of his assailants; probably he was not observed as being alive until the noise of the disturbance drew people to the locality, when to have him killed in cold blood would certainly have been noticed, and would have upset the story put forward by the Tonk Durbar.

39. In short, it appears to me that whilst there is no evidence whatever to support the conclusion that a massacre was not intended, there is very strong reason to believe it was, and I am of opinion that Captain Roberts in his demi-official letter of the 9th ultimo, submitted to Government on the 14th idem, correctly estimated the causes and arguments which induced the perpetration of so foul an outrage on humanity.

40. Thakoor Dheerut Singh is young, weak and inexperienced, and has been entirely guided by his uncle, Rewut Singh, a stout old soldier, who was until 1865 employed in the Ulwur State as Commander of a body of cavalry; when, however, the Nawab threatened his nephew, the head of the family, he resigned the Ulwur service and proceeded to Lawa, where he has been the most vigorous and able advocate in support of the young thakoor's rights; I believe, therefore, that the Tonk Durbar trusted, by cutting him off, together with Beejey Singh and the Lawa kamdars, to sweep all those of sufficient weight and influence to offer any opposition.

41. I would here draw attention to the words addressed, or said to have been addressed, by the Nawab to Dheerut Singh himself, to the effect that the past could not be recalled, and that had he, the thakoor, been present at Surwar Shah's house, he too would have suffered the fate of Rewut Singh. *Vide* evidence of Dheerut Singh.

42. The author and prime mover in this tragedy has been undoubtedly Hakeem Surwar Shah; from the first he has been the instigator of the Nawab in his uncalled-for action against Lawa.

He is notoriously a bad and wicked man, and his attempts to prove he was ill during the night of the massacre by suborning the Native doctor only further tends to establish his connection with the crime. *Vide* Native doctor's Evidence, also Paragraph of Political Agent's Report.

43. It is somewhat difficult to determine how far the Nawab has been implicated in this disgraceful affair. If he were weak and indolent, it might be imagined that the treacherous plot was concocted without his connivance and wish: but he is, on the contrary, the most vigorous ruler in Rajpootana and jealous of the power of his ministers. Surwar Shah has certainly great influence over him, but I feel convinced the hakeem would never have attempted to carry out the plot without the consent and approval of his master; and we may further rest satisfied that this deed of blood would never have been transacted unless all the actors had been assured of their chief's tacit consent, and were promised his full support, whatever happened. The Nawab's subsequent conduct and action fully support this belief; not the slightest regret has been expressed for what occurred, but, on the contrary, witnesses have been suborned and false statements set forth, and Surwar Shah and his myrmidons backed to the fullest extent.

The Nawab's connivance in the scheme to entrap the Lawa party by treachery has been admitted by his nearest relations, and is fully borne out by the evidence; and the mind that can approve of one kind of foul play has not far to step when acceding to another.

44. I would now proceed to suggest, for the consideration of his Excellency the Viceroy in Council, the steps that appear necessary and desirable to mark the grave sense of the displeasure of the British Government for so cruel an abuse of power by one of its feudatories.

To prevent the possibility of a recurrence of such a savage and barbarous act in any Native state, it is alike demanded of us, by humanity as well as by policy, to adopt such forcible and punitive measures as will not fade from the memory of any chieftain.

I would respectfully submit that the facts which have been proved in this painful case clearly illustrate the Nawab's utter unfitness to be entrusted with the lives of others.

I am not aware whether the Government of India is prepared to take so decided a step; but to my mind the removal of the Nawab from authority would not in any way be too severe a punishment for his share in the crime committed.

He has a son about 10 years of age, who might be appointed to succeed, the conduct of affairs being entrusted, till he became of age, to Sahibzadah Ibadoola Khan, brother of the late, and uncle to the present, Nawab. Ibadoola Khan is personally respected and liked, and for 30 years past has held important charges in the state. Should this measure be concurred in, it would be necessary to fix a stipend for the present chief and to direct his residence other than at Tonk.

45. But whether his Excellency accepts this proposition or not, I would most strongly recommend that the Lawa estate be placed totally and entirely without the jurisdiction of the Tonk Durbar for all time to come. I would also suggest that the tribute of 3,000 rupees heretofore paid by Lawa to Tonk be discontinued, and that the thakoor be placed under the Political Agent, Jeypore, in the same position as the Kotree chiefs of Kotah; no inconvenience would arise from this arrangement.

46. A reference to the map will show that Lawa lies on the border of Jeypore, to which state it originally belonged, and with which Court the thakoor has always maintained his connection. There would be no difficulty, therefore, in placing Lawa under Jeypore if this were deemed a preferable measure, reserving to ourselves, of course, the right of resuming the charge whenever we thought proper. I need hardly say that the Maharajah of Jeypore would gladly accept the suzerainty of one of the ancient offshoots of the state.

After the recent display of violence against Lawa, I look upon the separation of the fiefship from Tonk as a most essential protective measure.

47. I would next recommend that a pension be assigned to the families of Rewut Singh and those who were massacred with him, to be defrayed by the Tonk State. I will report in detail on this point hereafter should the proposal be approved of.

48. I would recommend a demand for the immediate surrender of Hakeem Surwar Shah, and that he be detained under our custody as a political prisoner for the term of his natural life. It is useless to arraign him on a criminal charge, for he could obtain no judicial evidence.

49. I would also recommend a demand for the immediate discharge of every sepoy attached to Hakeem Surwar Shah's office who was in Tonk on the 1st August last: this would ensure some measure of punishment to those who were concerned in the massacre.

50. And, lastly, I would recommend that the salute of the Nawab of Tonk be reduced from 17 to 11 guns.

51. However marked our action may be in this case, we shall receive the full approval of public feeling in Rajpootana. The news of the massacre sent a thrill of horror throughout these states, and the deed is compared to the diabolical tragedy perpetrated by the Nawab of Tonk's grandfather, the free-booter Ameer Khan, at Nagon, A.D. 1808, when the Maharajah of Jeypore and many nobles were treacherously butchered.

Vide page 149, vol. II, *Tod's Rajasthan.*

52. In conclusion, I may mention that I visited Lawa in January last with a view to ascertain whether the Nawab had any real and just cause of complaint against the thakoor; and I came away convinced that the charges of insubordination, oppression, &c., preferred against him were utterly groundless, and that the thakoor was prepared to accept in every way all reasonable commands of his chief. On this occasion Surwar Shah had been deputed by the Durbar

to

to accompany me. The thakoor was most courteous and deferential to the hakeem, and pressed the acceptance of such hospitality as his house offered, and I then observed with regret that it was refused.

Prior to the mediation of this office in the Tonk and Lawa dispute in 1866, the thakoors of Lawa had never presented themselves at Tonk, or rendered feudal service. Since then, however, Dheerut Singh has been constantly in attendance at the capital, and the tenor of the thakoor's notes to Surwar Shah clearly exemplify the absence of an insubordinate spirit towards the Durbar. I mention this because the Nawab has not refrained from making the most untruthful charges against his vassal, simply with a view to justify his own unjustifiable proceedings.

Reported to Government by letter, No. 142–5, dated 5 February 1866.

Mr. Bruce, it will be observed, has recommended the withdrawal of the Tonk troops from Goordhunpoora.

When at Lawa I examined this fort; it has been built of mud in an open plain about 1,200 yards from Lawa, and is of no use whatever save to disturb and annoy the villagers. It was then garrisoned by a number of Wullaitees, some of whom were unable to speak the language of the country. It appears most desirable and necessary that this fort should be vacated.

List of Enclosures to Letter, No. 1085–59, of the 6th September 1867, from the Governor General's Agent, Rajpootana,

Letter No. 97–16, dated 26th August 1867, received 2nd September, from Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Agent, Governor General, enclosing—

(A.)—Correspondence between the thakoor of Lawa and Hakeem Surwar Shah, relative to the visit of the former to Tonk.

(B.)—Lawa evidence.

(C).—Tonk evidence.

(D.)—Deposition of Native doctor and compounder.

(E.)—Deposition of Dawk Baboo, Ram Suroop, Agency Chobdar, and Mendhi Ally, Naib Moonshee, Rajpootana Agency Office.

(F.)—Sketch of scene of tragedy.

Letter, No. 98–17, of 31st August, from Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Agent, Governor General, Rajpootana, enclosing—

(G.)—Purport of petition from Naib Moonshee, Harowtee Agency.

(H.)—Purport of khureeta from Political Agent to the Nawab of Tonk, and reply on subject of withdrawing troops from Goordhunpoora.

(I.)—Purport of note from Vakeel of Tonk, and reply, on the subject of Surwar Shah's suspension from office.

(signed) *J. Blair*,
Assistant Agent, Governor General.

Enclosure No. 1.

From Captain *Bruce*, Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Governor General's Agent, Rajpootana, Confidential; No. 97–16 P., dated 26th August 1867.

For the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and yourself, I have now the honour to report confidentially on the result of my inquiry to ascertain the circumstances under which Thakoor Rewut Singh and others recently met their death at the Tonk capital.

2. You are aware that when the rumour of this catastrophe reached me, your assistant, Captain Roberts, was at Deolee, and our political relations with the Tonk State being under the direct control of the Governor General's agent, it appeared to me, as that officer was on his way to Jeypore *viâ* Tonk, he might appropriately inquire particulars for your satisfaction, and a copy of Captain Roberts's demi-official communication to my address was forwarded to you under cover of my letter of the 9th instant; subsequently the tenor of your No. 947–58, dated 8th idem, induced me on the 14th instant to proceed to Tonk and investigate the matter. Your telegram of that date reached me there.

3. On the day of my arrival the Nawab visited me; his Highness was on that occasion much perturbed, and warmly asserted his innocence of having desired to do Rewut Singh any harm. He expressed deep regret at what had occurred, and assured me he would abide by any advice or decision the Government might arrive at in the matter.

4. His Highness acknowledged that he had sent for the Lawa thakoor to visit Tonk with a view to the final settlement of differences; that Rewut Singh had by his rashness in

forcing himself uninvited on the hakeem's residence brought about this melancholy affair; and that the story of the thakoor's attempted armed entrance was really, as far as he could ascertain, what had actually occurred; and for the disturbance which took place the Nawab blamed the sepoys. His Highness acknowledged having confined the Lawa thakoor lest further bloodshed might ensue, nor did he deny the dispatch of troops for the purpose of apprehending the fugitives.

5. I pointed out to the chief how much it was for his own interests to discover who was the person to blame in the affair, for that, until some one was held responsible for an act which was infamous to the reputation of the state, the world could not but believe his Highness was concerned in it; and I expressed a hope that every facility would be afforded me to elicit the truth.

6. The Nawab acknowledged all this, and said he would in every way aid me in my inquiry, and added that he courted the fullest investigation.

7. I would here record that anyone I expressed a wish to see was permitted to visit me, although it was painfully apparent the same freedom was not accorded to their speech.

8. Your apprehensions as to the difficulty I should experience in obtaining reliable evidence were well founded; nor can this be wondered at. An inquiry into circumstances of a gravely suspicious nature, seriously affecting the reputation of the chief in whose capital it is conducted, is a delicate duty to perform with any prospect of eliciting the truth. The assurance of our protection to witnesses is little encouragement to persons living under the rule of a chief who can, in more ways than one, encompass their ruin, unless, indeed, they are prepared to change their residence, which is a hardy penalty to pay for spontaneously speaking the truth, and the more so when silence can demand a price.

9. But the peculiar features of this particular case precluded almost any hope of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion from the recorded evidence only, for it must be remembered how little Lawa had to furnish, and how little that adduced by Tonk could be relied upon.

10. Many efforts were made to introduce the general Tonk-Lawa question into the present inquiry; but this I have carefully avoided as irrelevant to the point at issue, and in recording depositions I have endeavoured to keep to that point.

11. The papers marked (B.), and forwarded under a separate cover, represent the Lawa history of the event; and those marked (C.), also submitted separately, set forth the Tonk version of the story. As regards the independent testimony I have been enabled to acquire, I will speak presently; in the meantime, I propose briefly to epitomise the purport of the papers (B.) and (C.)

12. That the Lawa thakoor was invited to the Tonk capital by Hakeem Surwar Shah neither side denies (a translation of the correspondence upon this subject is marked (A.), and attached), but in respect of the tragedy which took place there is a wide difference of relation.

13. According to Lawa, it appears that, on the evening of the 1st August, a messenger was sent by the hakeem, inviting Rewut Singh, the uncle, and Beejey Singh, the brother, to his house upon some emergent business connected with the Nawab's departure for one of his outlying districts; that the thakoors above mentioned proceeded to the hakeem's residence accompanied by two kamdars and some 12 followers; that on arriving there Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh, with the two kamdars, went into an upper apartment; and that shortly afterwards the whole party, save one, were massacred to a man; that simultaneously the Lawa thakoor was surrounded and kept prisoner, and troops at once dispatched to capture his fort.

14. According to Tonk, on the other hand, it is asserted that on the very day of the occurrence Thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh had visited the Thuggee Office, and that warm words had passed; that the same evening, accompanied by an armed following, he again, uninvited, made his appearance there and demanded admittance, which being denied to him on the plea of the hakeem's sickness, he and his followers forced an entrance; that they were opposed, and in the scuffle a puggree fell off, whereupon the thakoor is said to have struck some one with his sword, when blows were exchanged and a general *mêlée* took place, which resulted in serious loss of life.

15. It is difficult to reconcile statements so opposite.

If we give credence to the one story, we must pronounce the Tonk authorities to be guilty of as cruel a piece of treachery as it is possible to conceive, or as history has ever recorded.

16. If we believe the other version, the audacity of the Lawa thakoor in thus bearding his feudal superior in the Tonk capital justly merited the treatment it received. Rewut Singh thereby only paid the penalty of his rashness, and the clemency of the Nawab stands out estimably.

17. If, however, we analyse in the light of probabilities the evidence which each side has adduced to substantiate his statement, the veil of doubt is put aside.

18. Lawa's

18. Lawa's testimony in respect of the fracas consists only of evidence to prove that a messenger invited Rewut Singh to go to the hakeem's; that he went in company with 15 others, of whom one only lives to tell the tale, and he is produced to tell it. There is evidence also of the subsequent proceedings of the Durbar authorities in respect of the confinement of the thakoor, and the attempt to capture Lawa.

19. With Tonk it is all plain sailing. Their story is complete in all its details, and step by step we are carried along with a tide of evidence which would have flowed along its smooth channel until to-day, if necessary.

20. We are told how contumaciously Rewut Singh behaved on the very day of the disaster, and our mind at once grasps the idea that he had an ulterior object in view, and one prejudicial to the hakeem, in visiting his house at an unseemly hour of the night.

21. We have the living testimony of eight men, who were wounded on the occasion, to declare that Rewut Singh effected a forced entrance; and we are told how gentle expostulation failed to prevent the thakoor from intruding on the sick man's privacy; and when there was nothing for it but to keep his followers back, we learn that blood was first drawn by the thakoor's blade.

22. Eye-witnesses others than those engaged are not wanting to prove this tale; and we have a touching picture to substantiate that he who is supposed to have entrapped his victims was sick unto death and unable to arrest the bloodshed occurring at his very door.

23. How natural, also, that the Nawab should have confined the Lawa thakoor lest he too should create disturbance; and some of his uncle's followers having escaped, it occurred to his Highness wise to dispatch infantry in pursuit of them.

24. Can a story so clear be for a moment doubted? Would not all Tonk vouch for the facts as stated? Involuntarily one answers, it would be difficult to imagine a case more consistently adhered to by the evidence, yet bearing upon the face of it falsehood more transparent. And were such an instance to be decided by such evidence, blood might in vain call out for justice, nor could any crime obtain redress.

25. Cunningly as it has been devised and sworn to, common sense repudiates credence to a story wearing so deep a shade of improbability.

26. To those who know the history of the Tonk-Lawa differences, it is insulting to ask them to suppose that Thakoor Rewut Singh, who has been the leading spirit and adviser throughout, would voluntarily have created a disturbance in the Tonk capital, which the meanest intellect might have perceived could only end in one way.

27. It was no secret that Tonk contained at that time some 800 or 900 Wullayatees subserviently obedient to the man upon whom Rewut Singh is said to have forced an armed entrance with a few followers; and it is absurd to suppose he would thus wantonly have sacrificed his life without any possible chance of bettering his cause, and with the certainty of ruining it.

28. Much of the evidence, too, is equally repugnant to common sense. Take, for example, the list of casualties. It is, to say the least, passing strange that out of 17 killed 16 should have been Hindoos and one only a Mahomedan! whilst of the 10 wounded, one only should be a Hindoo (the Lawa man who escaped) and nine Mahomedans!

29. It would have been some little satisfaction to have exhumed the bodies and had ocular testimony that the casualties were not all on one side; but, curious to relate, of the seven men alleged by Tonk to have lost their lives, six happen to have been Hindoos, whose bodies were burnt, and are not therefore traceable! whilst all their wounded, without a single exception, are Mahomedans. This in itself is a marvellous coincidence.

30. It will not be overlooked, too, how much capital is made by the death of the so-called Sahibzadah Golab Khan, who was commanding the Tonk sepoys on the occasion.

He is the scape-goat when any admission becomes inevitable. He it was who ordered his men to repel the intruders, and by his orders did they eventually strike. He also it was who cut down Rewut Singh!

31. I would invite attention, too, to the evidence on the Tonk side of Rooe Singh, Girdharee, and Nanoo, alleged eye-witnesses of what occurred.

These men assert that they, one and all, accompanied Rewut Singh's party to the hakeem's by invitation of the thakoor's own kamdars. Is it likely, I would ask, if the thakoor really intended to visit Surwar Shah for some object of his own, that his people would publish that intention to every casual acquaintance they met in Tonk? I need hardly allude to the extraordinary fact that no one is now living amongst the thakoor's followers whom any one of these three can name as an acquaintance, or who might recognise them as having been at the Lawa abode that evening; nor is it worth while to attract notice to Rooe Singh's signal failure to establish his statement as to how he came to know the purohit who took him to the thakoor's.

32. The absurdity of the tale that troops were dispatched to Lawa to apprehend such of Rewut Singh's followers as had escaped is self-apparent.

A lunatic would scarcely dream of sending a body of infantry to capture a few fugitives; and we have the testimony of the naib moonshee of your own agency, who heard the firing, to prove that they had crossed the Burmass during the night; as also the evidence of the compounder, who saw the elephants start laden with scaling ladders, and other paraphernalia for a siege, all of which would refute the Nawab's assertion. Moreover, the naib moonshee of this agency, whom I dispatched to arrest hostilities so soon as I became acquainted a force had marched, can answer that the troops reached Lawa, and that fighting took place, particulars of which are given in the deposition of Thakoor Gopal Singh.

33. I have alluded to the peculiar features of this case from the fact that Lawa had but little evidence to adduce in support of so serious a charge. All, save one, who could have spoken of what actually occurred, had been swept away, and those who remained could, with that single exception, testify only to the invitation sent by the messenger, and state what they had heard.

34. Little though that evidence be, however, that little is not without considerable weight. A perusal of the papers will show that out of the seven men imprisoned by Tonk, as concerned in this affair, six were coolies and chumars, whose sole crime was having accompanied the Lawa thakoor to Tonk, when he accepted the Nawab's invitation to go there; and they knew nothing whatever of the occurrence for which they were confined.

35. But Megh Singh, the seventh prisoner, is a very important witness in the case, being the sole survivor on the Lawa side; and his evidence convinces me that, whatever may have subsequently happened, Thakoor Rewut Singh and his luckless companions did enter Surwar Shah's house at Surwar Shah's instance.

36. Megh Singh tells his tale truthfully and without hesitation. He does not attempt to relate more than he may reasonably be supposed to know. He can say nothing of what occurred inside, and at once acknowledges his inability to do so; he admits that on their arrival a sentry remarked on the inappropriateness of the time for a visit, but nothing more; and he points out at the scene of the occurrence the stairs up which Rewut Singh disappeared, and the spot occupied by those who waited below; both places being true to his verbal narration.

37. I believe this man the more implicitly, because from the date of the occurrence until the day of my arrival at Tonk he had remained a prisoner in the hands of the authorities. From his prison he was brought to my tent, and I then and there took his evidence. He had no opportunity of being taught, and it is highly improbable the Tonk people would allow him to learn a story which disproves their own, and goes far to establish that of Lawa.

38. The evidence also of Pope Singh and Beejey Lall in promptly denouncing Luchmunna, from some eight or ten men, as the messenger who had come to call the thakoor to the hakeem's, though not conclusive, leaves but little doubt on my mind of their truthfulness.

39. The attempt made by Tonk to prove that Rewut Singh visited the hakeem's house on the day of the occurrence, when warm words are said to have passed, is opposed to all the Lawa testimony.

40. Of the 14 attendants who accompanied Thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh to the hakeem's on that fatal evening, a list of whom will be found in the Lawa thakoor's deposition, five belong to classes which do not, as a rule, carry arms, and there is nothing to show that they did so on this occasion. I allude to the two kamdars, Sheonath Chobdar, Gunesha Hujam, and Ramooleea. That the rest were armed only with swords is, I venture to think, satisfactorily established by the fact that every wounded man on the Tonk side is wounded by sword cuts. One received a thrust with a kutlar, or dagger.

41. It is impossible, with any hope of truth, to learn how many Tonk sepoys were at the Thuggee Office on the occasion; the only Lawa witness forthcoming (Megh Singh) can but say there were a great many, and I ascertained there always are many there; we must needs accept, therefore, the Tonk statement, that there were but the usual number. The place is large enough to conceal 200.

42. That very severe fighting did take place there can be no question, from the nature of the wounds received by some of the Tonk sepoys; several of them had six and seven bad swords cuts: one, indeed, though twice brought to me to give evidence, was unable to speak, the whole of his face, nose, mouth, and chin, having been sliced off.

43. The Durbar narrative of this unfortunate affair, transparently false as it is, has, in one respect, been most cleverly coined; for, by adhering to that story, the sepoys who were actually implicated in the fight, not only acted under the avowed orders of their superior officer, who is dead, but in doing so did nothing more than we should expect any guard to do under the circumstances they relate; and that they clearly understood this point, I at once discovered when trying to induce Queen's evidence.

44. They had nothing to fear, and many to vouch for their story. They were, one and all most thoroughly prepared, and each deposed in almost the same words as the other.

I confined

I confined my recorded examination of these men, therefore, to the affair itself, for I soon found out that it was but waste of time to question them further. Five of them were really ill, examined on their beds, and unable to speak much.

45. The tenor of these remarks would, perhaps, lead to the inference that to my mind the results of the inquiry substantiates the Lawa version of the affair as true, whilst throwing out the Tonk version as untrue; but such would partly convey my opinion only.

46. In exposing what appears to me the glaring falsehood of the Tonk story, I would not accept for gospel all that Lawa must naturally think and say, although, to do the thakoor justice, his tale is one which would assuredly occur, under the circumstances of his case, to anybody thus losing so many near and dear to him; and I conscientiously think that all he says he verily believes, a marked contrast to the evidence on the other side.

47. But in conducting this inquiry I have endeavoured to elicit information from people not dependent upon the Durbar, and from persons of position and respectability, and I would delay no longer in recording that my opinion would absolve the Nawab from having in any way contemplated the massacre which eventually took place.

48. All that I have been enabled to gather from these, who were in a position to know state secrets, leads me to believe that his Highness directed or sanctioned the apprehension of Rewut Singh and the kamdars with the intention of capturing Lawa immediately afterwards, and that it was not his desire to take their lives; and the Nawab would have occupied a more dignified position in this inquiry had he acknowledged the truth rather than attempt, as he did, to foist upon me a fable bearing the impress of deception on the face of it.

49. That the chief's orders or intentions were wilfully or bunglingly carried out I firmly believe, and for the consequences I would hold Hakeem Surwar Shah mainly responsible. Abhorrently as I regard this creature, I do not say his intention was to commit murder, not because I believe him incapable of such an act, but simply because the dictates of prudence would, I think, have held him back.

50. I sincerely believe the thakoor was invited to visit the hakeem on that particular evening, and, as stated, that he, with those who shared his fate, went upstairs. Surwar Shah had then in his power all who were irksome to him in the Lawa dispute, for the thakoor himself is perfectly incompetent to look after his own affairs, and here within a small compass were his business advisers. An attempt was probably made to take their arms, and resistance offered. The rest one can easily picture. Rewut Singh had all the attributes of a fine Rajpoot of the better class, and would ill brook insult at Mahomedan hands. It is quite possible, and not improbable, that he, misinterpreting their object in confining him, unsheathed his sword, and, blood once drawn, there was a general massacre: the fewer left to tell the tale the better for the survivors.

51. Then, again, the almost simultaneous dispatch of troops to Lawa, and the surrounding of the thakoor's house in Tonk, all lead to the idea that preconcerted arrangements had been made for taking the fort and securing the thakoor so soon as Rewut Singh was in their hands.

52. Were the Tonk version of the story true, viz., that Rewut Singh came uninvited and surprised them, there would have been no such prompt action as this. It takes time to get British troops under weigh; it takes a very long time to get the ill-disciplined rabble of a Native state under arms; and yet these men had reached Lawa, 20 miles distant, by daybreak, with a swollen river, too, between them.

53. In exonerating the Nawab from any desire to take Rewut Singh's life, I consider he must necessarily have been a party to the deceptive way it was intended to capture Lawa; and though he may have had some cause to feel incensed at the attitude the thakoor has long evinced towards the durbar, having invited him to his capital on promises which were so cruelly broken, his consent to so mean a plot must be viewed as very discreditable to him.

54. It now behoves me to explain my reasons for adopting the opinion I have expressed; I will endeavour to do so.

55. It will be easily understood that persons of rank and position in a Native state would be very loath to mix themselves up in an inquiry which might reflect injuriously upon a ruler to whom they are subject. As you say, in the third paragraph of your letter, marginally noted, "Threats and bribes will not be wanting to close the mouths of those whose testimony would be of value;" and in truth their position would be a very unenviable one. To extract information, therefore, was a difficult matter. The presence of a third party rendered success quite hopeless; it could *only* be done confidentially, and in this manner do I record what was told to me, for such consideration as it may be deemed worth. No. 980-64, dated 14 August 1867.

56. To give an instance of the difficulty experienced in this matter, I would observe that, a few days after my arrival at Tonk, the Nawab's uncle, Ibadoola Khan, a brother of the late Wuzzeeroodowlah, and in those days an important state functionary, visited me. The Tonk vakeel, who introduced him, was present during the interview, and the sahibzadah

related to me the circumstances of this affair, word for word, as they are detailed in the Tonk evidence.

57. Two days afterwards I again expressed a desire to see the sahibzadah, and on this occasion we were alone, when he told me without reserve that exposure would be ruination, but that the general impression of what had happened the day after the occurrence was, that treachery had taken place; as such, he said, was it related to him, and not till some time after did he hear the story now in circulation.

58. He added, however, his certain conviction that the Nawab never for a moment anticipated bloodshed, nor does he think did Surwar Shah; that, as far as he knows from what he heard, it was arranged at a conference to make Rewut Singh and his party prisoners and then capture Lawa; and that the tragedy occurred through the clumsiness with which Hakeem Surwar Shah had carried out the plot. The sahibzadah himself expostulated with the Nawab upon the folly of besieging Lawa after what had happened, and induced his Highness to recall the troops.

59. Precisely similar information was in the same manner given me by the Nawab's own brother, Sahibzadah Ooboodoolah Khan, and by Moonshee Zhor Ally, a gentleman of respectability at Tonk.

60. They all concurred as to the rumour which was abroad at first; viz., that Rewut Singh and his party had been invited to the hakeem's and slain; but they unanimously asserted that such, they believed, was never the Nawab's intention, his only object being to take Lawa after confining Rewut Singh; and I am bound to add that, as far as I could ascertain, this opinion was a general one, and is, I believe, to be the true solution of the affair.

61. Amongst others, I questioned the agent for the firm of Luckmee Chund of Muttra, who has been all his life at Tonk, and 23 years in the Seth's employ. His evidence was precisely to the same effect as that which I have already recorded in the three preceding paragraphs.

62. It is here but just to remark that Choonee Lall, the agent to a large Kotah banking house at Tonk, told me that he had heard the durbar story only; and an old gentleman known as Choteh Meean, who, I think, enjoys a jaghire from the raj, also assured me to the same effect.

63. I have as yet not alluded to the evidence of the Native doctor at Tonk, which, as directed, I took down privately prior to the receipt of your telegram, dated the 24th instant, which reached me after I had left Tonk. A copy of his deposition and of that of the compounder is marked (D.), and attached.

64. These men spoke without hesitation, though they not unnaturally feared exposure; but, save on the subject of Surwar Shah's illness, their evidence is only hearsay, corroborative of the first general impression of the affair.

65. The Native doctor's assertion, that the perwannahs directing him to attend upon the hakeem were antedated, is suspicious. Two out of the three made over to me have been in some way abstracted from my bundle of papers. As I had mastered their purport, however, there is little harm done; they simply represented a request from the Nawab to visit and treat the hakeem.

66. Bheeky Singh's denial of having treated Surwar Shah professionally is opposed to that individual's assertion to the contrary, though it is only fair to say that he really has been ill, though not so ill, from all accounts, as to have been unable to control his actions.

67. I cannot, perhaps, adduce more satisfactory evidence as to the popular impression which this catastrophe made immediately after its occurrence than by recording the following statement:—.

68. I sent for the deputy postmaster at Tonk and questioned him as to the affair, and he described it as having occurred as related by Lawa. I then asked him if he had made any report on the subject to his departmental superior. He said he had, but had not retained a copy of it. It occurred to me very desirable to obtain this document, as possibly written with more freedom from a native to a native, and I called upon the inspecting postmaster of the division to submit it to me, which he did in original; and I beg to quote the following translation of the petition attached to the proceedings:—

TRANSLATION of a PETITION from *Gokul Chund*, Deputy Postmaster, Tonk, to the Inspecting Postmaster, Jeypore Division; dated 2nd August 1867.

I BEG to report that the thakoor of Lawa, in obedience to the orders of the Nawab of Tonk, arrived here with his uncle and brother. On the 1st August they were sent for to Hakeem Surwar Shah's house, and, having been taken to an inner apartment, on a signal given to some Wullayatee sepoys, were massacred, and Thakoor Dheerut Singh and the few followers who remained with him, are in confinement with foot and horse sentries placed all round his dwelling. A great excitement prevails, and for the last day or two there

there has been a decrease even in the number of letters posted, and I am apprehensive lest any disturbance occur in the Post Office.

69. I would venture to observe that when reliable evidence can with such difficulty be obtained, this document is a very valuable one.

70. It is important to know what really was the public opinion before all mouths were closed. This paper is dated the day after the tragedy; the dawk baboo resides in the heart of the town, and the Post Office is a frequented place; his letter must be taken, then, fairly to represent what the people thought, and what they freely spoke when their tongues were loose.

71. But when general impression coincides so nearly, indeed, I may say precisely, save in intention, with what so many have stated as the facts of the case, and with what common sense would dictate as the only probable solution of the mystery, there remains but little doubt that the document I have quoted truly describes what happened as regards the visit to the house, which, viewed in any light, was a deep piece of treachery on the hakeem's part, whether, when he originated it, his ulterior motives meant murder or confinement.

72. Allowing him the benefit of the doubt, and conceding that he never contemplated bloodshed, there is no denying that the tragedy took place at his door; and as it is impossible to believe the thakoor forced himself there, I would hold Surwah Shah answerable for what occurred.

73. A moment's reflection would have shown him that the act he was about to commit would assuredly lead to blows. Knowing the character of the man he was about to entrap, and the antagonism which existed between them, it was to the last degree improbable that the thakoor would tamely submit to be thus captured, when, without doubt, the first thought which flashed across him was that their object was to get rid of him; the poorest creature would fight in such a position, and a Rajpoot thakoor of Rewut Singh's stamp would at once resent the cowardly betrayal.

74. I say, then, admitting, in the absence of judicial proof, that circumstances, not premeditation, caused this tragedy, ought not those circumstances to have been self-apparent to Surwar Shah? Could there be any but one result from the course adopted. And if, as I maintain, precautions were neglected which might have saved life, the hakeem is justly answerable for the consequences of that wilful neglect.

75. An extraordinary feature in this case was the blind belief apparently entertained by the Nawab in the innocency of Surwar Shah, and the inferences reflected injuriously upon his Highness.

76. At length, I am happy to report, the chief has seen the necessity of taking some action in the matter; and lest, as he says, people should fear to come forward and give evidence against him while in office, he has, pending the decision of Government, suspended him from his appointment, and has him under surveillance. But his Highness himself still fails to attach any real blame to the hakeem, averring that nothing has been proved against him.

77. Before closing this letter, I may, perhaps, be permitted to remark that the presence of 800 or 900 Wullayatees in the Tonk capital is dangerously provocative of disturbance; and I venture to suggest that an expression of opinion be conveyed to the Nawab upon the subject of dispensing with their services.

78. Were these men, to whom deeds of blood and rapine are a pleasureable occupation, under the control of the Nawab, there would be less cause for apprehension; but they are, I am led to believe, entirely subservient to Surwar Shah, at the best, from all accounts, a bad and unprincipled man; and I cannot but think that the chief's actions have in consequence been somewhat fettered by the fear of further disturbance. It was more than once told to me that these Wullayatees were quite prepared to see Surwar Shah through the business at any cost.*

79. His Highness has not been very long in power, and though nothing can excuse much that must have had his tacit consent at any rate in this affair, there may be a shadow of extenuation in the fact that he has been badly advised in a matter which has long been a very sore point to him, and one deeply probing his sense of pride. He is unfortunately inclined to raise persons to high and responsible positions from almost menial occupations, and must now feel the painful straits to which their evil counsel has brought him.

80. Surwar Shah during the late Nawab's lifetime was but a native practitioner of medicine at Tonk; he is now in power, one of the first in the State, and he and a few others very well known, exercise a baneful influence there.

81. To

* I spoke to the Nawab upon the desirability of dismissing these men, and have just heard that he is gradually reducing them.—*A. N. B.*

81. To summarise, then, briefly: —

I cannot for a moment believe the Tonk version of this melancholy event, which is opposed to all the dictates of common sense and the light of probabilities; and, for reasons already stated, coupled with much that one gathers on the spot which it is impossible to put on paper, I am bound to believe that of Lawa in all respects save that of premeditated intention to kill. I entirely exonerate the Nawab from the graver charge of desiring the destruction of Rewut Singh and his companions, but I hold him responsible for the occurrence of so gross an outrage in his capital, as also for complicity in a mean attempt to obtain Lawa at the sacrifice of truth, honour, and reputation.

82. I consider suspicion, amounting to conviction, rests upon Hakeem Surwar Shah of being guilty of the basest treachery, and would make him answerable for the sacrifice of human life which occurred therefrom.

83. I would, in conclusion, observe that there is, perhaps, no chiefship in India situated so invidiously as is Tonk in Rajpootana, the sole Mahomedan principality in a Hindoo country, with her possessions scattered in small patches over the face of it.

84. From the date when the great Pindarry leader's territorial acquisitions were confirmed to him, the princes of Rajasthan have ever regarded with jealousy the Mahomedan usurper who came and conquered in their midst, whose creed they abhor, and whose habits and customs violently outrage their own religious prejudices. Each outlying district, moreover, now the appanage of Tonk, once formed a portion of some adjacent Rajpoot state; and as each district is thus surrounded by those who entertain Rajpoot sympathies, there are natural causes enough to render the Nawab's position an unenviable one.

85. I do not hesitate to say, however, the existence of a general impression that treachery had been enacted upon a Rajpoot thakoor by Mahomedan mercenaries in the Tonk capital will render the Nawab's position still more unenviable.

86. I would solicit indulgence for any shortcomings which may appear in this report; to establish judicial proof under the peculiar circumstances attending the inquiry was hardly to be expected; but if I have failed in securing as much information as might have been acquired, you will do me the credit to believe that I have done my best, to the utmost of my ability, in the performance of a very painful and delicate undertaking.

87. The Nawab has been requested, both verbally and in writing, to withdraw the troops stationed at Goordhunpoora, in the immediate vicinity of the Lawa fort,* pending the final orders of Government; and I have detached an agency chupprassee to remain with the young thakoor.

List of Enclosures submitted with Confidential Letter, No. 97–16 P., dated 26th August 1867, to the Governor General's Agent, Rajpootana.

(A.) Correspondence between the thakoor and Surwar Shah regarding visit to Tonk.
(B.) Lawa evidence (submitted separately).
(C.) Tonk evidence (submitted separately).
(D.) Depositions of Native doctor and compounder.
(E.) Deposition of Dawk Baboo, Ram Suroop, Agency Chobdar, and Mendhi Alli, Naib Moonshee, Rajpootana Agency.
(F.) Sketch of scene of tragedy, with explanation.
(A. D. and E. in separate cover.)

(signed) *A. N. Bruce,*
Political Agent.

Enclosure No. 2.

(A.)

Purport of a Khut from *Thakoor Dheerut Singh*, of Lawa, to the Address of *Hakeem Surwar Shah Khan*; dated 13th July 1866.

The paper sent by me through the hands of Ram Sookh Purohit must have reached you, and its purport understood. I now send Beejey Lall and Kullian Buksh. You state that his Highness the Nawab has promised to settle all my differences satisfactorily; two months have now nearly elapsed, and nothing has been done in the matter. The moulvee and darogah are daily causing me fresh troubles; the well sunk is now being built up with masonry; the moulvee is further establishing a village on the Lawa lands. I look up to you as my patron, and am certain you will exert your endeavours to have my grievances satisfactorily adjusted. I write to you, and send the two above-named persons;

* Since writing this paragraph I have received a khureeta from the Nawab informing me of their removal.—*A. N. B.*

sons; if his Highness has actually ordered the final settlement of my case, you will of course see to it being done amicably; if otherwise, the durbar has ordered the completion of the well and the establishment of the village, I have no alternative left but to submit, as I cannot contend against the wishes of my liege. The moulvee and darogah are giving me great trouble daily; they are, I think, the only obstacle between his Highness's favour and my humility and submission; for this reason I trouble you so often.

PURPORT of a Khut from *Thakoor Dheerut Singh*, of Lawa, to the Address of *Hakeem Surwar Shah Khan*; dated 20th July 1867.

THE letter which I had written to you has not been favoured with a reply, which seems uncourteous. When his Highness dismissed me from Tonk, he was pleased to order me to leave my vakeel, and whatever propositions he would submit, the same would be acceded to by the durbar and perwannahs duly granted. Up to date, not a single iota of this has been carried into effect; I therefore address you with a hope that you will represent all my grievances to his Highness fully, and have them satisfactorily settled.

PURPORT of a Khut from *Hakeem Surwar Khan*, to the Address of *Thakoor Dheerut Singh*, of Lawa; dated 22nd July 1867.

YOUR letter reached me, and its contents understood. What you state regarding the cultivation of the Mohuny land has been duly made known to his Highness the Nawab, which greatly displeased him, and the durbar has thought proper to order a chobdar to proceed at once and put a stop to the culture, and inform the zemindars that the Nawab intends to confer this land as a jaghire on the thakoor of Lawa; consequently, it is forbidden to be ploughed. The chobdar has received orders regarding the misconduct of the sepoys, and the resaldar in commaud has been ordered to Tonk for an explanation, when serious notice will be taken of their misbehaviour, rest assured. I request, on the receipt of this letter, you will not fail to repair to Tonk, when all your differences will be satisfactorily settled, and the grant of the Mohuny land will be given to you. I therefore entreat you to come. Pay attention to what the chobdar verbally tells you. Any commands from you will be promptly executed. I again advise you to come, as his Highness is about to leave Tonk. The grant of the village will be given to you along with a khillut, when all your grievances will at once cease. Come with confidence, and fail not; your differences will be amicably settled.

PURPORT of a Khut from *Thakoor Dheerut Singh*, of Lawa, to the Address of *Hakeem Surwar Shah Khan*; dated 25th July 1867.

YOUR letter was delivered to me by the hands of the chobdar, and its contents read. You state that the land tilled, which belongs to the village of Mohuny, will be prevented from being cultivated by the chobdar. I do not object to the Mohuny lands being put under tillage; it is the Lawa land, which Mahomed Oomer is ploughing, I complain against. You repeatedly observe that the Mohuny lands now under cultivation will be prohibited from being put under culture, because his Highness the Nawab intends to confer it as a grant to me. Allow me to inform you that this land already belongs to Lawa, and not to Mohuny, for which an annual tribute is paid by me on, or a month after, the fixed time; if the durbar actually intend to grant me some land as jaghire, there are other places from which it can be given. The chobdar arrived here on the 24th instant, and prevented the cultivation of the land in dispute, according to the orders of the durbar; but on the following day, the 25th idem, Mahomed Oomer again caused the land to be put under tillage in defiance of the Nawab's orders. You always write that his Highness is very anxious to rectify all past grievances; this assurance is certainly very pleasing to me, but the durbar's positive orders to be disobeyed appears to me very surprising. My presence at Tonk, requested by you, would have been complied with at once had not indisposition prevented me from doing so. I do assure you that nothing would give me more pleasure than to be always at Tonk under the kind protection of his Highness, which would add fresh honours to my dignity.

PURPORT of a Khut from *Hakeem Surwar Shah Khan*, to the Address of *Thakoor Dheerut Singh*, of Lawa; dated 27th July 1867.

I HAVE received your letter by the hands of Moona Lall, kamdar, and its contents understood. Your complaint regarding the disobedience by Mahomed Oomer of the Nawab's orders will receive due consideration. He will be removed from his position, which will tend to stop any further trouble to you. I write to you that as a special mark of his Highness's favour, and at my request, the durbar has been pleased to send a chobdar with this letter, which honour had never before been conferred on any person connected with this state, but yet you plead sickness which prevents you from coming to Tonk till after a week. If you consider it advisable, after the perusal of this letter, come at once with the chobdar; if not, kindly direct him to return. I leave it to your option; do as you think best.

I have settled everything in your favour according to Captain Blair's suggestions; consequently, I have sent for you. If his Highness the Nawab leaves Tonk for Seronje, which he intends to do in a few days, your case will be put off for years, and you will then daily prefer complaints against the sepoys. If you will take my advice, come; if not please yourself. I have written to you every way, and have managed to send a chobdar; no blame, therefore, can be attached to me in this matter. Although you are unwell and under medical treatment, still I advise you to come with the chobdar. His Highness the Nawab will soon dismiss you on account of your illness, and I will also intercede for you for early permission to leave Tonk. If you intend to come, don't send away the chobdar before you leave, but come with him; this will look well and honourable. I would advise you never to mention that the Mohuny lands now in dispute belong to Lawa. I am sure it is not going to be given to you in contract; it is to be a free gift on the part of his Highness, and no tribute is expected for it. You should look to your interests. Suppose even if this land was confiscated from you, and the durbar intend to restore it again in the shape of a new grant, you should be grateful for it and not say it belonged to Lawa. You can represent that your brethren are anxious to know what new jaghire the Nawab has conferred on you as a mark of his favour, remarking that the land now given is well known to belong to Lawa, and I am certain the durbar will, at my recommendation, grant you a separate piece of land in addition to that of Mohuny. Please pay heed to what Moona Lall tells you.

Enclosure No. 3.

(B.)

DEPOSITIONS taken by the Political Agent, Harowtee, at camp Tonk, on the 16th August 1867 and following days.

Witness No. 1.—*Dheerut Singh*, Thakoor of Lawa.

Q. Will you be good enough to state all you know respecting the death of Thakoor Rewut Singh?—*A.* In the first place two letters were received from Hakeem Surwar Shah calling me to Tonk, and subsequently Abdool Kadur, a chupprassee,* came to say that the Nawab was going to Seronje and wished me to come in speedily. I accordingly accompanied the messenger, and arrived at Tonk on the 29th July, putting up in the residence of Shumsheodeen. A day or two after my arrival Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh had an interview with Hakeem Surwar Shah; I saw nobody. After that interview Rewut Singh on his return said that the hakeem had told him I had done well in coming, as the Nawab was going to Seronje, and that now I should get back all my lands, &c., which had been resumed.

* Chobdar.

When Rewut Singh returned from the hakeem's, did he come back having seen Surwar Shah himself?—Yes.

Is anyone now alive who accompanied Rewut Singh on that occasion?—It can be found out on inquiry.

(After inquiry no one could be discovered.)

What do you know in respect of Rewut Singh's death?—About 9 p.m. Luchmunna Chupprassee was sent by the hakeem to where I was living; Thakoor Rewut Singh and I were at that time sitting together. Luchmunna said that the Nawab was going to Seronje, and that the hakeem had called me to consult about the khillut which was to be presented to me. In consequence Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh, with Gooljee, rajpoot, Buldeojee, rajpoot (Narooqua), Gobindjee, Rhatore, Ummur-bajun, Samee, Sheonath, Chobdar, Hunwunt Singh, rajpoot, Megh Singh, rajpoot, Ram Dhun, Kishen Lall, Barait, Jeewun, Chokrail, Moona Lall, kamdar, Lalljee, vakeel, Gunesha, Naik, and Ramooleea, chakur, went on foot. I know nothing more about them for certain; I heard that they had been entrapped and slain. One only of all these, Megh Singh, is living. Simultaneously with this event my dwelling was surrounded, and somebody asked me to come out; I don't know who it was. For three or four days the house was in this way guarded, and I was told by every one to put down my arms and be subservient to the Nawab. I declined to lay down my weapons, but said I was obedient to his Highness. Three days after the occurrence Sahibzadah Abdool Rahman, Nusseereodeen, Budroodeen (captain), and another, came and asked me to visit the Nawab, and swore there should be no treachery. Fastening on my arms I went to his Highness, and urged that I had been treated with great tyranny. The Nawab said that the past could not be recalled, and added that, if I had been present on the occasion, I would have been killed too. He then requested I would reside in the house of Abdool Rahman, to which I did not concur.

Did the Nawab say anything to you about Rewut Singh having attempted an armed entrance into the hakeem's residence?—No.

Who else was present during your interview with the Nawab?—Nusseeroodeen, Abdool Rahman, and Budroodeen, I know, were present; the others I don't know.

Between the time of the occurrence and the day of your departure from Tonk did any one hold you responsible for Thakoor Rewut Singh having, as is stated, proceeded uninvited to the hakeem's?—No.

Were

Were you informed that his conduct was the cause of your house having been guarded and surrounded?—No.

What happened after visiting the Nawab?—I returned to my residence, which remained guarded as before. Nusseeroodeen and another came and told me that, if I would write a "razeenama," the Nawab would add greatly to my rank and dignity, and give me an elephant, palkee, and village. I replied that, having been sent for to Tonk and my people murdered, what use were these to me now? I added that I had no power to write razeenamahs; that was in the power of the heirs of those who had been massacred. They then suggested that I should send for the heirs, which I declined to do. I begged permission to proceed to Lawa and perform the necessary ceremonies consequent upon the deaths of my relatives. Nusseeroodeen said I had better come myself to the Nawab and ask permission. I explained that for 12 days I could not go out. He then said, if you can't go, write a petition asking for leave. I said I was uneducated, and asked him to write it for me. A Hindee petition was written by the chowdree, and Nusseer took it to the Nawab, who consented to my request, and promised to return me my horses, &c., which had been seized, but these were not returned that day; the following day, when Captain Roberts arrived and sent a chobdar to call me, and I went and told that officer all I knew, and he said I might proceed to Lawa, then the animals, &c., were returned, and I started that evening. I know nothing more.

Witness No. 2.—*Pope Singh*, Son of *Hunwunt Singh*, Rajpoot (Narooqua), an Inhabitant of Sorha, in Jeypore, aged 30 Years, in the Service of the Lawa Thakoor.

Q. DID you accompany the thakoor to Tonk?—*A.* Yes; I came to Tonk with the thakoor on the 29th July, four days after which this business took place.

Prior to the occurrence had there been any interviews with the Nawab or with Hakeem Surwar Shah?—Yes; once Thakoors Beejey Singh and Rewut Singh had an interview with the hakeem, but with no one else.

What do you know regarding the occurrence of the 1st instant?—Luchmunna Chupprassee came to Thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh, and said that the Nawab was about to proceed to Seronje, and that, consequently, the hakeem had sent to call them in order to present to them a khillut. This was about nine o'clock at night. At that hour the two thakoors with Moona Lall and Lalljee, kamdars, and some 10 or 12 followers, went to the hakeem's residence. Beyond this I cannot say what happened, though the sound of firing reached my ears, and the house in which we were lodged was surrounded. Then I put on my arms and sat down inside, and the Nawab put me and the thakoor to great straits; for three or four days food and water were denied us. Beejey Lall can also testify to Luchmunna having come to call Rewut Singh. This is all I know.

Question by Tonk Vakeel.]—When did the first interview take place between Thakoor Rewut Singh and Hakeem Surwar Shah?—The day before the tragedy.

Who accompanied the thakoor?—I don't know.

Can you say whether any who did accompany him on that day are now living?—I cannot.

Where were you when the thakoor went to the hakeem's on the first occasion?—I was at the Commissariat for supplies.

Can you prove that Rewut Singh went to visit the hakeem the day before the disturbance?—I heard that he had done so; I cannot prove it.

A number of men are shown to Pope Singh, and he is requested to point out Luchmunna Chupprassee, the man whom he states to have come from the hakeem to call the thakoor.

He at once, without the slightest hesitation, points him out.

(signed) *A. N. B.*

Witness No. 3.—*Beejey Lall*, Son of *Siree Lall*, Brahmin, Inhabitant of Lawa, aged 26 Years, in the Service of the Thakoor.

Q. DID you accompany the thakoor to Tonk?—*A.* Yes; I arrived with him on the 29th of July.

When did this occurrence take place?—On the 1st August.

Prior to that date had the thakoor of Lawa seen the Nawab or Hakeem Surwar Shah?—The thakoor had not; but on one occasion Thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh had an interview with Hakeem Surwar Shah at the house of the latter.

What do you know of the event which has caused this inquiry?—About 9 p.m. Luchmunna Chupprassee was sent by Hakeem Surwar Shah to say that the Nawab was going to Seronje, in consequence of which the khillut would be given in the morning; so Thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh were wanted at the hakeem's. Rewut Singh and Moona Lall sent me out to make arrangements for some money to be presented to the Nawab as a nuzzur, and the thakoor himself, with Thakoor Beejey Singh, Moona Lall, Lalljee Mull, and 12 or 13 others, went to the hakeem's residence. I know not what occurred there. About 10 p.m., when I returned to the residence of the Lawa thakoor, I saw that the place

was guarded on all sides by foot and mounted sentries and the house surrounded. I became alarmed and fled into Jeypore territory. I know no more.

Question by Tonk Vakeel.] As people are forbidden to appear in the streets after 10 p.m., how was it you were about?—For some two hours after that time people are about.

To what house did you go to get money for the nuzzur?—To Ram Lall, a banker of Tonk, but he was out, and as I did not know his private residence, I returned.

Did you, going or returning, meet any people you knew?—Opposite Ram Lall's shop, there is a shop belonging to Jowhee Lall, a banker, and there I met a man whom I know, but whose name I know not.

Do you know who went with Rewut Singh on the occasion of the affray which took place on the 1st instant?—I do not.*

You say that after seeing the Lawa house surrounded, you fled to the village of Kangote, in Jeypore; do you know anybody in that village?—At midnight I was there with Sans Mull, chohan, in the service of the thakoor of Mairoom, and I told Sans Mull why I had come to the village; I said no more.

This witness also was confronted with a number of men, and desired to point out Luchmunna Chupprassee, whom he stated to have come from the hakeem to call Rewut Singh. This he did without the slightest hesitation or loss of time.

(signed) *A. N. B.*

Witness No. 4.—*Dhan Singh*, Son of *Huree Singh*, Rajpoot (Narooqual) of Lawa, aged 55 years, in the service of the Thakoor.

Q. What do you know regarding the death of Rewut Singh?—*A.* I came to Tonk with the Lawa thakoor, and was on duty opposite the door of his sitting-room, when, at about 7.30 p.m., a chupprasse, or hurkara, unknown to me, of the hakeem's, came and said that the hakeem had sent for Thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh. He remained about 10 minutes, and took Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh away with him to the hakeem's; about 15 followers also went with the thakoors. A short time after their departure the sound of firing reached us. The thakoor at once said to me, "This looks like treachery; arrange for our defence quickly." We at once shut all the doors, and armed ourselves.

In the meantime the house was surrounded on all sides by the Tonk troops, and we were desired to give up our arms, but we did not do so. For three days the place remained without food or water. On the fourth day, three or four persons (names I know not) in the service of the Nawab came, and having vowed not to harm him, went to the thakoor. I know not what occurred. The thakoor was afterwards taken to see the Nawab, when he obtained permission to leave Tonk, and he returned to Lawa. I returned with him. I cannot say what difference occurred between Rewut Singh and the hakeem, at the house of the latter. Two days prior to the occurrence, Rewut Singh went to see the hakeem, and returned much pleased. In this way he was induced to go a second time.

Witness No. 5.—*Rewut Singh*, Son of *Sooruj Mull*, Barait, of Lawa, aged 45 Years.

Q. WHAT do you know regarding the death of Rewut Singh?—*A.* When the Lawa thakoor came to Tonk on the 29th ultimo I accompanied him. On the 1st instant a chupprassee, whose name I know not, came to me, as I was on duty at the entrance, and inquired after Rewut Singh; I told him where he was; he went to Rewut Singh and said the hakeem had sent for him. Thakoor Rewut Singh at once (7.30 p.m.) went to the hakeem's residence with some 16 or 17 followers. I did not go with him. Some 10 minutes after they had gone the sound of firing reached us, and all who remained behind said we must prepare the place for defence, for all who have gone to the hakeem's will be killed. Having said this, he closed and fastened the doors, and going upstairs saw that the place was surrounded and our horses taken away. The Tonk sepoys called to the thakoor to come out; when soliciting to know what had become of Rewut Singh and his party, we were asked what business that was of ours? They desired to take our arms, but we declined to deliver them. Afterwards four persons came, and through their instrumentality the thakoor was taken to have an interview with the Nawab.

Prior to this occurrence did the Lawa thakoor, or Thakoor Rewut Singh, visit anybody?—Yes; on the previous day Thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh had an interview with the hakeem.

On that occasion did you accompany Thakoor Rewut Singh?—I did not.

When Rewut Singh returned from that first interview, did he appear pleased or angry?—He seemed pleased.

Do

---

* This reply refers to the followers.

Do you know at all how Rewut Singh met his death?—No.

When you heard the sound of firing, what idea occurred to you?—It struck me at once that Rewut Singh was killed.

Witness No. 6, *Ghassi Singh*, Son of *Deo Singh*, Barait, of Lawa, aged 42 Years, in Service of the Thakoor.

Q. Do you know anything respecting the death of Rewut Singh?—*A.* I came to Tonk with the Lawa thakoor. Here it was my duty to attend to the horses, and the place where they were kept was about 15 paces from the thakoor's dwelling place. I was sitting at his door, when about 8 p.m., a Chupprassee, a stranger to me, came, and, addressing the sentry, said the hakeemjee has sent for Thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh. The two thakoors with 15 or 16 followers went to the hakeem's house; and after I had dined I went to sleep in a small enclosure near where the horses were tied, and I know nothing more. Afterwards troops surrounded the house and began to loosen the horses and seize the syces. I then ran away to Roopbass, in the Jeypore district. I know no more.

Do you know anything as to what happened to the Thakoor Rewut Singh at the hakeem's house?—No.

Witness No. 7, *Sheonath*, Son of *Manjee*, Barait, Inhabitant of Lawa, aged 25 Years, in the Service of the Thakoor.

Q. What do you know in respect of Thakoor Rewut Singh's death?—*A.* All I know is that at about 8 p.m. some man came from the hakeem's. I was sitting at the door. He said I am going in to the thakoor. I gave him permission; and this person took Rewut Singh, Beejey Singh, and some 15 or 16 others to the hakeem's residence. I don't know what happened there. Shortly after they had gone the sudden sound of fire-arms aroused suspicion, and shutting the doors, we remained armed inside.

On every side Tonk sentries were placed, and we remained for three days without food or water. Subsequently three persons in the Nawab's service, unknown to me, came to the thakoor and took him to see the Nawab. After this I accompanied the thakoor back to Lawa.

Prior to this occurrence had the Thakoor or Rewut Singh visited the Nawab or the hakeem?—I don't know.

Could you recognise the messenger who came to call Rewut Singh?—No.

Witness No. 8, *Megh Singh*, Son of *Futteh Singh*, Rajpoot (Narooqua), Inhabitant of Sirus, in Jeypore, in the Service of the Thakoor of Sirus.

Q. How did you become a prisoner at Tonk?—*A.* I went to Lawa from Sirus to see my sister. The thakoor of Lawa was then going to Tonk; he desired I should accompany him. I went. Some four days after our arrival at Tonk Thakoor Rewut Singh went to Hakeem Surwar Shah's house. He took me with him. On reaching his dwelling, whilst the others remained outside, Rewut Singh, Beejey Singh, Moona Lall, and Siree Lall went upstairs. After a short time the Tonk sepoys snatched away my sword, and wounded me on the head, and the rest of our party were cut down and killed. Muskets were fired, but without effect. When wounded I ran away, but was seized on the road.

Could you recognise the man who wounded you?—No; it was night-time, and dark.

Did you show any fight?—No.

Do you know anything as regards Rewut Singh and his party who went inside?—Not a word, nor did any noise, as of firing, reach our ears from inside.

How long after Rewut Singh had gone upstairs did this massacre occur?—About half an hour had elapsed when the Wullayatees wounded me.

How many men accompanied Rewut Singh to the hakeem's house?—In all about 15.

Why do you suppose you were attacked?—I cannot say; out of all who went I alone escaped with life, which I attribute to the fact that, after I had been wounded the Wullayatees were under the impression that I was a Wullayatee, from the manner in which I had tied my puggree.

How many Wullayatees were present?—I cannot tell exactly, but there were a great many.

Did nobody escape save yourself?—I really do not know who were killed and who escaped.

When Rewut Singh arrived that night at the hakeem's house, did anybody attempt to stop his entry?—A Hindustani sepoy said the time was ill chosen for a visit, and requested the thakoor to await awhile. The thakoor and Beejey Singh then sat down; a short time after sitting there the same man came and said, "come along." The four above mentioned then went upstairs, whilst we all remained below.

When the Hindustani above referred to stopped Rewut Singh, did any words take place —None whatever.

Did the man say anything about Hakeem Surwar Shah being ill?—He said nothing about that; he merely said the time was an inconvenient one.

When Thakoor Rewut Singh arrived at the hakeem's house, do you know anything about anybody's puggree falling off?—No puggree fell off before me; I cannot say what happened upstairs.

Can you point out the place where all this occurred?—I can show the spot where I was waiting outside, and also the stairs up which Rewut Singh and his party disappeared.

On my visiting the scene of the occurrence, Megh Singh (who deposes as above) accompanied me, and clearly pointed out the places mentioned.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce,*
Political Agent.

Witness No. 9, *Bhairoo Buksh,* Son of *Kamreea,* Chumar, of Lawa, aged 17 Years.

Q. How did you become a prisoner at Tonk?—*A.* I came in with the thakoor of Lawa, in the capacity of a bigarry. One evening, after eating our dinner, four of us, chumars, and Gobinda Bhullai, went to sleep in another chumar's house. About midnight six or seven sepoys belonging to Tonk, with a chowkeydar, came and arrested us all, and put irons on our legs. To-day those irons have been taken off.

Why were you arrested?—I don't know.

Do you know anything as regards the death of Thakoor Rewut Singh?—No.

Witness No. 10, *Gobinda,* Son of *Bhopa,* Chumar, of Lawa, aged 22 Years.

Q. How did you become a prisoner?—*A.* (The witness records precisely the same answer as the one who preceded him, excepting that he states the hour of their seizure to have been evening, and adds that the irons were taken off his own legs a few days since, and off the khuteeks' to-day).

Why were you imprisoned?—Because I was taken for a svce.

Do you know anything about Rewut Singh's death?—Nothing.

Witness No. 11, *Assa,* Son of *Goomana,* Chumar, of Lawa, aged 25 Years.

(This witness states precisely the same as the preceding one, but gives the time of his arrest as midnight, and states that he was seized, he imagines, because he had come in with the Lawa thakoor's following).

Witness No. 12, *Saija,* Son of *Munsa,* Chumar, of Lawa, aged 28 Years.

(This witness deposes precisely as does the preceding one).

Witness No. 13, *Gobinda,* Son of *Kamur, Bhullai,* of Lawa, aged 25 Years.

(This witness also deposes as above, adding only that on the night of their arrest they were put in the stocks, and the following day in irons, which had just been taken off).

Chinna, Son of *Rama,* Khuteek, of Lawa, aged 25 Years.

Q. How did you become a prisoner?—*A.* I came to Tonk to purchase soap, &c. The Lawa thakoor was here before my arrival. Moona Lall, the thakoor's kamdar, met me, and said where are you going to? "Sleep here." I accordingly went to sleep in the Dewanjee's enclosure, where the thakoor's horses were picketed. About midnight a chowkeydar arrested me and my brother.

Why?—I cannot say.

Do you know anything regarding the death of Thakoor Rewut Singh?—No.

Witness No. 14, *Lutchmunna*, Son of *Teja*, Khuteek, of Lawa, aged about 23 Years.

Deposes precisely as does Chinna. He does not know the hour they were arrested. Irons knocked off that day.

Witness No. 15, *Thakoor Gopal Singh*, Brother of the deceased *Rewut Singh*, and Uncle of the Lawa Thakoor.

Q. Do you know anything connected with the death of Rewut Singh? If so, state all you know?—*A.* On the 22nd July a letter was received from the hakeem at Lawa, but illness prevented the thakoor from proceeding to Tonk at that time; a second letter was subsequently received, and a chobdar was sent to call him. On the 29th July the thakoor left Lawa and arrived at Tonk. On the 31st idem news reached Lawa that Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh had had an interview with the hakeem, and that in a day or two they would be accorded permission to return. On the evening of that day a chumar came and said that at night sentries were placed round the dwelling which the thakoor occupied at Tonk, but little attention was paid to this story. On the 2nd August* Hookma, Meena, arrived at Lawa, having left Tonk prior to the occurrence of the preceding evening. He confirmed the report that sentries were placed round the thakoor's house, and that the impression as to what was the ultimate intention of the Tonk authorities was not encouraging, and he warned us to be on the alert. Whilst this conversation was going on, and before the morning of the 2nd had quite broken, the Tonk troops arrived. There were from 1,000 to 1,200 infantry, and they put up at Goordhunpoora; some of our cattle were plundered by them. Three hours afterwards 40 swivel guns arrived by detachments, and some 30 or 35 sowars; and the force was then divided into three parties, and batteries erected opposite each door of the Lawa Fort. Shots were fired on both sides, and matters continued so for two and a half days and nights. Four or five men were killed on our side, and the same number wounded. I don't know what their casualties may have been, but I heard three men were wounded. If guns were brought on this occasion, they must have been left at Goordhunpoora; they were not used. On the 2nd August three syces arrived, and said we have seen nothing of it, but hear that Rewut Singh, Beejey Singh, and others have been killed, the horses and property plundered, and the thakoor's house surrounded; we have crept here by stealth. Upon hearing this I proceeded to Deolee to learn the truth, having despatched Kullian Buksh there directly the Tonk troops came to Lawa. So far I know. On the third day the Tonk force returned to Tonk, some 250 Wullayatees remaining in the fort (Goordhunpoora).

* Morning.

Did you inquire of the syces how Rewut Singh had met his death?—Yes; they said that when Rewut Singh and the others went to the hakeem's they sat down for a short time, when they were invited in. Rewut Singh, Beejey Singh, Moona Lall, and Siree Lall went inside to the hakeem, the others remaining outside below. An officer of the Wullayatees requested them to give him their arms, which they refused to do, when a Wullayatee struck Rewut Singh with a sword; in this way the fight became serious, and those below were attacked and shot down. When Rewut Singh was asked to deliver his arms the hakeem was present.

What are the names of the three syces?—Bhuldeva, Khuteek, Gunesha, Darogah, and Hurnatha, Khatore.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent.

Beejey Lall is re-examined, and asked:

Q. What were the respective ages of those who accompanied Thakoor Rewut Singh that evening?—*A.* I can only give them approximately: Rewut Singh, 35 or 40 years; Beejey Singh, 21 or 22; Gooljee, 45 or 50; Buldeojee, 30; Gobindjee, 28; Ummur-bajun, 35 or 40; Sheonath, 45 or 50; Hunwunt Singh, 24 or 25; Megh Singh, 25; Ram Dhun, 35; Kishen Lall, 30; Jeewun, 50; Moona Lall, 48; Lalljee, 55; Gunesh, 21 or 22; Bamooleea, 18.

What arms did they carry?—I cannot say for certain whether Rewut Singh had a gun; he may have had. The others carried swords.

Lawa has no further evidence to adduce, save the hearsay evidence of the three syces alluded to by Thakoor Gopal Singh.

These men have been sent for from their homes.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent.

Enclosure No. 5.

(C.)

DEPOSITIONS taken by the Political Agent, Harowtee, at Camp Tonk, on the 16th August 1867 and following days.

Witness No. 1, *Hakeem Mahomed Surwar Shah*, in charge of Thuggee and Dacoitee Office, Tonk.

Q. How long have you been employed by the Tonk durbar?—*A.* Twelve years. I was employed as a hakeem during the late Nawab's life-time, and prior to coming to Tonk. I was for two years at Neemuch, living with Mahomed Ally Khan, the tehsildar of that place.

Why did you leave Neemuch?—I had no duties there; and as the late Nawab of Tonk sent for me, I came here.

How long have you had charge of your present office?—Nearly two and half a years.

Did you write a letter inviting the Lawa Thakoor to Tonk?—First of all a letter was received from the thakoor upon the subject of adjusting all differences. In reply a letter was sent to him to come into Tonk; he replied he was sick, but would speedily come. No reply to that communication went from this, but previously a letter had been sent to beg the thakoor to come in.

After the thakoor's arrival state all you know that occurred?—Some 10 days after the thakoor came to Tonk, Thakoor Rewut Singh and his nephew, with a number of followers, came to the Girazee Office about mid-day, and Hafiz Mahomed Ameen, my naib, informed me of their arrival. I told Hafiz Mahomed to explain to Rewut Singh that I was unwell and could not see him, but that the Nawab had fixed upon all his vassals a certain contribution for the purpose of supporting dispensary, school, &c., and the construction of roads, and that it was necessary Lawa should pay her quota; and that, if this were willingly done, it would be in every way advantageous to the thakoor. My naib duly conveyed these words to Rewut Singh, who on hearing them was displeased, and said, "I am not that kind of jaghiredar, I will not conform to new customs." Having said this he got up and went away. For two months I had been suffering from various ailments, and on that day, at about five p.m., I became insensible. There was little hope of life for me. That night Rewut Singh, with 30 or 40 armed followers, came and demanded admittance; the sentry told him I was very ill, and that such a time was not appropriate for an interview. They would not mind the sentry, and pushing the door, which was old, it gave way. The thakoor's followers commenced to pour in. The sepoys under Sahibzadah Golab Khan tried to stop them, when suddenly some thakoor's puggree fell off. The thakoor struck some one with a sword, and Golab Khan then directed the Tonk side to strike. Both sides engaged, and both lost many killed and wounded. In the morning, when I came to myself, I heard all this.

Have you suffered from this illness before?—I have had paralysis before; Bheeky Singh, Native doctor, has been treating me for a month.

Have you aught else to say?—Thakoor Rewut Singh never on any previous occasion came to my residence at night; on this occasion he came, and this business occurred.

Witness No. 2, *Mahomed Ameen*, Naib Superintendent of the Thuggee Office.

STATES, on the 1st August, Thursday, about 12 o'clock, I was present at the cutcherry held at Hakeem Surwar Shah's residence; Moonshee Moojeeboolah, Abdool Hakeem Khan, Molah Buksh, Azeemoolah Khan, and a Hindee Nawees were also there, when Thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh, with some 60 followers, came and requested I would inform the hakeem of their advent. I said that the hakeem was ill, and unable to come out, and I sent word to him by a female attendant that the thakoor had arrived. The hakeem sent for me and told me to explain to the thakoor how desirable it was he should contribute towards schools, dispensaries, roads, &c., as do other jaghiredars, and that in that case the agreement between them would remain intact; and the thakoor was also asked to desist from oppressing the people of the village of Moonee; that if these matters received a ready acquiescence at the thakoor's hands, the Nawab would be much pleased, and would confer upon him a robe of honour. I came out, and in the presence of Moojeeboolah, Abdool Hakeem, and Molah Buksh, delivered the message to the thakoor, who, on hearing it, became displeased, saying we are soldiers, not slaves. He then rose and left, with many hard words; but I gave no reply. After he had gone I told the hakeem what had happened. At 4 p.m. I closed the office and came away. I know not what occurred afterwards. I don't know what followers came with the thakoor, nor can I say who were killed and who are living.

Moojeeboolah Khan, writer in the Tonk Thuggee Office, states precisely as above.

Witness No. 3, *Yacoob Ahmed Khan*, son of *Fakeer Ahmed Khan*, Pathan, aged 26 years, Kotwal of Ameerguuge, in Tonk.

Q. How long have you been in the Tonk service?—*A.* Ten months.

Is the giraee office within your circle?—It is.

How far is the kotwallee from the hakeem's house?—One mile.

What do you know regarding the event which has caused this inquiry?—The kotwallee jemadar had gone out somewhere, and came back running to tell me that a serious affray was taking place at the hakeem's residence. I forthwith went there and saw the corpses; some were inside and some outside. In all there were 17 corpses and 9 wounded. I could not at that time tell how many men were killed on either side. In the morning it became known that Tonk had lost 7 and Lawa 10. When I had collected all the bodies together my superior officer, Faiz Mahomed, directed me to go and endeavour to apprehend those who had escaped, whilst he attended to matters on the spot; I accordingly went, but could not catch any; I therefore returned. This much I know about the affair. Fyz Mahomed had the corpses taken away.

Whereabouts did you find the bodies you say you saw lying outside and inside?—Two or three were outside the cutcherry, and others inside the compound near the gateway.

Where was Hakeem Surwar Shah at this time?—In the zenana apartments; I did not see him at that time.

Prior to this event when did you last see him?—Some 10 or 15 days previously.

Witness No. 4, *Nusseeroodeen*, son of *Imamoodeen* (Sheik), inhabitant of Tonk, aged 33 years.

Q. How long have you been in Tonk?—*A.* All my life.

How long have you been a servant of the Tonk State?—23 or 24 years.

When were you appointed kotwal, and what were you before?—Formerly I was in charge of the gardens and supply department, and I have been kotwal since the accession of the present Nawab.

What do you know regarding the death of Rewut Singh?—My house is in the city of Tonk; I was sitting there about 9 p.m., when the sound of firing reached my ears. As the Nawab's orders forbid firing at that time of night, a suspicion seized me, and I sent a chowkeydar to make inquiries, and ordering a horse I proceeded in person. When I reached the city I received an order from the Nawab to make arrangements for surrounding the house of Shumsheodeen, which was occupied by the Lawa thakoor, and I was to allow no ingress or egress. I therefore put sentries all round, and was unable to visit the scene of the occurrence. I know no more.

Witness No. 5, *Faiz Mahomed*, son of *Imamoodeen* (Sheik), of Tonk, aged 40 years, the Head of the Tonk Kotwals.

Q. Is the house where the recent disturbance took place within your charge?—*A.* All the city and Gunj kotwallees are under me.

Relate all you know regarding the occurrence?—I was in my house at Tonk, when at 9 o'clock I heard shots fired, and sent a chowkeydar to go and find out the cause. Before his return Sahibzadah Ahmed Khan's order reached me that an affray was taking place at the hakeem's residence, and desiring me to take the necessary action in the matter. I at once went, and on arrival found that Yacoob Ahmed Khan, kotwal of Ameergunge, with his chowkedars, was already there. From him I learnt that the followers of the Lawa thakoor had created the disturbance, and that some of them had escaped. I forthwith sent Yacoob Ahmed Khan to try and apprehend them, and remained myself at the scene of the outrage. Seventeen corpses were lying there, and nine wounded men. I conveyed this information to Sahibzadah Ahmed Khan, who ordered me to remain there pending further instructions. I, consequently, remained there and got a dresser for the wounded. In the morning, agreeably to orders, I had all the dead bodies burnt, and that of Golab Khan buried. Ten men were killed on the Lawa side and one wounded; and on that of Tonk seven killed and nine wounded. From the wounded and those who were present, I was informed that the affray had occurred in the following manner:—That Thakoors Rewut Singh, and Beejey Singh, with 30 or 40 armed followers, had come and wanted the gates opened, but that the sentries would not open them; that they pushed until an entrance was effected, when, attempting to come in, they were stopped, and some thakoor's puggree fell off, whereupon he struck a sepoy with a sword, and then commenced a fight on both sides. Of the 17 dead, 16 were Hindoos; and of the wounded, 5 were Mussulmen sepoys of Tonk, and 4 Wullayatees.

What are the names of the seven men who were killed?—Golab Khan, Officer Lutchmun Singh, Ram Singh, Shewloll, Kulloo Ram, Bhageerut, and Hurree Ram.*

(At a subsequent examination the witness was called upon to state to what places these six Hindoos belong)?—*A.* I cannot say.

Can you not mention the place of residence of any one of them?—Not one of them.

When sepoys are enlisted, are not these particulars ascertained?—These men did not belong to the kotwal's department; information may be obtained from the Bukshee Khana.

Who caused the bodies to be burnt?—Shahab Khan, a jemadar of the kotwallee, was directed to have them burnt.

Is it, or is it not, the custom in Tonk to have the bodies of people meeting sudden deaths of this nature shown to the Native doctor?—In consequence of the confusion on this occasion they were not shown to him, nor were the wounded shown to him that night. I cannot say when they were taken to the Native doctor; they were conveyed to the various places to which they belonged.

Witness No. 6, *Abdool Hummed*, Son of *Kootub Khan*, an Inhabitant of Nujeebabad, aged 23 Years, a Trader.

Q. Do you know anything regarding the death of Thakoor Rewut Singh?—*A.* I was asleep in my house, when about 9 o'clock a noise was heard and the sound of firing. I suspected some robbery was being perpetrated; taking my sword I came out and observed that people were running towards the hakeem's house. I walked slowly there. In the meantime Yacoob Ahmed Khan, the kotwal, had arrived there with chowkeydars. I heard that 17 men had been killed and nine wounded. The kotwal then sent everybody away.

Did you hear how this affray happened?—Some said that Thakoor Rewut Singh came in search of the hakeem, and that a quarrel had occurred at the gateway with the sepoys, when the thakoor's puggree fell off, and some say his puggree fell off in the street opposite the gateway and caused the disturbance.

Where did you see the dead bodies lying?—Opposite the gateway of the Thuggee office and on the threshold. No one let me go inside.

Witness No. 7, *Roopa*, Son of *Sheo Lall*, Chumar, an Inhabitant of Tonk, aged 30 Years, a Klassie in the Tonk Service.

Q. How far do you live from the Thuggee office?—*A.* The walls of our respective houses join; if I go out of the entrance to my house to go to the Thuggee office, two houses separate us.

What do you know of the occurrence which has caused this inquiry?—Near 9 o'clock on that evening I was preparing my hookah, when I heard people opposite requesting the door to be opened: somebody inside said the door would not be opened. I heard this repeated two or three times, and then a shot was fired, and afterwards many shots. I was too frightened to move out of the house. In the morning when I went out I heard that a disturbance had taken place between the sepoys and the Lawa thakoor's people. I did not see the corpses myself.

Witness No. 8, *Abdool Rahman*, a Hakeem, in the Service of the Tonk Government.

Q. WHAT do you know respecting the illness of Hakeem Surwar Shah?—*A.* I have been attending him with three other hakeems. He has been suffering from paralysis and fever. Whilst I was preparing medicines this disturbance took place, and I have not since been sent for. I was called in some 20 days prior to the occurrence of the first instant, and his sickness dates still further back.

Witness No. 9, *Abdoola Khan*, Hakeem, in the Tonk Service.

Deposes precisely as the preceding witness.

Witness No. 10, *Ally Hussein*, Son of *Hakeem Nissar Ally*, a Hakeem, in the Tonk Service.

Also deposes as above.

Q. Was his sickness such as to prevent him from getting up?—*A.* He was liable to lose his senses at night, and in sleep his throat became contracted; he had fever also.

---

* Efforts are being made to trace these men.

Witness No. 11, *Aziz Khan*, Son of *Zamoola Khan*, Pathan, Inhabitant of Tonk, aged 26 Years, a Sepoy in the Nawab's Service.

Q. How did you become wounded?—*A.* I was a sentry on duty outside the door of Hakeem Surwar Shah's abode. About 9 o'clock p.m. somebody called out from the street "open the door;" I said such are not my orders; who are you? They replied that important business had brought the Lawa thakoor to visit the hakeem at that hour. I said the hakeem is sick, but they would not mind me. I called out to Golab Khan Sahibzadah, an officer in the Thuggee department, that the thakoor of Lawa had come to visit the hakeemjee. He came out and said, "Tell them to come in the morning." I again told the thakoor's people they could not come in, but they heeded not, and kicked the door in. I told Golab Khan what has happening, and he told me to keep them back. I began doing so, when the thakoor's puggree accidentally fell off, whereupon the thakoor struck Ally Bahadoor Khan (Golab Khan's naib) with a sword; Golab Khan then struck the thakoor, and in the meantime the Lawa followers commenced to use their arms. When four or five men had fallen, Golab Khan asked me what I was doing looking about, and told me to strike too. I then engaged with two or three of the opposite side; others, doubtless, joined in, but I know nothing more. I was severely wounded six or seven times and became senseless. Seven men were killed on our side and nine wounded.

The prisoner was subsequently asked to state further particulars regarding the men killed. He stated that six were Hindoos and one (Golab Khan) a Mahomedan.

Witness No. 12, *Jumoodeen Khan*, Son of *Fuckroodeen Khan*, Inhabitant of Tonk, Pathan, aged 29 Years, Private Servant of *Hakeem Sarwar Shah.*

Q. How did you get these wounds?—*A.* I am the overseer of Hakeem Surwar Shah's private business. I went in the evening to make my report, but the hakeem being sick, I did not see him. I laid down on a charpoy in the compound. About 9 p.m. the sentry outside called out that somebody was creating a disturbance outside, and wanted to come in. Sahibzadah Golab Khan on hearing this went out, and shortly afterwards there was a great noise and sound of firing. I ran to see what was the matter, and saw that swords were being used. I also received six wounds. Seven of our side were killed and nine wounded. When I was wounded, I became senseless.

Witness No. 13, *Mahamood Khan*, son of *Irack Shah Khan*, Pathan, inhabitant of Persia, aged 20 years, a Sepoy in the Tonk Nawab's service.

Q. How did you become wounded?—*A.* We were all sitting in the Thuggee and Dacoitee office, when at 9 p.m. there was a great noise. I said, "Perhaps this is an attempted robbery;" and taking our guns we went outside, where we saw fighting going on with the Lawa thakoor. In the *mêlée* I received a wound on the right hand, and several men were killed and wounded on either side.

Witness No. 14, *Mahomed Syud Khan*, son of *Hameed Khan*, Pathan, aged 35 years, resident of Tonk, employed as a Sepoy in the Thuggee Office.

Q. How did you become wounded?—*A.* I was on duty at the giraee office, and was sitting near Sahibzadah Golab Khan in the cutcherry. Aziz Khan, who was on sentry, called out, "People outside are making a disturbance and trying to open the door." Golab Khan and I, with others, went outside, and after inquiry he said to Rewut Singh, the hakeemjee is sick just now; you cannot see him; come in the morning. He would not listen to this, and pushed at the door, when a panel fell out and a hinge came off. Golab Khan ordered us to keep them out, and we all attempted to do so. By chance the thakoor's puggree fell off, when he struck Ally Bahadoor Khan with a sword, and Golab Khan struck Rewut Singh with a sword. The dispute warmed, and blows were freely exchanged, and several on either side were killed and wounded.

Witness No. 15, *Mahomoodeen Khan*, son of *Zaimoolarfeen Khan*, Pathan of Peshawur, aged 25 years, a Sepoy in the Tonk Nawab's service.

Q. How did you receive these wounds?—*A.* I was on duty with Sahibzadah Golab Khan, and consequently was sitting with him at night. Aziz Khan was the sentry on duty at the door; he called out to Golab Khan that the Lawa thakoor was forcing himself in,

and wanted to see the hakeem. He got up and went outside, and I accompanied him, and the intruders were told to go away, but they would not, and giving the door a push, it fell down. Golab Khan said, "keep them back;" and whilst we were doing this, the thakoor's puggree fell off, whereupon he struck Ally Bahadoor Khan with his sword. Golab Khan then struck the thakoor with a sword, and on both sides arms were used, and men killed and wounded. I received these seven sword wounds, and became senseless.

Did you see Thakoor Rewut Singh yourself?—I saw him, and warned him off, but he would not mind.

Witness No. 16, *Ally Bahadoor Khan*, son of *Syud Ally Khan*, Pathan, of Tonk, aged 30 years, a Sepoy in the service of the Tonk Nawab.

Q. How did you receive your wound?—*A.* I was sitting with many others, by Sahibzadah Golab Khan, inside the cutcherry. At 9 o'clock the sentry, Aziz Khan, called out that somebody was creating a disturbance at the gate, and trying to open it. Golab Khan got up and went outside; I and others accompanied him. Golab Khan inquired who the intruder was. They replied, "the Lawa thakoor has come to see the hakeem; open the door." Golob Khan in vain endeavoured to restrain them. When pushing at the door, it opened and fell down. All of us, agreeably to Golab Khan's orders, tried to keep them from entering, when, accidentally, Thakoor Rewut Singh's puggree fell off. He struck me with a sword, and Golab Khan struck him with a sword; in this way the fight commenced, and on both sides men were killed and wounded.

A wounded prisoner was brought to me who had literally lost his whole face, save the eyes; it was impossible to take his deposition.

A subsequent attempt was made, but without success.

Witness No. 17, *Moleedad Khan*, son of *Muneer Khan*, Pathan, of Sambhul, in the Moradabad District, aged 21 years, a sepoy in the Tonk service.

He deposes precisely as does Mahomed Syud Khan.

Witness No. 18, *Syud Meeroo Ally*, son of *Syud Ahmed*, inhabitant of Swat, aged 40 years, a sepoy in the Tonk service.

Q. How have you been wounded?—*A.* My guard was on duty at the Girazee office. I was asleep there, when at 9 p.m. the sentry called out, "Get up quickly! There is a disturbance outside." I saw a great crowd and a fight going on. I was struck and wounded, and became senseless.

Witness No. 19, *Girdharee*, son of *Maida*, Naik, inhabitant of Doonee, in Jeypore, aged 21 years.

Q. What brought you to Tonk?—*A.* I came from Doonee to meet my sister, and my brother Rooroo came with me. In the Tonk bazar we met a Brahmin with whom my brother was acquainted. We smoked together, after which he took us to where the Lawa thakoor was putting up. As Thakoor Rewut Singh was going to visit the hakeemjee, my brother and I said we would accompany the party and see the tamasha. When the thakoor arrived at the hakeem's the door was closed. The Lawa followers called out to open the door, as the thakoor had come to visit the hakeem. They replied that the hakeem was sick, and that the door could not be opened. The Lawa people did not mind, and said, "We must be admitted at once, so open the door." Having said this, they gave a push, and one of the panels gave way. The sepoys on either side commenced to quarrel, and arms were used. Directly I saw this I fled with my brother on the road. A chowkeydar arrested us.

Where were you imprisoned?—In the kotwallee.

How did you become acquainted with the Brahmin who took you to the Lawa thakoor's place?—My brother knew him before; I did not. Towards evening my brother met him in the street, when he took us to the thakoor's. There were a number of other people there, but I knew none of them.

Witness No. 20, *Roor Singh*, Son of *Jait Singh*, Naik, of Doonee, in Jeypore, aged 25 Years.

Q. How did you become a prisoner?—*A.* I went to the village of Parheea, in Jeypore, for the purpose of performing certain religious rites of my brotherhood; when I came back I stayed for two days with my sister. On the Thursday I was walking about the fair, when I met Lalljee Teewaree, of Lawa, and he told me the thakoor was here. I went with him to the thakoor's place, and after a little while I found out that Thakoor Rewut Singh was going to visit Hakeem Surwar Shah. I accompanied him; when he arrived the door was closed. Rewut Singh's followers called out to have it opened; the sepoys within replied that the hakeem was ill, and that the door could not be opened. They gave no heed to this, and kicking the door, the panel fell down. Both sides commenced to abuse each other, and at length blows were exchanged. On seeing this I fled. A chowkeydar seized me and my brother, who was with me. Since then I have been a prisoner in the Tonk kotwallee.

When you went to the Lawa thakoor's house, who else was there?—There were very many there. I smoked outside.

When you met Lalljee Purohit, was anyone with him?—No.

Do you know any of the Lawa thakoor's followers at this present alive whom you may have seen when you were at his house that evening?—No.

How did you become acquainted with Lalljee Purohit?—I purchased some tobacco at the same time and at the same shop as Lalljee; that is how we became acquainted.

Do you know the tobacconist who sold to you?—I don't know his name, but I know the shop, which is near the place where the thakoor was living. The tobacconist's age is about 30 years.

N.B.—The witness describes the position of the shop, and a chupprassee is directed to go and call the tobacconist. There are two shops in the vicinity. Both tobacconists appear. The witness fails to recognise them.

The chupprassee is next deputed to accompany the witness in order that the shop may be pointed out. They return, and the chupprassee reports that the spot pointed out to him is a bare piece of ground without any appearance of a shop.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent.

Witness No. 21, *Nanoo Singh*, Son of *Gooman Singh*, Naik, Inhabitant of Tonk, aged 35 Years.

Q. Do you know anything about Rewut Singh's death?—*A.* I was going from the Gunj to my own house, when I met Moona Lall, a Lawa kamdar, whom I had known for some time. He took me to the place where the thakoor was residing, and there we had a smoke. About 9 p.m. I was going to my house, when Moona Lall said, don't go now; we are going to the hakeem's house; come with us; I will introduce you to the thakoor. I went with him. When we reached the hakeem's the door was closed. The thakoor's followers called out, "open the door." The sepoys within said, "the hakeem is sick; we will not open it." To this no heed was paid, and they called out again, shaking the door; one of the panels fell out, and a disturbance commenced between the thakoor's followers and those within, and several men entered the inclosure. In the midst of this disturbance one of the thakoor's puggrees fell off, when the affair became more serious, and swords were drawn. I saw one man struck upon the shoulder, and at once fled. In the road a chowkeydar seized me.

Did you not know anyone belonging to the thakoor save Moona Lall?—No.

Witness No. 22, *Shahab Khan*, Son of *Ghassi Khan*, Pathan, an Inhabitant of Kote, in the District of Futtehpore, aged 35 Years, a Jemadar in the Ameergunge Kotwallee.

Q. What do you know respecting the death of Thakoor Rewut Singh?—*A.* All I know is, that my superior officer, Faiz Mahomed, sent me an order to have the corpses, which were lying at Hakeem Surwar Shah's place, burnt. I went there, placed them on carts and getting wood, had them consumed. In all there were 16 bodies.

Witness No. 23, *Lutchmun*, Son of *Gunga*, an Inhabitant of Tonk, aged 20 Years, a Servant in *Hakeem Surwar Shah's* employ.

Q. What do you know respecting the death of Thakoor Rewut Singh?—*A.* I have been occasionally to the Lawa thakoor's residence, but on the day when this business occurred I was away at the village of Eusufpooa on some work connected with my fields. The following day, when I heard of it, I came to Tonk. This is all I know.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent.

PURPORT of a Kyfeeut from Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Address of the Vakeel of Tonk; dated 21 August 1867.

WITH reference to the inquiry going on into the late fracas at Tonk, begs to observe that, although the Nawab, on being asked by Political Agent, verbally informs him he has no more witnesses to produce, it is desirable, for record with the proceedings, to learn this in writing; requests, therefore, the vakeel will produce any further evidence, if forthcoming; otherwise furnish a reply.

PURPORT of a Kyfeeut from Vakeel of Tonk to Address of Political Agent; dated 21 August 1867.

IN reply to kyfeeut of to-day's date, observes that all the witnesses and evidence in the late affray at Tonk have been produced before Political Agent at Tonk; that should any others be forthcoming, they will be sent to Deolee without delay; but if Political Agent considers the presence of any other person necessary, he will be at once sent for on intimation being given.

Enclosure No. 5.

(D.)

DEPOSITION of Native Doctor *Bheeky Singh* taken by the Political Agent of Harowtee at Camp Tonk, on the 17th August 1867.

Q.. Let me know all you have heard in respect of the occurrence of the 1st instant.—*A.* I heard that at about 8 or half-past 8 o'clock in the evening a messenger was sent to the thakoor by Hakeem Surwar Shah, begging that he would come and see him in respect of some differences, which the Nawab was anxious to adjust amicably. The thakoor, it is said, suggested that Rewut Singh should go, as he had authority to act in all matters. Other messages were sent inviting Dheerut Singh, but it ended in the uncle setting forth with Beejey Singh, his nephew, two kamdars, and others, in all some 16 men. They were admitted, and the four big men of the party asked to go inside, which they did, and were then attacked and massacred; those outside being simultaneously cut down or shot. At the same time Dheerut Singh's quarters were surrounded and himself made a prisoner. He was asked, it is said, to come outside, but declined. The same night a small force (300 Wullayatees) were dispatched to Lawa, and the following day the Abdee Regiment was ordered there with elephants and ladders. They remained there three days fighting, and then returned. The corpses were said to have been treated with great indignity.

Do you know anything about Hakeem Surwar Shah having been sick at the time of the occurrence?—No; all I know is, that the evening before your expected arrival two persons sent for me, one the Kotwal, Nusseer's brother; the other Moulvee Abdool Malik. I, for certain reasons, declined to go, when next morning Hafiz Ahmed Hussein came to me and said that he would send me a perwannah, desiring me to intimate that I had, prior to the disturbance, treated Surwar Shah professionally, and was doing so now. I have these documents, and can produce them; they are dated prior to, though received after, the affair of the 1st instant. On the day of your arrival Hafiz Ahmed asked me if I had made any report to you of the event. I said, no. He then begged me to tell you I had seen the dead bodies. I declined. He then said you can say that the disturbance occurred outside. I said, No! I would not falsely state anything. He then said, very well; you can at all events tell the Sahib you happened to be out walking, and seeing the blood and flies in the street, you ran back. To this I tacitly consented.

Have you ever seen Hakeem Surwar Shah before you came to Tonk two years ago?—Never.

Have

Have you seen the wounded Wullayatees; and if so, how many are there?—The night before your advent they were sent to me. There were nine brought; five are severely wounded; four are merely scratched.

What became of the dead?—The Hindoos, I was told, were burnt by Bungays the following morning. The 16 Lawa people were said to be numbered, as follows:—

Thakoor Rewut Singh; his nephew, Beejey Singh.	One Naik.
Two Kamdars.	Four Meena sepoys.
One Chobdar.	Six others.

One syce escaped, and warned the Lawa people at Lawa of what had happened at Tonk.

Do you believe what you have heard to be the general impression of the affair?—Every one believes it so, but, for fear of consequences, no one will say so.

Did anything occur during the day of the occurrence to indicate what was going to happen?—My servants told me there were rumours in respect of Lawa, and it was pretty generally known that troops had been ordered to hold themselves in readiness to proceed somewhere. I had heard also that a dresser had been ordered to be at the hakeem's house by a certain hour that night.

On the 18th August Bheeky Singh stated that a man had been sent to him that day by the Nawab desiring him to state in writing that he had treated Surwar Shah for 20 days prior to the occurrence of the 1st instant. He declined to do so.

How many were killed on the Nawab's side, as far as you have been able to learn?—I believe only one; a second was spoken of.

On the 20th August the Native doctor and his compounder came to see me; the former brought three perwannahs received from the Raj requesting him to attend the hakeem. The first was received six days after the event, the other two on the day of my arrival, though they are all dated prior to the disturbance.

Bundeah Ally, Compounder, Tonk Dispensary.

Q. WHAT do you know as regards the occurrence of the 1st instant?—*A.* (Witness deposes precisely as the Native doctor), adding that his house is near the place of the tragedy, and he saw the hurry scurry in the street, and heard repeated firing. He also saw five elephants laden with ladders, &c. proceeding to Lawa. The dead bodies were hurried away without any reference to the Native doctor. The general impression is that it was a piece of foul treachery, but it would be ruination for anyone to speak out. He asserts that one man only was killed on the Tonk side.

On the 20th instant the compounder states that the previous day Hakeem Surwar Shah had sent for him, and begged him to get a rooka from the Native doctor to the effect that he had been treating him for some time prior to the disturbance.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent.

Enclosure No. 6.

(E.)

DEPOSITION of *Gokul Chund*, Dawk Baboo, taken by Political Agent at Tonk.

Q. WHAT do you happen to know in respect of the occurrence of the 1st instant?—*A.* All I know is from hearsay. I was told that Thakoor Rewut Singh and his party had gone to the hakeem's house by visitation, and had been killed inside; that a fight had taken place and much bloodshed.

Was this the report generally rife in the bazaar?—It was.

Are you not aware that the Tonk version of the story is to the effect that the disturbance took place outside in consequence of the thakoor desiring to make a forcible entry into the hakeem's house?—Yes; I know that such is now promulgated, but it was at first freely spoken of as treachery on the part of Tonk towards Lawa.

Did you not report what occurred to your departmental superior?—Yes; fearing lest the excitement caused might delay the mails, I wrote to the Inspecting Postmaster of my division, reporting that the disturbance had taken place.

Have you a copy of that communication?—No; I am not quite sure what I wrote exactly, but you can get a copy of my petition by writing for it.

The petition in original was sent for and received, and its purport is given in full in paragraph 68 of the Report.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent.

DEPOSITION of *Ram Suroop*, Chobdar in the Harowtee Agency, taken by the Political Agent.

Q. After your deputation to Tonk, what did you hear respecting the affair at the Thuggee office? Relate what you told Captain Roberts?—*A.* When Captain Roberts came here and questioned me, I said that the sentries placed around the thakoor's had been removed, and that a guard of 10 or 12 men now only remained at the entrance. I told the sahib what I knew about the place of occurrence, and how that the Tonk people had stated the affair occurred outside, but that I had heard four of the thakoor's people had been killed inside and the rest outside. The four above alluded to were said to have been killed in an inner apartment. I heard that six or seven men had been killed on either side, but afterwards it was said that Lawa had lost more. I know not who began the affray.

Can you state from whom you heard these particulars?—I heard them from the people of the place, but no one will come here and say so..

Witness afterwards asked—

Did you, on your arrival at Tonk, visit the scene of the tragedy?—I did.

Did you observe any marks on the walls which would indicate there had been fighting?—I did not.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent.

DEPOSITION of *Mendhi Ally*, Naib Moonshee of the Rajpootana Agency, on deputation with Captain *Roberts*, Assistant Agent, Governor General, at Jeypore, dated the 20th August 1867.

Whilst at Tonk for a few days during Captain Roberts's visit to Deolee, I put up with Moulvee Irshad Hussein. On the evening of the 1st August we dined with Sahibzadah Ahmedyar Khan; after dinner we, *i. e.*, Irshad Hussein, Wuzeeroola Khan, and myself, returned to Irshad Hussein's in a "tanga." This was about 10 o'clock at night. My two companions began conversing; on my asking the topic of their conversation, Irshad Hussein replied, it is currently reported that troops are on their way to Lawa. I remarked, the thakoor is himself here; why should troops be sent there? They replied, they did not know why, and the subject dropped. The next morning (the 2nd instant) I left Tonk, on my return to Jeypore, at a little before dawn. After I had crossed the Bunnass, and had arrived at Dotana, a village on the Tonk-Jeypore frontier, some seven miles from the Bunnass, I sat down by the side of the Dotana tulao, and recited the morning prayer. Whilst sitting here, the potail and some of the villagers came up and began conversing with me. I said to them," "whilst sitting here, I have heard two or three reports like that of a cannon;" they replied, "those guns are being fired at Lawa." At the various villages I passed between the Bunnass and Dotana, the villagers were talking that 300 or 400 Wullayatees had been sent to Lawa.

The above was taken by Captain Roberts, Assistant Agent, Governor General, and forwarded to me. It is a pity the Moonshee was not asked what rumour he had heard at Tonk regarding the tragedy.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce*, Political Agent.

Enclosure, No. 7.

See SKETCH opposite.

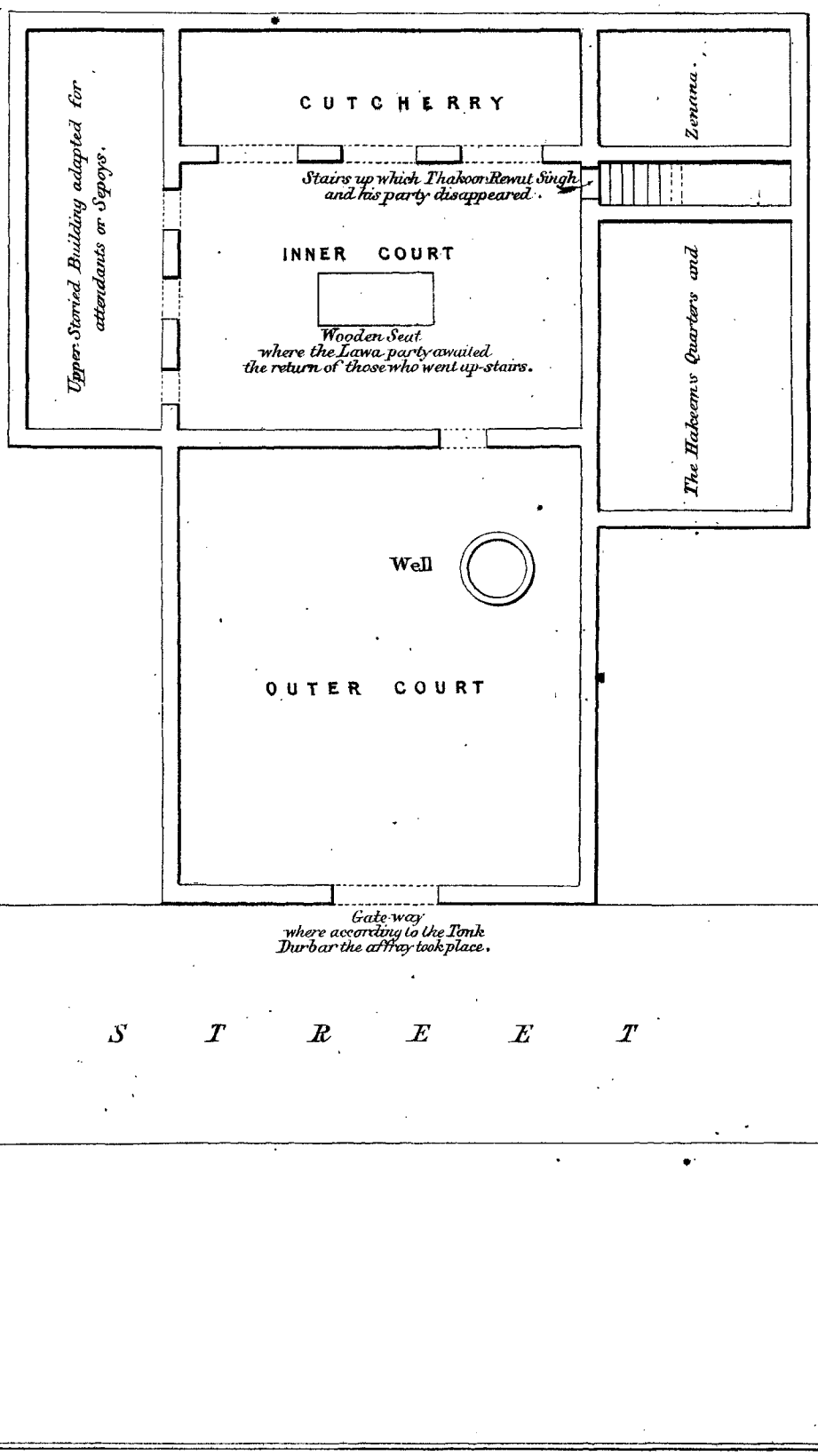
I duly visited the scene of this tragedy, an outline sketch of which is given in the opposite page. It might be described as a large oblong inclosure, containing an inner inclosure; the street running at right angle with the direction of entrance. I regret I did not take a measurement of the place, but from memory I should be inclined to put down the length of the double-inclosure at about 80 yards, and its breadth, perhaps, 40 yards.

There is a second entrance to the inner inclosure from the front now guarded by a door, which Megh Singh asserts was not there on the eventful night.

This inner yard has buildings on three sides of it. Opposite the entrance is the cutcherry wherein the morning interview was said to have taken place. On the left some houses with a low upper story, which might be utilised for attendants or sepoys, and on the right a larger and more lofty range of buildings, which are the hakeem's quarters and zenana; on the right front corner, looking from the gateway to the cutcherry, is a flight of stone stairs, up which Rewut Singh, Beejey Singh, Moona Lall, and Siree Lall ascended and disappeared, whilst a wooden seat in the centre of the inner inclosure was the seat upon which they sat and

ENCLOSURE No. 7.

(F.).


Upper Storied Building adapted for attendants or Sepoys.
CUTCHERRY
Zenana.
Stairs up which Thakoor Rewut Singh and his party disappeared.
INNER COURT
Wooden Seat where the Lawa party awaited the return of those who went up-stairs.
The Hakeem's Quarters and
Well
OUTER COURT
Gate-way where according to the Tonk Durbar the affray took place.
STREET

and waited till called, and where the followers remained when they went inside; the stairs and this seat being the places where Lawa declares they were attacked.

I could discover no marks of conflict on the walls either in the inner inclosure or the outer; but ample time had been given to remove or renovate all such traces.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce,*
Political Agent.

Enclosure No. 8.

From Captain Bruce, Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Governor General's Agent, Rajpootana, Confidential; No. 98-17 P., dated Deolee, 31st August 1867.

IN continuation of my letter, No. 97-16 P., dated 26th instant, on the recent Tonk-Lawa affray, I have the honour to submit further enclosures as noted on the margin.

No. 1, Enclosure G.—Purport of petition from Naib Moonshee, Harowtee Agency.
No. 2, Enclosure H.—Purport of khureeta from Political Agent, to Nawab of Tonk, and reply on the subject of withdrawing troops from Goordhunpoora.
No. 3, Enclosure I.—Purport of kyfeeut from Vakeel of Tonk, and reply on subject of Suiwur Shah's suspension from office.

Enclosure No. 9.

(G.)

PURPORT of Petition from *Jowhee Lall,* Naib Moonshee, Harowtee Agency, to Political Agent; dated 7th August 1867.

AGREEABLY to your honour's orders I arrived at Lawa to-day. I at once inquired about the Tonk troops. It appears that 800 sepoys and 25 juzails had arrived from Tonk and remained for two days engaged with the Lawa people in conflict. Although the Lawa people were numerically inferior, yet from having guns they were enabled to hold their own; four or five men were killed on their side, and two or three wounded by gun-shot. On the Tonk side I don't know exactly how many casualties occurred. On the morning of the 5th instant the Tonk force left this. There are only now some 20 or 30 Wullayatees in the Goordhunpoora fort.

Yesterday these Wullayatees seized some of the Lawa cattle, upon seeing which the Lawa people went out armed to fight, and shots were exchanged; one of the Tonk sepoys was severely wounded and two of the Lawa men badly hurt.

The Lawa people have on all sides of the fort closed and built up the entrances; people going in and out have to do so by means of ladders.

A jemadar (generally called Naib Resaldar) is the officer in charge of the Tonk sepoys at the Goordhunpoora fort, but just now he is out shooting in the Tonk district; when he returns I will, agreeably to your honour's instructions, warn him not to allow any disturbance to occur with the Lawa people. A man has arrived here to-day from Tonk, and we learn from him that the Lawa thakoor is in safety.

If anything occurs, it shall be communicated.

Enclosure No. 10.

(H.)

PURPORT of a Khureeta from the Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Address of the Nawab of Tonk; dated the 23rd August 1867.

ALTHOUGH I have already verbally pointed out to your Highness the necessity of withdrawing the troops stationed at Goordhunpoora in the immediate vicinity of Lawa, their presence there being calculated to create disturbance, I think it desirable the same should be conveyed in writing also, and therefore address your Highness to beg that all, save a small guard necessary for the protection of the place, may be withdrawn.

PURPORT of Nawab's Reply to the above; dated the 26th idem.

IN reply to your khureeta of the 23rd instant, on the subject of the withdrawal of the troops stationed at Goordhunpoora, I beg to inform you that the 100 men who had from the first been placed there for its protection have been recalled, and only some 12 men now remain to take care of the fort, and six men to look after the village of Goordhunpoora.

Beyond these there are no horse or foot there.

Enclosure No. 11.

(I.)

PURPORT of a Kyfeeut from the Vakeel of Tonk to the Address of the Political Agent, Harowtee; dated the 27th August 1867.

ADVERTING to the late affray at Tonk between an officer of the Thuggee and Dacoitee department, some Tonk soldiers, and the followers of the Thakoor of Lawa, wherein people on both sides were killed and wounded, and into which a strict and searching inquiry and investigation has been instituted both by his Highness the Nawab and by Political Agent, and during which nothing, beyond what was stated in the Durbar's khureeta* addressed at the time of the occurrence transpired to prove connivance on the part of Hakeem Surwar Shah Khan, intimates that, in consequence of the fracas having taken place at the hakeem's door, and he being the head officer of the Tonk Thuggee and Dacoitee, which may, perhaps, prevent persons coming forward as witnesses against him, his Highness has considered it necessary, as a precautionary measure, to suspend him from his position, and place him under surveillance pending result of inquiry now under investigation.

*N.B.—Purport also sent to Agent, Governor General.

PURPORT of Political Agent's Reply to the above.

IN reply to his kyfeeut of 27th August, intimating that his Highness had, for reasons stated, suspended Hakeem Surwar Shah from his appointment, and put him under surveillance pending result of the inquiry into the affray which took place, Political Agent is glad that his Highness, even at this late hour, should have deemed it advisable to take some action in a matter so gravely suspicious in its nature; but Political Agent is sorry that the result of the Nawab's inquiry into the affair should have left an impression on his Highness's mind with which Political Agent is unable to concur.

From Captain Bruce, Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, Confidential, No. 158 E; dated Deolee, 14th September 1867.

IN obedience to the instructions of the Governor General's Agent for Rajpootana, I have the honour to submit, for the consideration of his Excellency the Viceroy, copy of a further Report, with enclosures, as noted on the margin, on the recent disturbance at the Tonk capital.

No. 103-19 P., dated 13 September 1867.
Enclosure BI., Lawa evidence.
Enclosure CI., Tonk evidence.

From the Political Agent, Harowtee, to the Governor General's Agent, Rajpootana, Confidential, No. 103-19 P.; dated the 13th September 1867.

IN continuation of previous correspondence, I have the honour to submit further papers connected with my investigation into the circumstances attendant upon the recent death of Thakoor Rewut Singh at the Tonk capital.

2. Although convinced of the futility of endeavouring to elicit the real facts of this painful case by anything like judicial proof, the receipt of your telegram of the 3rd instant, in respect of the discrepancy apparent in the evidence as to the number of Hindoo casualties, induced me to determine that the most satisfactory course would be to personally examine at their homes, if possible, the heirs of the deceased; whilst I knew a further inquiry might afford me an opportunity to amplify the evidence of the more important witnesses, and thus enable

enable me to carry out, as far as practicable, the letter of the instructions which, you are aware, reached me after my return on the last occasion. I accordingly proceeded to Tonk with the intention of visiting Lawa, and returned to Deolee last evening.

3. I would take this occasion to observe that the desirability of acquiring satisfactory testimony as regards the casualties did not escape me on my first visit, but it would have been necessary to send for many witnesses; and, as my own duties rendered a lengthened absence inconvenient, I directed the presence of these persons at Deolee.

4. In my letter, No. 97-16P., dated 26th ultimo, the Lawa evidence formed Enclosure B. I now submit it as B.1.; and in like manner forward that of Tonk, marked C.1.

5. I have little to add to my previous remarks. Nothing of importance has transpired of which I was not aware before, but many questions are now on record which, though asked, were inadvertently left out in the written proceedings already submitted. I here more especially allude to the inability (ascertained, but not noted) of any of the Lawa witnesses, save Pope Singh and Beejey Lall, to recognise Luchmunna, Chupprassee, as also some questions put to Megh Singh.

6. I did not anticipate any new light being thrown on the affair by further inquiry, for I knew Lawa was helpless, and Tonk in a position to prove anything, as far as witnesses were concerned; and I felt that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, I could not legitimately pursue any course calculated to elicit the real truth.

7. Of the six Hindoos said to have been killed on the Nawab's side, the representatives of four have been produced, and a reasonable excuse is offered for the non-appearance of the other two (*vide* kyfeeut from the vakeel, Enclosure C.1.).
Lawa urges 15 casualties, and they are all accounted for.

8. Were it possible, then, to believe both sides, the bodies of 21 Hindoos should have been consumed; but we have distinct evidence of Tonk witnesses that there were but 16 Hindoo corpses, and that number is confirmed by the burners of the dead (*vide* Papers C.1.) and it remains to decide which story is most likely to be true.

9. I must frankly confess I believe Lawa; and if my credulity in this matter does injustice to Tonk, I can only urge that the nature of their defence throughout, and the manner in which it has been supported, are calculated to induce scepticism as to their veracity.

10. This view, however, would only account for 15 out of the 16 bodies, and the only solution which occurs to me for this difficulty is to credit the idea that Tonk lost one Hindoo as well as one Mahomedan killed, which would corroborate the rumour mentioned by the native doctor, who heard of a second casualty on their side (*vide* Enclosure D. to letter No. 97-16 P.).

11. If testimony alone can establish a case, the Tonk evidence might be considered complete. In addition to that already recorded, they produce the heirs of their dead, and prove an *alibi* for the man who is said to have been sent to invite the Lawa party; but there is, notwithstanding, a savour of truth on the one side conspicuously absent on the other, which more than counter-balances the weight of evidence.

12. In paragraph 40 of my letter No. 97-16P. I observed there was little doubt the Lawa party carried swords only, from the simple fact that all the Tonk wounded were suffering from sword cuts. In further support of this I would solicit attention to the depositions of the heirs of the deceased (Papers C.1.), who, one and all, describe the sword as the cause of death, and there is a singular fidelity in their evidence as to the nature of the wounds!

13. The depositions recorded in this inquiry have been taken publicly. Both sides had opportunity to cross-examine. The Tonk Vakeel availed himself of this; the Lawa Vakeel made a favour of being excused asking questions; he was no lawyer he said, and feared damaging his own cause.

14. I duly visited Lawa, and have the honour to enclose two sketches of the fort and village, as also a rough ground plan of a small gurree erected by Tonk about a mile to the eastward.
For all of these I am indebted to the kindness of Assistant Surgeon De Fabeck, in charge of this agency, who accompanied me.
The village of Lawa consists of some five or six hundred mud huts in bad repair; and the general aspect of the place is one of extreme impoverishment. All the entrances were barricaded, and I was taken in by means of a ladder.

15. Whatever may be the result of this unfortunate affair, years must elapse ere the confidence of Lawa towards Tonk can be restored, and a bitter blood feud is likely to exist for a long time to come. In this particular instance it does not necessarily follow that the existence of such a feeling should be cause for most anxiety to, apparently, the weaker of the two; for without entering upon the general Tonk-Lawa question, it is difficult entirely to separate cause and effect, and if general report is to be believed, Lawa has hitherto been liberally supported from without.

16. In obedience to your telegraphic instructions, a copy of this Report and its enclosures will be forwarded direct to the Government of India.

Enclosure No. 2.

(B.I.)

DEPOSITIONS recorded by Political Agent, Harowtee, at Camp Lawa, on the 10th September 1867.

Megh Singh, Re-examined. (For previous Examination, *vide* Enclosure B.)

Question by Tonk Vakeel.]—As you belong to Sirus, in Jeypore, how is it you went to Tonk with the Lawa thakoor?—*A.* The thakoor took me.

Did any servant of the hakeem's come to call Rewut Singh to his house?—Not in my presence.

When you went to the hakeem's, how many attendants waited outside?—Four out of 15 went upstairs: the rest waited below.

Of those who waited below, did any escape save yourself?—I do not know.

You said that 15 men had been killed; if you don't know whether any escaped, how can you say so?—I did not say so; all I said was that I did not know.

When you ran away had any men been killed?—Fighting was going on when I ran away.

Question by Political Agent.] What arms had you on the occasion?—A sword.

What arms had the others of your party?—Two had guns belonging to the thakoor; the others carried swords.

You have stated that owing to the darkness you could not recognise the man who wounded you; could you point out any one who was present during the affray?—No.

When the thakoor went upstairs and you waited below, did you at that time observe many Tonk sepoys about?—At that time no one was about.

Could you recognise the Hindustani sepoy who said it was an inappropriate time for a visit?—No.

Do you know anything regarding the first interview Thakoor Rewut Singh had with the hakeem?—No.

When you were made a prisoner, where did they take you?—To the Kotwalley, where I was kept till the Political Agent arrived.

Were irons put upon your leg?—No.

Do you know the names of the attendants who accompanied Rewut Singh to the hakeem's that night?—I only know four by name.

What are those four names?—Moona Lall, Lalljee, Bejey Singh, Rewut Singh.

Dhan Singh, Re-examined. (For previous Examination, *vide* Enclosure B.)

Question by Tonk Vakeel.] COULD you recognise the man you say came to call Rewut Singh to the hakeem's?—*A.* No.

You have already said a Chupprassee, or hurkara came; did you see him?—No.

How do you know he was a servant of the hakeem's?—He came and said the hakeem has sent for you.

Can you prove this man was a servant of the hakeem's?—He mentioned the hakeem's name, that's how it is known. I could not prove it in any other way.

Did you lose any relatives in the affray?—Yes, I lost a relative in Buldeo Singh.

You say that 15 men accompanied Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh to the hakeem's; can you give their names?—Moona Lall (Kamdar), aged 50; Lalljee Tewaree (Vakeel), aged 55; Buldeo Singh (Narooqua), aged 25; Gobind Singh (Bhatore), aged 50; Golab Singh (Narooqua), aged 45; Sheonath (Chobdar), aged 30; Kishen Lall (Barait), aged 23; Ram Dhun (Barait), aged 25; Jeewun (Chokrail), aged 40; Gunesha (Mushalchee), aged 25; Rama (Chakur), aged 30; Gobinda (Chakur), aged 35. I cannot remember the names of the others just now.

Did none of these escape?—Two escaped, Megh Singh and Byree Lal.

Do you know what arms the party carried?—Swords and shields.

You have recorded that two days before this event Thakoor Rewut Singh visited the hakeem's and returned pleased; how do you know he was pleased?—I asked Rewut Singh about the interview, and he told me the hakeem had inspired confidence in him.

Rewut Singh, Barait, of Lawa, Re-examined. (For previous Examination, *vide* Enclosure B.)

Question by Tonk Vakeel.] COULD you recognise the Chupprassee you say came to call Rewut Singh?—*A.* No, it was night time, and I had never seen him before.

When Rewut Singh went to the hakeem's, how many accompanied him?—Sixteen.

How

How many of these returned thence?—One, Megh Singh.

Dhan Singh mentions two men who escaped; how do you account for this?—I only have seen one, and therefore can only speak accordingly.

Did any feeling of animosity exist between Rawut Singh and the hakeem prior to this event?—No, they were on very friendly terms.

Did any difference occur on the occasion of this visit to Tonk?—I was not present at the first interview, so cannot say.

Do you know whether any difference occurred prior to blows being struck either with the hakeem or any of his sepoys?—I do not know; I knew nothing of the affair until I heard the firing.

Question by Political Agent.] Do you know the names of the persons who accompanied Rewut Singh that evening?—Some I remember; some I do not.

Mention the names and ages of those you can remember.

Rewut Singh, aged 45; Beejey Singh, 22; Moona Lall (Kamdar), 45; Lalljee Tewaree (Kamdar), 45; Golab Singh (Narooqua), 45; Gobind Singh (Rhatore), 21; Buldeo Singh (Narooqua), 26; Sheonath (Chobdar), 50; Rama (Khidmutgar), 22; Ram Dhun (Barait), 26; Kishen Lall (Barait), 26; a Naie (don't recollect), 27; Jeewun (Meena), 50; Ummur-bajun (Samee), 28. I cannot remember any more.

Did any escape?—Megh Singh escaped with life.

What arms did the party carry?—Two carried guns, Gobind Singh and perhaps Buldeo Singh, or some other. The rest had swords.

You have recorded that at the first interview with the hakeem, Rewut Singh returned pleased; how do you know this?—He said nothing to the contrary on his return; hence I inferred he was pleased.

Sheonath, of Lawa, Re-examined. (Previous Examination recorded in Enclosure B.)

Q. Do you know the names of the persons who accompanied Rewut Singh that evening?—Yes.

Mention their names?—Rewut Singh, Beejey Singh, Moona Lall, Lalljee, Gobindjee, Buldeojee, Hunwuntjee, Golabjee, Ummur-bajun (Samee), Jeewun, Ram Dhun, Kishen Lall, Gunesha, Meghjee, who escaped. I cannot remember any more just now.

What arms did these men carry?—There were two guns belonging to the sirdars; I do not know about the rest.

Question by Tonk Vakeel.] Do you know whether any sepoys on the hakeem's side were killed?—I do not.

When did you learn who had been killed on the thakoor's side?—On the third day; the day of the occurrence we only heard the firing.

Was there any enmity between the hakeem and Rewut Singh?—No; whenever the thakoor visited the hakeem, the latter was friendly.

If there was no ill feeling, what made you, on hearing the firing, close the doors, and suspect that something had happened at the hakeem's?—Others ran into the house, and I did the same.

When the thakoor left for the hakeem's, did he, or any one else, tell you to close the doors if you heard firing?—No.

Did any of those who shut themselves in with you know anything about this?—I cannot say what they knew; I don't know their names even.

Ghassi, of Lawa, Re-examined.

Question by Tonk Vakeel.] How many men accompanied Rewut Singh to the hakeem's house?—Fifteen.

Do you know how the disturbance took place at the hakeem's?—No.

Did you hear afterwards?—No.

How many of those who accompanied Rewut Singh returned?—Sixteen went; 15 were killed and one escaped.

Did you run away directly the affair occurred?—Directly.

You say a Chupprassee came from the hakeem's to call Rewut Singh; could you recognise the man?—No.

Do you know the names and ages of those who accompanied Rewut Singh?—I know some: Rewut Singh, aged 45; Beejey Singh, 23; Lalljee, 50; Moona Lall, 50; Gooljee, 50; Sheonath, 45; Ram Dhun, 30; Kishen Lall, 25; Gunesha, 20; Hunwunt Singh, 22; Ram Singh, 22; Jeewun, 50; Gobind Singh, 22; Buldeo Singh, 22; I can remember no more.

Did any escape?—One escaped; I do not know his name.

Do you know what arms these men carried?—I saw two carrying guns; the rest had swords.

Did you hear of any of the hakeem's side being killed?—No.

Buldeo, son of *Kulloo,* Khuteek, inhabitant of Lawa, aged 25 years, in the service of the Thakoor; was the late Thakoor Rewut Singh's syce.

Q. Did you go to Tonk with Thakoor Rewut Singh?—Yes.

What do you know regarding the tragedy which took place at Hakeem Surwar Shah's place?—About 8 p.m. one of the hakeem's Chuprassees came to call them, and Thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh, with others (in all 15) went with him.

Did you accompany the party?—No; I don't know what occurred there.

Could you recognise the Chuprassee who came to fetch them?—No.

Do you know who went with Rewut Singh on that occasion?—I could not give a list.

What did you do that night after the occurrence of this affair?—After it had happened a carriage drove up to where the thakoor was residing, and in it was seated a stout person. I was at that time with the horses a few paces off. The man in the carriage said if the thakoor in this house should come out, cut off his head, and bring it to me, and kill the rest. After this a musket was fired close to where the horses were tied, and they began to loosen the animals, a sepoy at the same time firing the grass. When I saw this I fled, and two sepoys followed me for 100 yards. They did not catch me. I know no more. I ran to Lawa.

Did any others return with you?—No.

Did you come by the direct road?—No, I made a circuit of four miles, and at the village of Jeerana came across the Tonk troops. On seeing them I disappeared into the jungles, and, getting ahead of them, reached Lawa before they did. The whole place was asleep on my arrival, save Ram Sookh, who was on watch on the fort. I went to Ram Singh and Oodey Singh, and told them about the treachery which had been enacted towards Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh, how they had been killed, and the thakoor's house surrounded. On hearing this they became alert, and just then the troops arrived and bullets began to fly. This is all I know.

Umbah Lall, son of *Lalljee,* Brahmin, of Lawa, aged 30 years, a cultivator, in the service of the Thakoor.

Q. Was any relative of yours killed in the affray which occurred at Tonk?—*A.* Yes, my father.

Do you know how he was killed?—No, I was at Lawa; my father accompanied the thakoor, and was killed.

What was your father's age and general appearance?—Fifty years of age, dark complexion, and otherwise like me.

Boor Singh, son of *Goomah Singh,* Rajpoot (Rahtore), of Lawa, aged 70 years, a cultivator.

Q. Did you lose any relatives in the recent affray at Tonk?—*A.* My son Hunwunt Singh was killed.

Do you know how your son lost his life?—I was not present; I heard of the event when the thakoor returned from Tonk.

What was your son's age and general appearance?—He was 26 years old, and just beginning to get hair on his face.

Shewloll, son of *Jamanjee,* Barait, of Lawa, aged 30 years, a poet.

Q. Was any relative of yours killed at Tonk in the recent affray?—*A.* My younger brother was killed.

Do you know how?—No, I remained here; I can only speak of the force which came here.

What was your brother's age and personal appearance?—He was 28 years old, fair, black beard, short, and rather stout.

Are you his nearest of kin?—Yes, I and our mother.

Geeana, son of *Bhopal,* a half-caste Rajpoot, inhabitant of Lawa, aged 60, a Chobdar in the Thakoor's employ.

Q. Did you lose any relative in the affray which took place at Hakeem Surwar Shah's?—*A.* My brother Sheonath was killed.

Do you know how?—He went with the sirdars; I don't know how he met his death. I know that we were surrounded by troops on all sides at Lawa.

What was Sheonath's age and personal appearance?—Fifty-nine years old, grey beard, middle height; no distinctive marks on face.

Gunesha, son of *Jeewun,* Meena, inhabitant of Lawa, aged 25 years, a cultivator.

Q. DID you lose any relative in the affray?—*A.* My father was killed.
Do you know how?—He was killed with the sidars.
What was his age and appearance?—Fifty years old, grey beard, tall, and slight.
Are you his nearest of kin?—I am.

Gaoojur, Nund, son of *Shairjee,* Barait, of Lawa, aged 28 years, a poet.

Q. DID you lose any relative in the Tonk affray?—*A.* My elder brother, Ram Dhun, was killed.
How?—I cannot say; I was not there.
What was his age and personal appearance?—Thirty-two years old, black beard, middle height, and thin.
Are you his nearest of kin?—Yes, I and his little children.

Oodah, son of *Moonee Lall,* a Bunyah of Lawa, aged 13 years, in the service of the Thakoor.

Q. WERE any of your relatives killed in the affray which occurred at the hakeem's place?—*A.* My father was killed.
Do you know how he lost his life?—The sirdars of this place were killed, and my father with them. A force also came to Lawa.
What was your father's age and personal appearance?—Forty-five years old, somewhat grey, tall, and slight.
Are you his heir?—I am.

Busunteedass, adopted son of *Ummur-bajun,* Nagur, of Chandsee, in Jeypore, aged 20 years, a money-lender.

Q. DID you lose any relative in the Tonk affray?—*A.* My adopted father, Ummur-bajun, was killed.
Do you know how?—The thakoor sent for him and took him to Tonk; I don't know how he was killed. When the thakoor returned I heard of it.
What was your father's age and appearance?—Forty-five years old, tall, and black beard.
Are you his heir?—Yes.

Buldeo, son of *Rooroo,* Naie, of Lawa, aged 30 years, a barber.

Q. DID you lose any relative in the Tonk affray?—*A.* Yes, my younger brother, Gunesha, was killed.
Do you know how?—No; he accompanied the thakoor to Tonk.
What was his age and appearance?—Twenty-five years old, medium complexion, black beard, and middle height.

Deojee, son of *Abbi Singh* (Narooqua), of Lawa, aged 40 years, cultivator.

Q. DID you lose any relatives in the recent Tonk affray?—*A.* My younger brother, Buldeo Singh, was killed.
Do you know how?—No; I only know he was killed there, and a force came to kill us here.
What was your brother's age and personal appearance?—Thirty years old, tall, medium complexion, and black beard.
Are you his nearest of kin?—Yes.

Shewloll, son of *Roopa,* a half-caste, of Lawa, aged 55 years, in the Thakoor's service.

Q. DID you lose any relatives in the recent Tonk affray?—*A.* My nephew, Rama, was killed.
Do you know how?—I don't; he was with the sirdars, and I remained here.
What was his age and appearance like?—Twenty-three years old, hair on his face coming, middle height.
Are you his nearest of kin?—His mother and wife are his nearest of kin.

Murjad Singh, son of *Doorjun Sal*, of Ajmeeree, in Jeypore, a Rajpoot (Narooqua), aged 40 years, a Zemindar.

Q. DID you lose any relatives in the recent Tonk affray?—*A.* My elder brother, Golab Singh, was killed with Rewut Singh.

How was he killed?—I was not there; I heard the Nawab had treacherously killed them.

What was his age and personal appearance?—Forty-five years old, tall, and grey beard.

Are you Golab Singh's nearest of kin?—I am.

Thakoor Sham Singh, of Lawa, uncle to the Thakoor of that place, and brother of the late *Rewut Singh*.

Q. WHO is Gobind Singh's nearest of kin?—*A.* His mother; she is unable, being behind the purdah, to come before you.

Where is Golab Singh's nearest of kin?—His son is away purchasing some buffaloes. States that Rewut Singh's son is Rewut Singh's heir, and Dheerut Singh, thakoor of Lawa, is nearest of kin to his late brother, Beejey Singh.

Was there any man present in the Tonk affray called Biree Lall who escaped!—No, not when the occurrence took place. When the horses were being seized he was near the animals, and ran away when he was wounded with a bullet in the thigh.

Did he go with Rewut Singh to the hakeem's?—No.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce*,
Political Agent.

Enclosure No. 3.

(C.I.)

DEPOSITION recorded by Political Agent, Harowtee, at Camp Tonk, on 8th September 1867 and following days.

Faiz Mahomed, head of the Kotwals at Tonk, Re-examined. (For previous Examination, *vide* Enclosure C.)

Q. You have stated that the morning after the tragedy you, agreeably to orders, had the bodies burnt; by whose orders did you do so?—*A.* Agreeably to the Nawab's orders.

Who buried the so-called Sahibzadah Golab Khan?—His family.

What is the custom here with regard to burying or burning corpses when any sepoy or any other servant of the State dies?—Those who have heirs are made over to them for disposal; those who have not are disposed of by the State.

Had the six Hindoos who were killed no heirs?—They had.

Notwithstanding they had heirs present, why were their bodies not made over to them?—I received orders to have them burnt, not to make them over to the heirs.

How was it, then, that Golab Khan's body was made over to his friends; was there any order to that effect?—Golab Khan was a man of position; that's why his body was given over to his friends.

Is it or is it not considered a slur in India for a family, though present, to allow others to perform the last rites for their relatives?—It is.

You say that Golab Khan's body was made over to his friends because he was a man of position; do you consider thakoors Rewut Singh and Beejey Singh were also personages of respectability?—Yes, I do.

Were the relatives of these persons present at Tonk?—They were present in the Wuzeergunge.

How was it, then, although Golab Khan's body was made over to his friends through respect, that the remains of thakoors Rewut Singh and Reejey Singh were not?—I simply acted up to the orders I received.

You just now said that occasionally when a sepoy loses his life in a quarrel or affray he is buried or burnt by the Kotwallee authorities, not by his friends; what is the cause of this?—As the Nawab issues his orders, so they are obeyed.

Can you think of any previous occurrence when, notwithstanding the presence of the deceased's relatives, the corpses were disposed of without reference to them?—Yes; on one occasion a Pathan murdered Hafiz Abdool Rahman Khan, and the Pathan was also killed. When the durbar heard of it they said they are both criminals; don't give their bodies to their friends, but have them buried.

What was the reason for such an order?—On account of their crime, and as a future warning.

If on the occasion you have alluded to an order of the kind was issued in consequence of the displeasure of the durbar at the occurrence, was it not also on this account that similar orders were on this occasion passed regarding the dead?—I cannot say.

Are you aware whether these men who were killed had done anything to merit displeasure? —I am not.

You have mentioned the names of the six Hindoos killed; did you see their corpses?—I did not.

Had you ever seen these men before this occurrence?—No, never.

When you received orders regarding the dead that night, did you also receive instructions as to the disposal of the wounded?—In the morning orders were issued to send them to their several departments; that night they had their wounds dressed only.

ABSTRACT from a Roll of the Thuggee and Dacoitee Establishment of Tonk, according to *Bukshee Furut-ool-lah*, who is asked to what places the six Hindoos, said to have been Killed on the 1st August 1867, belong:

1. Lucthmun Singh, son of Kaisree Singh, Thakoor, an inhabitant of Tonk.
2. Ram Singh, son of Roopa, Goojur, an inhabitant of Tonk.
3. Shewloll, son of Bhowana, Naik, inhabitant of Nimbhera, in Tonk.
4. Kulloo Ram, son of Kana, Naik, inhabitant of Bara, in Tonk.
5. Bhageerut, son of Nundah, Dhanuk, inhabitant of Oudh.
6. Hurree Ram, son of Duljee, Bhowreea, inhabitant of Bishunpoora, in Tonk.

Bukshee Furut-ool-lah, of Tonk, Re-examined.

Q. ON the 20th August you furnished a list of the sepoys belonging to the Thuggee office; it is the custom when enlisting sepoys to take a descriptive roll of each man?—*A.* It is the custom, and a descriptive roll is here. That of the Hindoos killed is as follows:—

Ram Singh, son of Roopa Singh, Goojur, of Tonk, aged 30 years, complexion, wheat-coloured, broad forehead, open eyebrows, black eyes, prominent nose, black beard and moustaches; a scar from a stone on the left temple.

Kulloo Ram, son of Kana, Naik, of Bara, in Tonk. Description precisely as preceding one, a black mole on back of neck, two moles on left shoulder; aged 25 years.

Shewloll, son of Bhowana, Naik, of Nimbhera, in Tonk, aged 30 years. Personal description same as above; no distinctive marks.

Hurree Singh, son of Duljee, Bhowreea, of Bishunpoora, in Tonk, aged 25 years. Personal description same; distinctive marks, a boil scar on right temple and black mole on left of forehead.

Bhageerut, son of Sheonath, Naik, an inhabitant of Oudh (nothing more definite can be given). Personal description the same, save in the eyes, which had a squint, grey in the beard, &c. Distinctive marks, a dark mole on right of neck and a slight excresence on left of nose; aged 32.

Lutchmun Singh, son of Kaisree Singh, Rajpoot, of Tonk, aged 25. Personal appearance described as that of Shewloll and the others; black moles on right shoulder-blade and left of neck.

PURPORT of Kyfeeut from Tonk Vakeel, received 8th September 1867, to Political Agent, Harowtee.

AGREEABLY to your Honor's request contained in kyfeeut of 3rd instant, I beg to present the heirs of the undermentioned Hindoos killed in the recent affray with the Lawa Thakoor's followers:—

(Then follow names of four witnesses whose depositions are recorded below.).
Bhageerut was a resident of Oudh, and his nearest of kin is not at Tonk.
Shewloll's people live at Nimbhera, and will be presented when they arrive.

Buldeo Singh, son of *Kaisree Singh*, Rajpoot, of Tonk, aged 25 years, in the service of Tonk State.

Q. DID you lose any relative in the recent disturbance at the Thuggee office?—*A.* My brother, Lutchmun Singh, was killed.

How was he killed?—I was away on that day, but heard of the affair at the village of Buggree. I returned to Tonk, as my brother was employed in the Thuggee office; I then heard of his death, and the kotwal was taking the bodies of the killed to be burnt; I accompanied them.

Is it the custom when the relatives of deceased persons are present for the kotwal to perform the last rites?—I said my brother's body was amongst the killed, but he said, never mind who it is; you come along also.

Did you recognise your brother's corpse?—When we arrived at the burning place I did.

How many bodies were there?—Fifteen or 16.

How did your brother get killed?—He was cut across the shoulder and across the body, whereby his entrails protruded. He was sentry on Hakeem Surwar Shah's door. A disturbance took place with the Lawa people. I don't know who killed him.

Can you describe your brother's personal appearance?—His complexion was a medium colour; tall, marked with small-pox; black beard and moustaches, eyes black, prominent nose, and 22 years of age.

Are you his nearest of kin?—Yes, I and our mother are.

Duljee, son of *Bhairoo*, Bhoreea Chohan, of Bishunpoora, in Tonk, aged 36 years, a cultivator.

Q. DID you lose any relative in the recent affray?—*A.* My son Huree was killed. I heard of it two days after the event.

Did you see your son's corpse?—I did not.

What was your son's personal appearance?—He was tall and had no distinctive marks (same description given as that of preceding witness); he was 25 years old.

Ram Singh, son of *Roopa Singh*, Goojur, of Tonk, aged 26 years, in the service of Tonk State.

Q. DID you lose any relative in the recent affray which took place at Tonk?—*A.* My elder brother was killed.

How?—I heard in the morning that a disturbance had taken place, and that my brother had lost his life. My father and I ran to the spot, and saw some 10 or 12 bodies, and by orders of the durbar the corpses were being taken away. They took them all away to be burnt. We accompanied them to the burning place.

Did you see your brother's body?—Yes, when they were taking it away.

What wounds had he received?—A sword cut on the shoulder and one on the body, whereby his entrails were protruding; one also on the calf of the leg.

If you are Ram Singh's representative, why did you not perform the last rites?—The durbar would not allow it; there were 15 or 16 other corpses, and they all went together.

Can you say for certain whether there were 15 or 16?—I did not count them; I say this at a guess.

What was your brother like?—He was tall, stout, and fair, dark eyes, prominent nose, black beard and hair, aged 30.

Deva, son of *Kana*, Naik, of Bara, in Tonk, aged 35 years, a cart-driver.

Q. WERE any of your relatives killed in the recent disturbance?—*A.* Yes, my elder brother, Kulloo Ram.

How?—I heard the following morning that a disturbance had occurred at Hakeem Surwar Shah's residence; as my brother was employed in the Thuggee Department, I ran there and saw his corpse. There were some 15 or 16 other bodies there, I cannot say for certain, as I was too much upset; subsequently the bodies were taken away to be burnt, by order of the durbar; I accompanied them.

What wounds did your brother receive?—A sword cut in the waist, which exposed his entrails, and one on the buttock.

Are you Kulloo Ram's nearest of kin?—I am.

How was it, then, you did not yourself have the last rites performed?—I was not allowed, in opposition to the durbar order. I accompanied the bodies to the burning place.

What was your brother's personal appearauce?—Complexion medium colour, short, beard and moustache coming; no distinctive marks; aged 30 years.

Mohundah, son of *Saiwah,* Brahmin, of Tonk, aged 25 years, a burner of the dead.

Q. DID you burn the bodies of the men who were killed at Hakeem Surwar Shah's house?—*A.* I did. I received the order at daybreak; I went there and took the bodies away on two carts, eight on each cart.

Do you know whose bodies they were?—I cannot say precisely; they were the bodies of rajpoots, goojurs, &c. Two or three relatives of the Tonk dead came and asked for the bodies of their friends, but I told them I could only take them off at the burning place. When we arrived there I did not do so; half were burnt in one heap, and half in another.

Were the castes burnt separately or not?—They were not.

Sheo Narain, son of *Dewah,* Brahmin, of Tonk, a burner of the dead, aged 27 years.

HE is asked the same questions, and answers to the same effect as last witness. Gives number of bodies as 16.

Gunput, son of *Nund Ram,* Brahmin, of Tonk, aged 40 years, a burner of the dead.

HE is asked the same questions, and answers as above. Gives number of bodies at 16.

Luchmunna, Chupprassee, Re-examined. (For previous Examination, *vide* Enclosure C.)

Q. YOU have recorded in your deposition that, on the day of this occurrence, you were at the village of Eusufpoora; can you substantiate this?—*A.* The zemindars of the village know it.

Can you produce them?—They are present.

Baz Khan, son of *Chand Khan,* Pathan, late an inhabitant of Kerowlee, now of Eusufpoora, in Tonk, Patell of the village, aged 28 years.

Q. WHERE was this man, Luchmunna, on the 1st August last?—*A.* I don't know auything about dates; but I know that when this affair took place at the hakeem's, this man was at my house in the evening.

Jewun, son of *Roopa,* Goojur, inhabitant of Eusufpoora, in Tonk, a cultivator, aged 30 years.

Q. Do you know where this man, Luchmunna, was at the time of the affray?—*A.* Two days before he was at the village of Eusufpoora, and he was there on the night of the occurrence.

(signed) *A. N. Bruce,* Political Agent.

From Colonel *W. F. Eden,* Governor General's Agent for the States of Rajpootana, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Foreign Department, with the Governor General, No. 1110-61 P.; dated Aboo, 11 September 1867.

IN continuation of my Despatch, No. 1085-59, of the 6th instant, regarding the recent tragedy at Tonk, I have the honour to enclose postal copy of a telegram this day forwarded to your address, conveying the purport of a message just received from the Political Agent, Harowtee, in answer to a query* from this office respecting the number of the Lawa party that were slain on the occasion under advertence.

* *Vide* paragraph 26 of my Despatch, No. 1085-59, of 6th instant.

2. Fifteen are said to have fallen, and you will observe that, as Lalljee and Siree Lal were merely different names for the same person, and not different

individuals, as I very naturally supposed, there still remains a discrepancy of one; that is, admitting the accuracy of the unanimous statement of the Tonk witnesses, to effect that sixteen Hindoos were killed and their bodies burnt, is accepted.

3. The Political Agent, Harowtee, has proceeded to Lawa both to confirm the number of the Lawa party stated to have fallen, by an examination of their heirs and relatives, and to obtain, if possible, some clue as to the sixteenth Hindoo supposed to have fallen; and he will forward a copy of his report direct to your office, in order that all the papers may be laid before his Excellency the Viceroy in Council without delay.

4. I may remark, however, that if the former point is established, the latter becomes of little moment; for the general question is in no way affected by the circumstance, whether or not 15 instead of 16 persons had been so murderously put to death on the Lawa side.

EAST INDIA (EX-NAWAB OF TONK).

FURTHER PAPERS regarding the Case of the EX-NAWAB of TONK (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, No. 119, of Session of 1871).

Mr. Grant Duff.

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
22 *May* 1871.

[*Price* 1*s.*]

119—I.

Under 6 *oz.*

EAST INDIA (BRITISH BURMAH).

RETURN to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 20 June 1871;—*for*

COPIES of Captain *Richard Spry's* LETTERS to the Secretary of State for *India* in Council, dated the 30th day of March and the 31st day of August 1870, and the 21st day of February 1871;

"And, of the several LETTERS thereto (in continuation of Parliamentary Paper, East India (British Burmah), No. 161, of the present Session").

India Office,
27 June 1871.

J. W. KAYE,
Secretary, Political and Secret Department.

COPY of a LETTER from Captain *Richard Spry* to the Secretary of State for India.

Trade with Western China direct from Rangoon.

Chief Commissioner Fytche's official "Memorandum" on Captain Sladen's official "Narrative" of the Bhamo Expedition, &c.

18, St. George's Terrace, Queen's Gate, W.
30 March 1870.

My Lord Duke,

PARLIAMENTARY Paper "East India (British Burmah), No. 251, Session 1869," presented from the India Office to the House of Commons in May last, stated:—

"Captain Sladen's Report has not yet been received, but will, with other Papers, be included in a Supplementary Return."

2. According to communications which reached me from India, the document in question, dated 24th February 1869, was dispatched, with others therefrom, in print, at a date which should have caused them to reach the India Office early in September last (1869), if not previously. Six months have, however, since passed without their having been laid, as promised, before Parliament; and it appearing still uncertain when they may be so made available for Parliamentary consideration and general public notice, I will no longer delay to avail myself of the private copy in my possession—printed last year at the Government Press, Rangoon—to address your Grace respecting it.

3. I do so to bring under your official notice grave misrepresentations contained in the "Memorandum" of the Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, dated Rangoon, 30th June 1869, to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, preceding Captain Sladen's "Narrative": misrepresentations which I am compelled to consider must have been intentional on the part of the Chief Commissioner, with the view of misleading the Viceroy on the matters submitted in those documents to his consideration.

4. The misrepresenting passages name me in connection with the "short direct land route" for peaceable and regular commerce between Rangoon and the south-west frontier of China; which route, after many years of full and and impartial inquiry into the practicability and advantage of all other routes, I felt it my duty, in the interests of the people of England as of India, to select and recommend for general and continuous commerce between the United Kingdom, the Shan States of Burmah, and the adjacent west of China.

5. The total length of the line is within 550 miles; the full first half of it is in British territory, and no part of the remainder is in the territory of China.

6. Subsequent to 1857 I and my late son circulated numerous * executive pamphlets and maps, with many thousands of printed sheets, on the subject, in India as well as in England, including British Burmah. The paper I read on it, in 1860, to the Royal Geographical Society, we also printed, with a clear explanatory map, and distributed extensively in both countries including the Press of each. In their columns the project received full examination and discussion, resulting in every case—save where official influence or private interests prevailed—in expressed approval and commendation of my views. And thus the project, with the statements on which it was based, was subject to continuous active public discussion, at home and in India, up to the year 1865.

7. In the January of that year Captain J. M. Williams, Assoc. Inst. C.E., and Executive Engineer of the Rangoon division of British Burmah, where he had served 12 years, having seen gross official misrepresentations in print,* both of the project and of the country it had to be carried through, drew up an official "Memorandum" thereon to the address of the then Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood, with a map on a large scale, clearly showing, with the short direct land route, the several other routes subsequently suggested by official and private persons at Calcutta and Rangoon, for Indian objects or individual local interests. That Memorandum was presented to Parliament, with its map, in June 1865, in print; and I have reason to know that many copies of it were at the time transmitted to India and British Burmah, and that copies found their way to the hands of the members of the British Burmah Commission, including, beyond doubt, the present Chief Commissioner.

8. The first page of that "Memorandum" correctly described the line finally selected by me, as extending from Rangoon to Kyang-Hung, on the right bank of the Meikong or Upper Kamboja river; and stated its length, directions, &c. in the following terms:

> "For this new commerce in the East three distinct lines of railway have been now suggested; all, however, originating with Captain Speye, a retired officer of the Indian army.
>
> "His finally selected wholly land route, to commence at Rangoon, follows, as indicated by a red line in the annexed map, as straight a course as shall be found practicable across the north east frontier of British Burmah on the Salween, to Kyang-Tung, and thence to Kyang-Hung on the Meikong or Upper Kamboja river.
>
> "This route will be seen to embrace a continuous railway from Rangoon to Kyang-Hung, near to where the Meikong or Kamboja issues from the south-west frontier of China; and where the now Major General Mc.leod, in 1837, reported that river, called Lantsang within the Chinese frontier, to be, in the dry season, 540 feet wide, and exceeding 16 deep, and 1,600 feet wide, and 60 deep in the floods. After flowing a southerly course exceeding 1,200 miles from Kyang-Hung, through the Laos States and the recently restored† Kingdom of Kamboja, the stream falls into the Sea of China through the French Cochin Chinese possession.
>
> "The distance, in a straight line, between Rangoon and Kyang-Hung is shown by maps to be about 480 miles; the first and most important half of which, as having its terminus at the seaboard, is in British territory; and the other moiety mainly in the two very friendly Burman Shan States of Kyang-Tung and Kyang-Hung.

† Restored by the French authorities in Cochin China.

9. Subsequent to the date of that official "Memorandum," so well circulated as a Parliamentary Paper, viz., on the 15th of January 1866, I and my son addressed our 18th communication on the project to the Secretary of State for India, and therein submitted quotations in support of our views from high printed authorities; including Captain Sherard Osborn, R.N., "The Times" newspaper, Mr. Henry Duckworth of Liverpool, now President of the Liverpool Chamber

* In Deputy Commissioner O'Riley's, with Assistant Commissioner Captain Watson's, and Chief Commissioner Phayre's Reports and Despatches, printed at Calcutta and Rangoon in 1865.

Chamber of Commerce, "The Globe" newspaper, &c., all of which quotations, with the other parts of that communication, most clearly show that we limited our proposed commercial way to the right bank of the Kamboja river, some distance from the frontier of China.

10. Further, as reliable assurance that the commercial benefits we anticipated therefrom for England and India were not visionary or unauthorised, but in every respect worthy of the serious consideration of the Secretary of State for India in Council, as well as of Her Majesty's other Ministers, we subjoined in that letter officially recorded opinions on that point of Assistant Commissioners Richardson and McLeod, and Deputy Commissioner O'Riley, after they had severally travelled over very much of the country through which the line would pass, expressly to explore it commercially. Those our quotations from their official Reports, printed at different dates by the Government of India, were as follows:—

11. Richardson wrote thus to the Government of India in 1835; 31 years since:

"I need not descant upon the great importance to England and India of opening a trade to the south-west frontier of China for British and Indian goods and Chinese products. I learnt from the caravans I met of Chinese traders, and from other authorities, during my travels, that no difficulty will exist in our *merchants* visiting the *frontier* towns of the Yunan province. All the Chinese assured me there were no guards and no restrictions on merchants."

12. M'Leod thus wrote to the same Government in 1837; 29 years since.

"The ministers and chiefs of Kyang-Tung and Kyang-Hung pressed me much to send *merchants* up. The subject is therefore worthy the attention of Government, and advantage ought to be taken of the good understanding now established, and trading parties should be pushed up to Kyang-Hung if only to show the Chinese in particular that commerce with them is truly our object. Now that we find the State of Kyang-Hung, which is so closely connected with Western China in position and influence, as well as the envy of the Chinese merchants, willing and anxious to promote direct commercial intercourse with us, our aim should be to make an effort, even at some cost to Government, to establish a permanent trade with them."

13. Subsequent to which, and in the far more recent year 1861, Deputy Commissioner O'Riley, in reference to our proposition that, at first, a station and emporium of trade should be established on our Pegu extreme north-east frontier, in the direction of Kyang-Tung, wrote thus to the Government of India,—

"There are many considerations that induce a well-grounded opinion of the eminent capacity of the locality to be made an emporium of trade of the first importance. Surrounded on all sides by nations, whose commercial enterprise forms the prominent feature of their character, to whom neither ranges of mountains nor rushing streams oppose a barrier to the progress of trade; possessing within itself a numerous and comparatively wealthy population, the Karens and Shans, eager to a degree to possess the products of our manufactures; and favoured by nature with a position and climate propitious to the development of many valuable resources; the period would not be far distant when such a frontier emporium would carry our commerce through regions hitherto closed against our merchants and their enterprise, and to where it would be more appreciated than in any other commercial part of the world, the western provinces proper of the mighty Chinese Empire."

14. In September 1860, the line referred to in those documents, viz., that from Rangoon to Kyang-Hung, was ordered by Viscount Cranborne, Secretary of State for India, to be surveyed. Consequently, after fruitless remonstrances with his Lordship against the survey, the Government of India selected Captain Luard, of the Bengal railway department, and Captain J. M. Williams, for the service. They were able during the then passing dry season to survey the first half of the entire line; and their Report, with map and sections, subsequently presented in print to Parliament, was transmitted to the Government of India by

Colonel Fytche, then, as now, Chief Commissioner of British Burmah; with an official Despatch, dated Rangoon, the 25th day of June 1867, which contained passages to the following effect:—

"The final object of the survey is to ascertain the best practicable route for the construction of a railway from Rangoon to Western China.

"I can have no hesitation in recommending that the survey be continued to the frontier of China, and that it be resumed at the point where this year's survey ceased.

"From the Takan ferry across the Salween river, the more southerly route runs eastward, through the Burman Shan States of Kyang-Tung and Kyang-Hung, to the Meikong or Upper Kamboja river, so that this portion of the line can be fully surveyed under the protection of the Burman Government.

"Should his Excellency the Viceroy decide to continue the survey, it will be necessary that I should apply to the Government of Burmah for a 'Royal Order,' to facilitate the progress of the survey party up to the Kamboja river."

15. On the 15th of August 1867, a reply was sent by the Viceroy, from Simla, to the Chief Commissioner, directing him—

"To convey to Captains William and Luard the satisfaction of the Government of India at the manner in which they had conducted the survey duties entrusted to them; and requesting that the necessary arrangements might be made, subject to such further instructions as might be received from the Foreign department, to prosecute the survey at the earliest safe period of the coming dry season. Lithographed copies of the map and sections of what has been surveyed will be supplied to you."

16. On receiving that Despatch, Chief Commissioner Fytche of course caused requisite preparations to be made, and applied to the government of the King of Burmah, for the necessary "Royal Order" sanctioning the survey of the remaining of the line, as being through Shan States tributary to his Majesty. The "Royal Order" was forthwith issued by the King in due form; and additional to that facility, his Majesty sent an honorary escort from his capital to our frontier, to accompany the surveying party and render every assistance that might be necessary.

*As appearing in different Parliamentary Papers.

17. I will not here review, but reserve for future notice, the correspondence of that period* between the Chief Commissioner, the late Viceroy Sir John (now Lord) Lawrence, and the Secretary of State for India, which caused a stop to be suddenly put, by telegram dated the 15th of October 1867, to the completion of that survey, on misrepresentations of the distance remaining to be surveyed, of the nature of the country and character of the people, of consequent difficulties, nay, even perils to be encountered, of the length of time it must occupy, and of the expense it would involve beyond what the treasury of India could bear. Official documents in different Parliamentary Papers made it long since clear to me that those misrepresentations were made, and the completion of the survey of the direct route countermanded, solely that the very much longer, far more difficult, politically more dangerous, and infinitely more costly, survey of the Bhamo route might be entered upon, under the advice of the Chief Commissioner; though contrary to the real feelings and wishes of the King of Burmah, his Ministers, and people.

18. The change of route for survey having been by such means brought about and publicly announced, the Calcutta "Friend of India," a journal influenced from the first to oppose and decry the direct route from Rangoon, and to advocate a route from Calcutta *viâ* Assam, Munnipoor, Northern Burmah, Bhamo, &c., favoured its readers, on the 7th of November 1867, with an article which stated, among other fallacies—

"That the direct route project was simply to make railroad of 1,450 miles in length, where there is neither trade nor human beings, to an undefined point of Western China; of which line 1,105 miles were beyond British territory; and that the first season's survey of the most favourable portion of the 1,450 miles, that which *was* in British territory, supported their,

their, the 'Friend of India's,' many years' opposition, and justified the Government of India in treating it as a visionary scheme."

10. The correction of these misrepresentations by a Calcutta journal, whose columns had long been too manifestly open to interested writers on the subject, an article was put forth in the "Rangoon Gazette" of the 29th of November 1867; which was afterwards reprinted separately by the "Rangoon Gazette" Press, and freely circulated in British Burmah and India, as I here submit it to your Grace:—

THE DIRECT ROUTE FROM RANGOON TO WESTERN CHINA.

"The most bitter opponents of the scheme for establishing communication with China, *viâ* Rangoon, have generally been those who, while strangely ignorant of the actual facts on which its supporters base the importance of their proposals, for motives of their own decry the project as absurd and chimerical.

"Amongst those detractors the "Friend of India" has always held a conspicuous place, but the ignorance it displays, and the serious inaccuracies it commits in an article on the subject dated 7th November last, are more than inexcusable in a paper which ought to be the best informed and most reliable authority in India, on Indian matters.

"The following pages contain merely extracts from the article in the "Friend of India" above referred to, and the reply to it, which appeared in the "Rangoon Gazette."

(From the "Rangoon Gazette," 29th November 1867.)

"We have always been aware that the project for a railway from Rangoon to Western China has met with no favour from the "Friend of India." While regretting the hostility so persistently displayed, we at least gave the editor of that journal the credit of basing his opposition on reliable facts. We were therefore not a little surprised to observe in an article which appeared in that paper on the 7th instant, a statement in effect that Captain Sprye's proposal is simply to make a railway for 1,450 miles, of which only 245 are in our own territory, from Rangoon to an undefined part of Western China. So startling an announcement from so grave an authority on Indian subjects, induced us to refer to a map of the country lying to the east of British Burmah; when, to our surprise, we discovered that so far from arriving at an undefined part of Western China, a railway 1,450 miles in length would actually reach from Rangoon to Hong Kong! The *dream*, so called by the "Friend," assumes a tangible shape. Only 1,450 miles from Rangoon *to Hong Kong!* It is no romantic phantasy, but an actual fact, that a railway 1,450 miles in length would bring to Rangoon the trade, not merely of western, *but even of central China*, would place it in communication with Hong Kong, and, in a few years, convert this much neglected town into the first city in the East. However, although we entertain no doubt whatever as to the magnificent results which would quickly follow the achievement of *such* a railway, or even of the less imposing scheme for a tramway to the Cambodia river, our object in writing this article is not to speculate on probabilities, but to refute, by a representation of absolute facts, the grave misconception which the "Friend" has formed. The project of a tramway to extend from Rangoon to Western China has already been so fully subjected to public discussion, that we never for a moment imagined it would become necessary to reiterate the fact that it embraces the construction of a line only 600 miles in length; of which 250 are in British territory, or that it is to extend from Rangoon to Kiang-Hung on the Cambodia river, by no means to an undefined part of Western China; but, on the contrary, to one regarding which we have certainly more complete and reliable information than any other on the Yunan frontier. But we are told that the railway would be constructed where there is neither trade nor *human beings*. To which portion of the line does this statement refer? If to that within British territory we entirely concur with the writer; but we would at the same time remind him, that one of the chief arguments urged by the advocates of the route has been this very sparseness of population, and the consequent beneficial effect the railway would ensure, by introducing immigration from the thickly populated countries beyond. If, however, this statement has reference to that moiety of the line beyond the British frontier, we are enabled to report, on the authority of Captain Watson, whose personal knowledge of the Shan States is superior to that of any other European, that the southern portion of the Meh-byee valley is the most densely populated of the Shan States. This being the case, and, as very truly remarked by the writer of the article under review when advocating the Bhamo route, *the Shans being themselves the keenest traders in Asia*, the argument that there is no trade falls to the ground. The remark, that the first season's survey has justified the opposition of the Government of India, is entirely without foundation; and clearly shows that the writer is unacquainted with the object of that survey, which was undertaken merely to ascertain whether two especial routes, within British territory, might or might not be made use of; and this, only, because they were known to be doubtful and probably difficult. Other lines, differing only a few miles in length, can be selected within British territory, which are known to present no obstacle, and are on a dead level throughout, and therefore did not require to be surveyed. Had Captain Williams's report utterly condemned the lines surveyed last season, and we have good authority for stating this is far from being the case, the practicability or otherwise of the

construction of a railway from Rangoon to Kiang-Hung would still have remained an open question, only to be solved by at least another year's survey. Lord Cranbourne would certainly never have permitted the survey to be discontinued: and we confidently predict, that the present Secretary of State for India will find himself compelled to yield to public opinion in this matter, and again order its prosecution and final completion. The loss, however, of a season, which has been occasioned by Sir Stafford Northcote's short-sighted telegram, we regard as most lamentable; and more so, that the French Expedition from Saigon has now successfully ascended the Cambodia. Knowing, as we do, the anxiety of the Shans to enter into trade relations with Europeans, it appears highly probable the Kiang-Hung chief will only be too ready to accept French protection, a result which would shortly lead to a disturbance of the whole of the Shan States; and thus, while we lose the opportunity so long held out to us, but neglected, of establishing a peaceful trade with these States, we may find ourselves in a position of much embarrassment from the intrigue which will then be rife throughout the countries bordering on our frontier; and finally discover, to our chagrin, that any trade which we may succeed in effecting with Western China, will be on the will and pleasure of our French neighbours. Thus, on political grounds, we consider that it was of the utmost importance the survey should have been extended without loss of time to Kiang-Hung, since we might then have had some prospect of at least neutralising the influence of the French in that quarter, and securing to ourselves the trade with Western China. We can now only hope to obtain a share, on sufferance. It has constantly been argued by the advocates of other projects for establishing trade with China, that *their* proposed lines must be the best, because they are "old caravan routes." Has it never occurred to these gentlemen that previous to the British occupation of Pegu, Rangoon was a place of little importance, and that, consequently, in any trade routes with China, the capital of Burmah would necessarily be the terminus on this side. Let Yunan be once settled, and the caravans will very shortly find their way to Rangoon, in preference to Mandalay, with the exception of those journeying from so far north, that the river carriage from Mandalay to Rangoon will prove a matter of consideration. For these caravans the Bhamo route is certainly the best adapted, and will secure a trade which cannot be opened up at once by the direct route from Rangoon. In fact, as we have repeatedly pointed out, the Bhamo and the "direct route" are entirely independent of each other. The consolidation of the one, and the inauguration of the other, will render incalculable benefit to British and British Indian trade. But the "direct route," by railway from Rangoon is the one which, as confidently predicted by Chief Commissioner Sir A. P. Phayre, *would raise Rangoon in a few years nearly to the level of Calcutta or Bombay.*

20. It may be considered certain, my Lord Duke, that Chief Commissioner Fytche, residing at Rangoon, saw that article when it was first published in the "Gazette" of that city, and no less certain that he was fully aware with contents of it in its subsequent more convenient pamphlet form. I hold his acknowledgment of some of my own previous pamphlets, with which I was invited to favour him; and I feel no less assured that he possessed the many other public official and Parliamentary Papers and maps which had resulted from my proposition that trade should be opened with the west of China *direct from Rangoon*, to some of which I have hereinbefore referred.

21. Can your Grace, then, tolerate that, in the authoritative position of ruler over British Burmah, he should, on the 30th of June 1869, deliberately draw up an official document on the subject, for the information and guidance of a Viceroy who was a comparative stranger to the question, misrepresenting the direct land route in the manner I will now submit from the "Memorandum" with which Chief Commissioner Fytche transmitted to the Government of India Captain Sladen's "Narrative" of his Bhamo route exploring expedition. Though almost the entire Memorandum invites comment from me, I will on this occasion limit myself to the following passages of it:—

> "So much, however, has been written regarding the route proposed by Captain Sprye, *from Rangoon to Canton*, via *Kiang-Hung*, that the present papers might perhaps be deemed incomplete if all mention of it was omitted.
>
> "When I proposed the expedition to Bhamo, a survey of that route had just been completed from Rangoon as far as the border of our own territory, *for a line of railway from Rangoon to Kiang Hung, and thence on, through the mythical city of Esmok, to Canton.* * * * I have myself always looked on the Kiang-Hung line as a most Quixotic scheme as a route for trade.
>
> "But as a survey of the country from the Tukan Ferry on the Salween river, *viâ* Kiang-Tung, on to Kiang-Hung, on the Meikong or Kamboja river, a distance of about 200 miles, would be of great scientific and political service, I would advocate its continuation at any rate as far as that city. We have already a fair general knowledge of the country *from the British*

British frontier to the Tukon ferry, but the country between the Salween and the Meikong or Kambeja rivers is unknown.

When Captain Sprye's project was first proposed, there was something in it both plausible and attractive, *to connect Rangoon with Canton by a railway running through a country with, as it was supposed, no insuperable obstacles, and it very naturally commended itself to notice.* Canton was then, and had been for many years, the great centre of foreign trade with China. From Canton nearly all the tea, silk, and other valuable Chinese produce was shipped, and there all European goods were imported, &c. But the trade of Canton subsequently sunk so low, that it was, I believe, seriously proposed to abandon it altogether as a place of European trade."

22. In that extract from an official document deliberately drawn up by Chief Commissioner Ky to be so recently as the 30th of June 1869, expressly to inform the present Viceroy and Governor General of India, the Earl of Mayo, on the subject it treated of, and to assist him in coming to a correct conclusion as to the preferable route for active commerce, the year round, between *the United Kingdom*, the Shan States of Burmah, and the West of China, from our port of Rangoon; your Grace will not have failed to notice that the Chief Commissioner three times repeats, that the direct land route projected and advocated by me, embraces "a railway extending from Rangoon to Canton." His words are, to repeat them:

1st.—"The route proposed by Captain Sprye from Rangoon *to Canton*, *viâ* Kiang-Hung," etc.

2nd.—"For a line of railway from Rangoon to Kiang-Hung, and thence on through the *mythical* (Chinese) city of Esmok, *to Canton*," etc.

3rd.—"To connect Rangoon *with Canton* by a railway, running through a country with, as it was supposed, no insuperable obstacles," etc.

23.—In answer to these three unqualified assertions, I defy their writer to point out in any of my numerous pamphlets and many other printings and maps on this question through the past 12 years, a single instance where a railway from Rangoon to Canton is spoken of, or the idea of such an undertaking is even hinted at; on the contrary, those pamphlets, &c. all too plainly express the impolicy of our so entering any portion of Chinese territory; and the wisdom of our limiting any iron-way we may lay in that direction, so as for it in no manner to interfere with the internal trade of China, or with the carrying thereof, and for this sound reason, that I had learnt from various intelligent Chinamen in the East, the very strong conservative objection their government, provincial authorities, and people of all ranks had *to our competing with them in their interior commerce, or superseding them in its conveyance.*

24. Beyond those printed proofs of the knowledge I had acquired on these points, and of the opinion that I entertained that the feelings and wishes of the Chinese should herein be deferred to, I will add for your Grace's information, that between the 1st of March 1852 and the 1st of February 1867, the latest date to which I have a list made up, I and my late son, jointly or separately addressed to different members of the several Cabinets which ruled our country through that 15 years, no fewer than 103 official communications on this subject, many of them being of considerable length, treating of the project in every possible point of view, and covering a variety of explanatory enclosures and maps. All of those documents should be existing in the departments of the First Lord of the Treasury, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Secretaries of State for Foreign Affairs and for India, and of the President of the Board of Trade; and I deny that it can be shown in any of the 103, that we advocated the construction of a railway to Canton from any point whatever, or the laying of a single rail in any part of Chinese territory.

25. It may be possible, I grant, that in some of those communications we may have submitted to the Ministers to whom they were addressed, the more than probability that, when so imitative and trading a people as the Chinese should *see* the benefit of railways to commerce and to locomotion generally, in the practical working of one from some point of the Meikong or Kambeja river near their frontier to Rangoon, *they* would not be unlikely, in due time, to adopt the

mode of conveyance in their own interests and to construct railways for themselves in their own country.

26. Your Grace knows the adage, *falsum in uno, falsum in omnibus*, and I will proceed to show you that it is not wholly inapplicable to this "Memorandum" of Chief Commissioner Fytche's, the drift of which throughout is official hostility, under more or less of inspiration from others, to the route that must prove of beneficial service, the year through, to the manufacturing and commercial interests of Great Britain, and also as unmerited advocacy of a route adverse to them, but favourable to his and other officials' political desires and designs, and to the local interests of certain influences around him having their ramifications at Calcutta and in England, including those of the Irrawaddy Steam Navigation Flotilla Company, in the former city and in Glasgow.*

27. The second paragraph of my quotation from the misadvising "Memorandum" thus concludes:—

> "I have myself *always* looked on the Kiang-Hung line as a most Quixotic scheme as a route for trade."

28. On this I would remind your Grace that before Colonel Fytche was raised to the Chief Commissionership of British Burmah, he was for many years Commissioner of the Tenasserim division of it, the principal port, town, and seat of Government of which is Moelmyen. Throughout his rule there, a jealous rivalry was manifest between that port and Rangoon, and between their two Commissioners. After my proposal commercially to tap the Burmese Shan States, and the west of China, by rail or tramway direct from Rangoon, was made extensively public through the paper I read to the Royal Geographical Society in 1860, and printed with a map, and it received favourable public notice, Commissioner Fytche being unwilling that Rangoon should be the port to benefit thereby, and not *then* considering the Kiang-Hung line "a most Quixotic scheme as a route for trade," strove hard to make Moelmyen, instead of Rangoon, the ocean terminus for it.

29. On the 10th of June 1861 he addressed a letter, No. 116, from Moelmyen, to the Government of India, recommending to it,—

> "As a really useful and thoroughly practical project for more rapid communication with the west of China,"

the extraordinary route *south* from Moelmyen down the Gulf of Martaban and the Mergui Archipelago to the Isthmus of Kraw, south of our extreme southern frontier; across that isthmus by land, *east* to Tayoung, on the Gulf of Siam; by sea *north*, up that Gulf to Baukok, the Siamese capital; from there, *still north*, by the River Menam, in boats, to the Siamese Shan town of Zimmai; from there by land *east*, to the Kamboja river; and by it, again *north*, to Kian-Hung and China. In support of these views he obtained, for transmission with his letter, favourable reports and maps of the Kraw isthmus, as suitable for the construction of

---

* On the 18th of November 1863, and 4th of December 1867, the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce sent up memorials to the Ministers of those periods, supporting the memorials of the other Chambers, in favour of the direct land route.

The Rangoon firm of Todd, Findlay, & Co., who are interested in the Irrawaddy Steam Flotilla Company, and hold its agencies at Rangoon and Mandelay, are connections of the Glasgow firm of T. D. Findlay & Co., stated to be no less interested in that Flotilla Company. Mr. James Findlay, of the Rangoon firm, being home on a visit to his Glasgow kindred, drew up and forwarded to the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, a Report on the West of China trade question, of marked hostility to the direct land route from Rangoon, and as decided advocacy of the Flotilla Company's river route. His descriptions sadly misrepresented each; the *first*, of course, adversely; and the *second*, as naturally, in all glowing colours; without offering any reliable authority for his statements.

The Council of the Chamber referred his Report to a Committee to consider; and without hearing any one on behalf of the short land route, the Committee, putting all faith in Mr. James Findlay's imaginative descriptions of it, reported against it and in favour of the Flotilla's river way. And thereon the Glasgow Chamber, on the 18th of December 1869, forwarded a third memorial to the Secretary of State for India, in which the direct land route received Mr. J. Findlay's erroneous character, and the circuitous river route very earnest recommendation to ministerial attention. I have noted Mr. James Findlay's Report for review when leisure permits.

of a commercial way, from engineer officers serving under him;" and, in reference thereto, subsequently wrote to the Government of India:—

"Allow me to solicit a very careful perusal of Captains Fraser and Fur-long's reports and maps. The subject needs a thorough and complete ventilation, which I trust the Government will deem it advisable to give.

"Should the proposed communication across the Isthmus of Kraw once be established, it appears to me that the trade would be soon directed down the Meeplaut to that isthmus.

"And the very great advantages which would accrue to their Majesties of Siam, by diverting the commerce with Western China in this direction, would, doubtless, be readily appreciated by them, and induce them to view favourably a project of communication through their territory, redounding in many ways so considerably to their own advantage, &c."

30. That very roundabout ocean, land, and river route for British commerce with the West of China, not appearing to the Government of India "so really useful and thoroughly practical" as Commissioner Fytche and his engineer officers pronounced it to be, he addressed another Despatch to the Government in favour of Moelmyen as the terminal port, dated from there the 10th of October 1864. It most fancifully characterised the direct route from Rangoon to Kyang-Hung as—

"Crossing mountains of 7,000 feet elevation, occupied by celebrated robber tribes, having little regard for human life; and covered with ice and hoar-frost at the very periods when merchants would have to cross them." And as "having enormous difficulties to be overcome from tribes and chiefs as wild and fierce as their forest denizens; and the lofty mountains and rivers impassable often to the inhabitants themselves."

Yet, not *then* deeming the Chinese frontier city of Esmok to be "mythical," he proceeded to state:—

"No doubt can exist but that the proper route for opening trade with the West of China is *that by land from Moelmyen*, through the Siamese Shan State of Zimmai, where a consular agent should be appointed; and by the high road from Zimmai to Kyang-tsen on the Kamboja river, in lat. 20° 30′ N., about 80 miles south of Kyang-Hung; and thence up the valley of that river to 21° 29′ N., where a stream debouches leading direct from Esmok.

"The caravans of Esmok, now never seen south of Zimmai, would then be escorted on in safety to British territory [Moelmyen], and a sure foundation be laid for what is sought by the Messrs. Spyre [from Rangoon], Kyang-Hung, a large town up the Kamboja river, the boundary of the Chinese empire in that direction, is nearly in the latitude Esmok is supposed‡ to be. Of *this* town, however, neither McLeod nor Richardson make any mention whatever, etc."

Tedious as it may prove to your Grace, and to any other reader of what I am offering to your consideration of the decided partisanship which Commissioner Fytche from the first displayed against the direct route FROM RANGOON *to Kyang-Hung*, and desirous as I am to avoid intruding unnecessarily on official attention, I cannot abstain from submitting some observations to you on three, at least, of these his statements.

31. *First.* As wholly refuting his alarming descriptions of the mountains and rivers to be crossed, the ranges between the Sittang and Salween rivers, I refer you to the more natural and accurate description of them contained in Captain J. M. Williams's "Memorandum" on the direct route, addressed to Sir Charles Wood on the 21st January 1865, and the subsequent "Report of the Survey" of

* The eminent Bengal engineer, Colonel Tremenheere's very many years' previous Survey and Report of the Isthmus of Kraw, the rivers Packhan and Chumpahoon, and the practicability of a commercial way across, by them, between the Bay of Bengal and Gulf of Siam, curiously enough, is not noticed by Chief Commissioner Fytche. It was adverse to the project.

† A river of Siam, flowing from a little north of Zimmai to the capital, Bankok, and Gulf of Siam.

‡ The latitude and longitude of Esmok was well established by the French Jesuit surveyors of China, as 22° 10′ 10″ N. lat. and 101° 10″ E. lon.

of that particular portion of the direct route by Captains Luard and Williams, dated the 15th of June 1867, with their respective maps, sections, and journals, documents previously referred to by me as being before Parliament, in proof to which I may well add, that the route the Commissioner recommended as preferable, from Moelmyen, involved crossing the Tanen-Tong-Ghee mountains, situated between the Salween and Zimmai; Richardson's and McLeod's descriptions of which, on record at the time in his office, Commissioner Fytche appears to have given, in mistake, of course, to the ranges which cross the direct line between the Sittang and the Salween.

32. *Second.* On Commissioner Fytche's statement to the Government of India, "that the town of Kyang-Hung, on the Kamboja, is the boundary of the Chinese empire in that direction, &c.," it has to be noted that, at the time he so wrote, there was deposited in his office McLeod's original journal of his Mission to Kyang-Hung in 1837, with its map. It described that Burmese Shan State as extending considerably to the *East* of the Mei Kong or Kamboja, there being only four of its twelve subordinate Tsobwuaships on the west of that river, whereas eight lay to the east of it. McLeod, writing at Kyang-Hung, in March 1837, after due inquiries, states:—

"The territory of Kyang-Hung is bounded to the south, on the west of the Kamboja, by the Shan States of Kyang-Khieng and Muang-Niang; on the south and west, by those of Kyang-Tung and Muang-Lem; on the north-west, by that of Muang-Lem, and the Kakies; on the north-east, by the Chinese province of Yunan; on the east, east of the Kamboja, by Tonquin and Cochin China; on the south-east, by Laos; and on the south, by the Shan States of Muang-Luang-Phrabang and Muang-Nan. The Kamboja, under the name of Meikong, flows through the length of the State, which is also watered by many streams of considerable size falling into it from both the east and west. The twelve subordinate Shan Tsobwuaships under Kiang-Hung, are Muang-Khie, Muang-Long, Muang-Khieng, and Kyan-Khieng, on the *west* of the Kamboja; and Muang-Ha, the town of which stands close opposite to Esmok, Muang-Ham, Baulu-Luang, Muang-U, Kyang or Chin Teng, and Muang-Hing, on the *east* of that river. Kyang-Hung town, is in 21° 58' N., and about 100° 30' E."

33. *Third.* On Commissioner Fytche's further statement as above to the Government of India, "that of the Chinese frontier town of Esmok, neither McLeod or Richardson make any mention," it is for me to observe, that Richardson never having been nearer to it than Zimmai, 400 miles from Kyang-Hung, it is nothing extraordinary that he should not have described it; and that the Commissioner here, also, wholly mis-stated fact when he wrote that *McLeod* made "no mention of Esmok." For, on the contrary, when at Kyang-Hung, 50 miles only from it, he took considerable pains to collect information about it, which he recorded in his journal, the original of which having been deposited in the Moelmyen Commissioner's office was, of course, there available to Commissioner Fytche when writing the letter under review. On my first making mention of Esmok as the frontier town of China, in the direction of Kyang-Hung, its existence was denied by men who passed as geographically well informed. It was, therefore, that I embodied in the paper I read to the Royal Geographical Society, in 1860, the following account of Esmok, derived in part from McLeod's journal.

"It has been objected to my project that no such town as Esmok exists on the south-west frontier of China proper; and that it is not to be found in any map of that country, not even in the celebrated map of the Jesuits. Nevertheless, I possess different maps of China, published nearly twenty years ago in London, New York, and elsewhere, in which that frontier town *does* appear. Even in the Jesuits' map, which at that part of the Chinese frontier I can state not to be correct in the line of boundary, the Anglicised "Poer" will be found as Poel, and the Anglicised "Esmok" as Sz-mau. And although I do not quote printed authority, I can state to you as confidently as if I quoted the best published travels, that Poel, Pu'rh, or Poo-urh, is the south-west department of the Yunan province; that its chief city, Pu'rh-foo, Poel and Poer in some maps, is in 23° 02' N. lat. and 101° 10' E. long. distant from Pe-king 6,805 li.; that besides one Hein district, the department contains three Ting districts, viz., Ta-lang, Wei-yuen, and

and *Szmau*, or *Semao*, more recently *Sze-maon*, or, as written by McLeod, ESMOK; that this town stands on the north or left bank of the small stream Ta-cai-ho, which flows into the Loso-Kiang, a tributary from the north-east to the Meikong or Kamboja river, into which it empties on the left, some miles below Kyang-Hung; and that the Burman Shan town of Muang-La, which is one of the twelve Tsobwuaships subordinate to the Tsenwibua of Kyang-Hung, eight of which are, like Muang-La, *east* of the Kamboja river, occupies the opposite side of the Ta-cai-ho stream, *which* at that point *is the boundary* between China proper and the Burman Shan State of Kyang-Hung.

"Esmok is in 22° 10′ 10″ N. lat., and 101° 40′ E. lon., and is, as I communicated full two years since, viz., in 1857, to Her Majesty's Foreign Secretary, in one of my official papers to him on this subject, a walled town, the wall being about three fathoms high and three broad at the top, on which horsemen patrol by night. It has no gateway on its south or river face, towards Muang-La; and only one on each of its other sides. Its ordinary garrison is about 300 men, though sometimes as many as 1,000 are there stationed. Its governor is a mandarin of rank, about equal to a Burman Myo-Woon. Persons having interviews with him have to pass, without any attendant of their own, through six or eight apartments to the one of audience, the door of each being closed after visitors have passed through.

"Many Chinese merchants with caravans, the beasts of burden of which are ponies, mules, and donkeys, continuously pass to and fro through Esmok; trading between China, the Burman and Siamese Shan States, the Laos country, etc. They carry valuable merchandise hundreds of miles to and fro, without its receiving any injury by the way."

34. Commissioner Fytche's recommendation of the route by *Zimmai* received, however, no more favourable consideration from the Calcutta authorities than his previously suggested route by the *Isthmus of Kraw* had done. Therefore, not having then yet perceived what he states in his recent memorandum to Earl Mayo, "that the Kyang-Hung line was a most quixotic scheme as a route for trade;" or, "that a survey of it could only be of scientific and political service," he made yet another effort to open up trade with the Burman Shan States and western provinces of China, by a route which deviated from my proposed line only so much as would cause it *to start from Moelmyen*.

35. In para. 13 preceding, I alluded to what from the first had been an important part of my proposition, viz., that at the north-east extremity of our province of Martaban, on the right bank of the Salween, near *midway between Rangoon and Kiang-Hung*, and bordering on the Shan States of Burmah, a civil station and *Emporium for Trade* should be formed; and the first or British moiety of the rail, or tramway, there for a while terminate. Such a frontier station for trade I considered would be within the reach of the cattle of the Shan and Chinese caravans, and within their power of returning from, to their own countries, during the dry season of one year. My earlier maps, including the one attached to my Pamphlet VI., containing the paper I read to the Royal Geographical Society in 1860, have the precise point plainly indicated, with the words, "*Proposed Emporium*," in large type. I also recorded in my maps that, according to authorities I had collected regarding our boundary in that direction, an important tract not occupied by us was rightly British territory as part of the Martaban province, as it was held by our predecessors, the Kings of Burmah, though, strangely enough, it was neglected to be included within our line of frontier as fixed by Major Allen when he was employed to define it, in 1856, on the plea of being valueless.

36. Possessing these my published views and propositions, Commissioner Fytche, in 1863, made his *third* official attempt to increase the commerce of Moelmyen at the expense of Rangoon, by submitting to the Government of India:—

"To use the valley of the unnavigable Lower Salween river, at the mouth of which Moelmyen is situated; to extend our frontier boundary up the left bank of that valley, to the junction of the Kyay-ma-Phyoo river with the Salween, and there to create a civil station, with an emporium for trade."

37. In furtherance of this project the Commissioner obtained Government sanction, in August 1863, to send his deputy commissioner, the late Mr. O'Riley, to our north-east Salween river frontier, on the plea, among others, of arranging with the neighbouring Karens for the transit of caravans through all parts of Karen country to British territory. Mr. O'Riley proceeded on his mission in mid-December 1863. I have not at hand the instructions with which the Commissioner furnished him, but they evidently made significant reference to my route *from Rangoon* to the same frontier point, as objectionable, since, so immediately as the 16th of January 1864, Mr. O'Riley sent an express Despatch to the Commissioner, representing, in reference to some Shan bullock tracks by which he had crossed hills between the Sittang and the Youngselleen rivers,—

> "That the line was utterly impracticable for rail or tramway, and that for any practical purpose of wheel carriage the proposed scheme of Captain Sprye may be dismissed as impossible."*

38. The direct line, or *any* line, to our Salween river frontier, *from Rangoon*, thus summarily disposed of, and the ground so cleared for one *from Moelmyen* to the same point of my suggested route, Mr. O'Riley recommended, as advisable for this, that that part of our frontier should be advanced from the Pak-kyoung river to the more northerly stream, the Kyay-ma-phyoo, from its source to its junction with the Salween, as offering a better position for a frontier station and commercial mart. He obtained the additional territory to be acknowledged British by adjacent chiefs, and took steps to occupy it, supporting his views and justifying his conduct on grounds and with arguments having reference mainly to the value of that trade with the Burman Shans and Western Chinese, which Commissioner Fytche, under whom he was acting, now states to the Government of India, "that he has *always* looked on as a *most quixotic scheme* as a route for trade." Mr. O'Riley's letters and reports hereon, dated between the 1st of December 1863 and 1st of June 1864, contain, with others such, the following passages:—

> "It was the general complaint of all the traders I met, whether resident or travelling, that the want of such a frontier half-way emporium had occasioned the abandonment of a large course of trade by both Shans and Chinese, who were unable to travel the long distance to our ports and back to their own country, during one dry season.
>
> "I have merely to add that it is from this point, our Salween river north-east frontier,† that we must advance our commerce, civilization, and influence, to the remote regions of the Chinese Empire.
>
> "Such a trading mart at the junction of the Kyay-ma-phyoo with the Salween, will open out a means of commercial advantage to the more northern Shan States, and to the Chinese frontier province of Yunan."

39. That Report of Mr. O'Riley's, dated the 20th of May 1864, with a map showing his new boundary, which map he stated "to bear the seal of the Chief of Western Karennee," and "finally to dispose of the boundary question for the future," was transmitted by Commissioner Fytche to the Government of India, through the Chief Commissioner of British Burma, in a Despatch, dated Moelmyen the 5th of July 1864, in which he observes, touching the advance of our frontier:—

> "I would, therefore, now strongly recommend that our boundary be extended to the Kyay-ma-phyoo, along its whole course, from its junction with the Salween to its source, and onward by the blue line to the source of the Yank-tha-wa stream, as depicted on the map.
>
> "This new boundary being established, I beg strongly to endorse Mr. O'Riley's recommendation for a trading mart being established at the mouth of the Kyay-ma-phyoo. In paragraphs 46 to 53 of his report, and in

---

* Assistant Commissioner Captain Watson, passing over the same Shan bullock track, about that time, to the Salween river, on a mission from Chief Commissioner Fytche, sent him, on the previous 17th of December 1863, this similarly inspired Report, viz.: "That it was quite absurd to think of making a tramway as proposed by Captain Sprye."

† My very idea, made public several years previous, with this difference only, that I proposed starting for "this frontier point" *from Rangoon*, whereas, Colonel Fytche, then Commissioner of Moelmyen, coveted making this port the point of departure.

in his letters dated severally 28th and 30th of May last, Mr. O'Riley has so ably urged the great advantages to be gained by this measure, that little is left for me to add, except that I fully concur with him in every respect.

"A station of this description, protected, as recommended, by a police force drawn from the other posts in the Yoonzaleen subdivision, at no extra expense to Government, and made the head quarters of its Assistant Commissioner, would not only be the key to all commerce in that direction, and stimulate its expansion, but be at the same time an admirable strategical position; and, by extending our influence, save the necessity of a Government Agent in Karennee, &c.

"It is impossible to state the boon which such a valuable acquisition will be to the trading mart, when fully established. I think, also, with Mr. O'Riley, that it is possible a practicable road for wheel carriage may be constructed from such a mart along the east bank of the Salween, *viâ* Myneloon-gyee, to *Moelmyen*. Large caravans of merchandise carried by bullocks already proceed by this route, and it is deemed the most practical one of any in use.

"I am afraid there can now be little doubt that the Salween river, from the point of junction with it of the Kyay-ma-phyoo down to our Kyo-dow rope station, *is* so full of rapids and other obstructions, as to preclude that portion of the river ever being rendered navigable."

40. But two years before that letter of Commissioner Fytche's, dated 5th of July 1864, with Mr. O'Riley's Report and accompanying papers, were received at Rangoon by Chief Commissioner and Political Agent Phayre, *he* had been in official and private political correspondence with the Government of India, urging that he should be allowed to negociate a new treaty with the King of Burma, such as should lay open to British steamers the Irrawadee river from Rangoon to its sources, and equally open all other parts of his Majesty's kingdom to British subjects, with free trading privileges. This to extend to a revival of the old abandoned dry-season caravan trade between Bhamo in Northern Burma, about 1,000 miles, by the river, from Rangoon, and China. The objects to be thereby attained, as Chief Commissioner Phayre erroneously supposed, being unlimited Chinese coolie labour, at a low rate of wage, for the tea plantations of Assam, Cachar, and Sylhet, *and* the ready introduction of Indian *opium* into Western China, free from transit duty, or very nearly so.

41. The Despatch of the Government of India, dated Foreign Department, No. 462, the 12th of May 1862, assenting to Lieutenant Colonel Phayre's propositions, and sanctioning his proceeding to the Burman Court for their realisation by a treaty, contained, with others, these instructions —

"The points on which it is desirable that you should come to an agreement with the Burman Government are the following:—

"The old dry-season caravan route from Burma proper, *viâ* Bhamo, to the Chinese province of Yunan, to be re-opened by means of a joint British and Burman mission to the frontier of China.

"British merchants to be allowed to go by that route, or to send their agents by it, and to be allowed to place agents, European or Asiatic, at Bhamo, in order to attend to the trade.

"Chinese traders, and labourers from Yunan, to be allowed to pass into British territory without hindrance. This stipulation to be made to apply, if possible, to routes leading to Assam, as well as those leading to Pegu.

"Opium to be allowed to pass *duty free* from British territories through Burma to Yunan, or on payment of a moderate transit duty."

42. Chief Commissioner Phayre proceeded accordingly to the Court of Mandelay in October 1862, and under the anti-English guidance of his friend M. Bigandet, the French Roman Catholic Bishop and Vicar Apostolic in Burma, negotiated, on the 10th of November 1862, the very imperfect and unsatisfactory treaty known as "The Burman Commercial Treaty" of that year. In his Despatch, forwarding it to the Government of India (No. 1 A, Prome, 21st November 1862) he, of course, described its provisions all-favourably, and expressed his confidence that great commercial benefits would result. On the

two purely Indian subjects of Chinese labour for the tea plantations of Assam, &c., and the introduction of Indian opium into the west of China, he wrote :—

> Article 9, and the last, provides for people passing through the Burman to British territory* without hindrance. Should tea planters in Assam, &c. wish, therefore, to import Chinese labourers, they have only to send an agent to Bhamo, and no doubt they will be able to engage many.
>
> "The great object in view, I venture to state, was to remove obstacles existing to a direct trade between Chinese territory and Rangoon, which has been done effectually.
>
> "There is one subject which still requires to be mentioned, Opium. I proposed that a *separate* treaty article should provide for its transit through the country for sale in countries† beyond. The King has an objection on religious grounds to allow his subjects to consume opium, and was therefore adverse to admitting by a special article that the drug might be conveyed through his country, but said he would not object to its coming in, like other goods, under Article 4," &c.

* *i.e.*, Assam, &c., across Northern Burma.

† *i.e.*, Inthe Chinese Shan States, and in Western China.

43. Nearly eight years have passed away, my Lord Duke, since that much vaunted "Commercial Treaty" was ratified. Yet it may in certainty be said, that if returns were called for of the number of Chinese coolie labourers who have passed in the period from China through Bhamo to the tea or other plantations of any part of British India, and of the Indian opium, or British goods, that have passed through the same town of Northern Burma from any point of British territory to China, the figures will in each case be, as I predicted at the time, nil. Our British Burman Political Agents, and their Assistants at Mandelay, have greatly erred in considering and representing that the caravan trade formerly carried on between Northern Yunan and the capital of Burma, *viâ* Bhamo, has *died out* during late years; such is not the case. That periodical overland traffic has been wisely *diverted* by the King of Burma from that long, difficult and perilous route to more direct, more easy, and far safer southern routes, such as those through the Theinnee and Toungbain vallies, *to Mandelay*, his capital, thus wholly avoiding the much longer Bhamo route, its Khakyen mountains, their different lawless tribes, and numerous exacting chiefs.

44. Nevertheless, Chief Commissioner Phayre felt, or professed to feel, so assured his treaty contained all that was needed to create a trade by the Irawadee river and Bhamo, between Rangoon and Western China, such as should meet British Indian requirements and views, and that my much shorter direct land route from Rangoon to the more commercial Kyang-Hung frontier of China, as well as my and Commissioner Fytche's proposed midway commercial emporium on our Salween river north-east frontier, were for those mere Indian interests wholly unnecessary; that he transmitted the Moelmyen Commissioner's Despatch thereon to the Government of India, on the 19th of August 1864, accompanied with a Despatch from himself, disapproving and condemning its propositions and recommendations, and pronouncing them on various accounts uncalled for, undesirable, and impolitic.

45. I do not at this moment recollect any subsequent effort having been made by Colonel Fytche while he remained Commissioner of the Tenasserim division at Moelmyen, to establish commerce from that port with the west of China, across the intervening populous Burman Shan States, by the Salween Valley route, or any other. But when he was in England in 1866, and about returning to British Burma to succeed in the year following to its Chief Commissionership and Political Agency, he wrote to me :—

> "That he had had a long conference with Viscount Cranborne, then Indian Secretary of State, and considered him favourable to a Government survey of the routes projected for commerce with Western China, &c. from Rangoon, That he, Colonel Fytche, thought the matter should be effectually examined into, and would do all in his power to accomplish it."

46. Yet, from his arrival at Rangoon, and assumption of the Chief Commissionership and Political Agency, he devoted himself to diplomatic intercourse with the Court of Burma, to supplementing the commercial treaty of his predecessor, and to prosecuting and realising *his* Bhamo route, to the exclusion of the direct line to Kyang-Hung, more especially after Lord Cranborne resigned the seals

seals of the India Office. What were the measures he pursued therein, through his Mandelay Assistant Political Agent with the King and Government of Burma, and what his various representations and recommendations, official and demi-official, to the Government of India, I refrain from now treating of. Systematic persistent pressure from the representatives of a superior power, however courteously it may be cloaked or concealed, prohibited or disavowed, in official Despatches, is no less felt as *force* by an isolated weak power. The Burman sovereign and his ministers of the period, if sufficiently independent, would probably make known that *such pressure alone* caused them to enter into the Treaty of 1867, notwithstanding that Despatches between the Political Agent at Rangoon, his Assistant at Mandelay, and the Government of India, may represent it to have been voluntarily proffered by the King, to allow the establishment of a British judicial court in their capital, they being refused a court of corresponding jurisdiction and powers at Rangoon; to sanction a new British Military Political Agency with an imposing establishment at Bhamo, subordinate to the Military Assistant Political Agent at Mandelay, and ostensibly to concur in Captain Sladen's expedition across the Khakyen ranges to China, for the avowed purpose of diverting back to Bhamo, for conveyance by British steamers to Rangoon, the traffic now carried on by Chinese caravans, between the north-west of Yunan and Burma, over better and safer routes *to and from the Burman capital*, to the great benefit of its traders and inhabitants, and of the King's Government.

47. Considering, as we must suppose the King and ministers of Burmah to do, these recent extensions of controlling British authority over his remaining kingdom, his very capital, and its trade, *in connection with* the recommendation of Chief Commissioner Fytche and his chief engineer, that a railway, commercially needless, should be constructed along the navigable Irawadee river from Rangoon to Prome, and with the building, by a company subsidised by the Government,* of steamers "of a size and power capable of rapidly conveying entire British regiments from the Prome terminus of such railway to Mandelay," can it surprise that the King, his advisers and court, should entertain the belief that, if the annexation of their country has not preceded our attempt to establish commerce with China by the Irawadee and Bhamo route, it is destined *to follow it*, realising the too loud cry of some officials and merchants, "If the Government will not annex, to extend empire and commerce, then *we must so extend commerce* that annexation shall in certainty follow, and make the Upper Salween our eastern† boundary as far north at least as the latitude of Momien."

* *See* note to para. 26, *ante*.

48. Those who so desire and plan "annexations still" on our British Burman frontier, do not, however, stand alone in India as insatiable advocates of further territorial extensions. There are not a few who advocated the annexation of Mysore, and condemned Lord Cranborne's justice in acknowledging the heir of adoption. Others now publicly advocate in print the taking of Cashmere from the prince to whom, when in need of his treasure, we sold it, in utter disregard of the will of its people, while some, again, over apprehensive of Russia's progress, recommend the occupation of Beloochistan, to enable the extension to the Indus of the Euphrates Valley Railway, whenever this may be constructed. The security and peace of what we do possess, and the prosperity and happiness of the people thereof, will, however, as is doubtless felt by your Grace, be far better provided for by our scrupulously refraining from augmenting it, in any quantity, in any direction, on any plea, or for any object; and this more particularly in reference to the comparatively very contracted territory we have left to the royal race of Burmah, shut in by us from all other nations.

* * * * * *

50. A not uninteresting page of print, your Grace may possibly consider, for the King of Burmah and his ministers to possess, as no doubt they do, from Major

† Why?-and wherefore? The Salween river is our present boundary, only up to 18° 50′ N. lat. and 97° 20′ 45″ E. lon. Whereas Momien is in 24° 65′ N. lat., and 98° 40′ 45″ E. lon. Not only does all *west* of the stream through the six intermediate degrees of latitude belong to the King of Burma, but also very much situated *east* of the Salween, and to the east also of *the Kamboja*. Besides, the Salween is not the "natural boundary" through any part of its coarse. The natural boundary in that eastern direction is the lofty range, *east* of the Salween, which, southward, forms the watershed between the Gulfs of Martaban and Siam, and, more northerly, between the eastern feeders of the Upper Salween and the western feeders of the Meikong or Upper Kamboja.

Major Sladen's letter, as British Political Agent, to the Chief Commissioner, No. 194, dated Mandelay, the 25th of September 1868, given at pages 176 to 178 of the Narrative of his Expedition, as printed by the Government of India, and describing the taking of the "oath of fidelity" to him at Bhamo, on the 12th of that month, by 31 Khakyen Hill chiefs and Northern Shan Tsobwuas, against the will of the Burman Governor of Bhamo, must, I think, prove somewhat instructive to the King of Burmah and his ministers.

* * * * *

51. Your Grace will see that no aggressive "anhexation" of Upper Burmah and dethronement of its royal family—measures openly advocated in Captain Bower's published history of the Bhamo exploring expedition, and but too plainly hinted at in the Despatches of Chief Commissioner Fytche and his engineer officer, urging the construction of a railway from Rangoon to Prome—or "re-adjustment of our frontier," by taking possession of Chinese territory, is in any way a probable result of adopting the direct land route from Rangoon to Kyang-Hung, for British and Indian commerce with the Burman Shan States and west of China. Its course is distant from both the capital and territory of Burmah proper, and does not enter any part of China, the line being limited to striking, at the most suitable point in the Burman Shan State of Kyang-Hung, the right bank of the Kamboja river, before stated to be, at that part of its course, some 50 miles from the Chinese frontier town of Esmok. To ensure that commerce shall be carried on by this route in peace and perfect harmony with the King of Burmah, with the chiefs of those few of his Shan States as the line will cross, and with their several peoples, it is only requisite to enter into frank and equitable negotiations with his Majesty and those few chiefs, in which neither difficulty nor disagreeables will, I imagine, be experienced, if right persons are selected for the duty, and they are rightly instructed.

52. The rapid advances which other European nations and the United States of America have made during late years, in international and commercial relations with Siam, Cochin China, China, and Japan, and the successful completion of the Suez Canal, with the greater proximity it gives to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean and Black Seas to the seaborde of all Asia, are facts which cannot be wisely disregarded in a consideration of the advantageous opening our port of Rangoon offers for British trade, overland therefrom, with the States bordering on the north-east of our Pegu and Martaban provinces, including the inland western moiety of China proper; and, as showing that, from my first proposing this new line of commerce for England and India, I did not overlook or neglect to submit such facts to Her Majesty's ministers, and the department of State over which your Grace now presides, I adduce a few of many proofs at my command.

53. In April and May 1858, I transmitted several papers on the subject, drawn up with some labour, to the then Foreign Secretary of State, one of which, having explanatory maps attached, treated in great detail :—

> "Of the manufacturing and commercial progress of the United States of America, and of their intention to lay various lines of rail from the Atlantic to the Pacific, expressly to facilitate and command the trade of Japan, China, &c. across the latter ocean."

The Foreign Secretary acknowledged that communication flatteringly, with intimation that he had transmitted it to the Board of Trade for consideration, beyond which I never heard of it.

54. On the 15th of March 1860, I circulated my third or fourth pamphlet on his question, which was entitled :—

> "China; and how best for England to Preserve her Commercial, Political, and Military Position there, in reference to American, French, and Russian recent Approaches to it."

That pamphlet also treated, among other things, of the projected American and Pacific railways, &c.; and, in reference thereto, named four points as therefore urgently claiming the attention of the Home and Indian Governments, of which

which points the first three referred to our then relations with China, Burma Proper, and Siam, and the fourth to British Pegu, in these words:

> "And, as respects Pegu, to have a cheap single line rail or tramway laid, by the most direct practicable route, from the port of Rangoon, *vid* the ancient capital of Pegu, to our more north-easterly town of Shwaygyeen, on the River Sittang; and thence, by the most easy engineering line, to our extreme north-east frontier point on the right bank of the Salween river, &c."

55. Following that, I, in 1861-62, compiled and engraved a map of Asia, measuring about 7 feet by 3½, embracing from the mouth of the Red Sea to Japan, showing the proposed rail or tram line from Rangoon to that Salween river frontier point, and onward therefrom, *vid* the Takan ferry, across that stream and Kyang-Tung, to Kyang-Hung on the Kamboja river south-west frontier of China; in reference to which projected railway I caused to be conspicuously printed on the map, a copy of which, as of many others, was transmitted to each of Her Majesty's Ministers, the following note: —

> "TheSuez Canal completed, and the Rangoon and West of China Railway constructed, British merchandise of every variety will be conveyed from the United Kingdom to inland China Proper, within 40 days, and the rich commercial products of Western China and the Burman Shan States be brought in similar short time to England free from the delays, ocean and war risks, and insurances of the much longer conveyance round the Cape of Good Hope, through the Straits of Sunda or Malacca, and up and down the Chinese Seas."

56. From 10 to 12 years have passed, my Lord Duke, since I made those and many similar efforts to attract the attention of Her Majesty's and the Indian Governments to the importance to each of promptly making that overland commercial way to the south-west frontier of China; my labours, however, proved vain; excepting Mr. Disraeli, Lords Stanley and Cranborne, during their holdings of seals of office, no Minister has cared to give individual heed to what I submitted.

57. Thereon, the manufacturing and mercantile interests of the United Kingdom investigated its merits, and having satisfied themselves that the Secretary of State for India had judged and decided erroneously, they commenced, through their several commercial chambers and associations, a series of memorials to different of Her Majesty's Ministers, in favour of the project, such as no other mere commercial question has called forth in our day, numbering, I am led to believe, near 60 appeals in all, terminating with an earnest one to your Grace, as the Minister now controlling the Government of India, from the general body of the Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom, after a full discussion of the question and its present position at their annual meeting; nevertheless, because one Secretary of State, one Viceroy, and one Chief Commissioner have objected to the proposition without adequate or impartial inquiry into its merits, but resting mainly on such partisan, and prejudiced representations of it, as I have submitted, in preceding pages, from persons in the East officially desiring, or privately interested in, divers schemes having reference to the territory of the King of Burma; it is sought to be established by them, that succeeding Indian Secretaries and Viceroys are bound by such wrong decision, and that subordinate officials, even those having voice in Parliament, must continue to misrepresent the project, and to assign false reasons for the hostility to it of their chiefs. In no age can a more unsound principle have been followed as regards our national commerce, and most certainly your Grace cannot deem it one to have the countenance of British statesmen in the present period of rapid material progress and general commercial competition the world over.

58. In the meantime, however, what has been the result? Progress answers, America *has completed* one of her unequalled Atlantic and Pacific lines of railway, and merchandise of every variety for Japan and China, as well as from those countries, conveyed by fast steamers across the Pacific,* is now carried to and

* The American steamer "Japan," by no means a fast one, left Yokohama 24th January, and reached San Francisco 16th February, in all 23 days. And to give increased activity to American commerce in that and other directions, Congress is being prepared to grant subsidies to such steamer lines.

and fro by that rail between the ports of New York and San Francisco, to the benefit of American manufacturers, merchants, and shipowners, and the prejudice, more or less, of those of the United Kingdom.

59. So, likewise, the "reputed impracticable" Suez Canal, against investing in which British capitalists were earnestly warned by a deceased Prime Minister, *has been completed*, and all the countries of Europe being, by railway and steamer, nearer to it than is England, *their* manufacturers, merchants, and shipowners will acquire a similar advantage over those of our country, especially France, in trading through it with the different countries of Asia, and more particularly with China.

60. Does not it then behove the Government of India, and your Grace as controlling it, without further delay, and disregarding aggressive eastern ideas and plans for the earlier or later absorption of Burma Proper, to avail of every practical mode in its power, still further to lessen the commercial distance *between the United Kingdom and the west of China Proper?* For British merchandise to reach the western provinces of China at present, even through the Suez Canal, it must be carried:—

Viâ Shanghai and River.	*Miles.*
From England, *viâ* the Canal, to Shanghai	10,488
From Shanghai, up the River Yang-tsz, to the west of China	1,750
Total of ocean and river carriage — *Miles*	*12,238*
But, *viâ* Rangoon and Rail,	
From England, *viâ* the Canal, to Rangoon	7,830
From Rangoon, by rail or tram, to Kiang-Hung, on the west of China	530
Total of ocean and rail carriage — *Miles*	*8,360*
Difference in favour of Rangoon, and direct rail therefrom — *Miles*	3,878

Making a save of 7,756 miles on the out and home voyages.

61. Your Grace will admit, I feel assured, that in these days of increasing national competition in the manufacture and sale of goods, and in the purchase of the raw materials wherewith to manufacture them, such a save in time, sea risks, freight, and insurance is, to both the manufacturer and the shipping merchant, all-important. They consider rightly enough that they are entitled, for various reasons, to have it secured to them by the Government of India; and, among others, that the trade of India and the British Burman provinces of Pegu, Martaban, and Tenasserim, must greatly* and permanently benefit, in very many ways, by the construction of the required rail or tramway. The Government of India cannot surely feel that it acquires further estimation by immovably standing in the way, year after year, of a project in which the public bodies who represent the industries and commerce of the kingdom evince such interest; or that these bodies can consider that the Government so acting does not require to be reformed, to bring its administrative action something more in accord with the legitimate and just requirements of the Home country, by the power of which India was acquired and is retained.

62. The Board of Trade may issue favourable returns of our exports and imports, as regards the quantities of goods shipped from our ports, and of raw material imported into them; but, as bespeaking *profitable* activity of trade, those returns are often fallacious. Goods may be sent to foreign markets and there disposed of at considerable loss; and raw material be imported at similar disadvantage. A necessity for shipping-off stocks from overfilled warehouses, the contents of which are daily added to from the necessity of keeping manufactories in work, will overstock markets abroad, lower prices in them below profit, and even to losing figures, ultimately necessitating a greater or less stoppage of manufacture. This reacts prejudicially on the demand for imported raw produce, until loss is entailed upon both exporting and importing merchants. And because

* *See* mine and son's letter to Secretary of State for India, Sir Charles Wood, dated 20th January 1862; printed and circulated by us as our pamphlet, No. V.

cause, under such adverse circumstances, manufacturers are unwilling to part with the hope that "a better time is coming," and still keep their mills and works in more or less activity so long as they can dispose of their productions *without profit*; and merchants are content to ship them with similar result; neither the one nor the other can bear up against continued *losses* through fall of prices in the markets open to them. Therefore, while the Board of Trade's periodical returns may show no falling off in *the quantities* of merchandise exported and imported, it in no respect justifies its being considered that trade is wholesomely active, or yielding the benefit necessary for the country's prosperity. It is therefore that, looking at the present depressed condition of our manufacturing districts and commercial ports, it is of vital importance to the country generally, that every new market should be made accessible to them that can be peaceably opened up. No such market is now more universally admitted to be so promising as that of Western China; ridiculed as I have been, through many years for so declaring it, by opponents who are interested or misinformed in the matter.

63. The several printed reports of the Bhamo Route Exploring Expedition, including those of the surveyors, Captain J. M. Williams and Mr. Robert Gordon, of the commercial representatives, Messrs. Stewart and Bowers, of Captain Sladen, Chief of the Expedition, and even Chief Commissioner Fytche's partisan Memorandum thereon, all of which I possess and have attentively read, show to every impartial mind at all conversant with the country and its people, that to approach inland China by the Irawadee, Mandelay, and Bhamo route, for *British* commercial objects, is the idle dream I considered it when examining into its practicability years since; and, notwithstanding all the pressing advocacy of it by those who desire and strive to bring about the annexation of Upper Burma and its dependencies; of those who, as holders of tea plantations in Assam, &c., erroneously believe it would lead to the opening of a way across the wilds of Upper Burma by which they should receive from Bhamo unlimited and cheap Chinese Coolie labour; and of those others at Rangoon, Calcutta, and Glasgow, who, forming the Irawadee Steam Flotilla Company, too naturally desire that that river should be the sole route for trade with the west of China; the Bhamo route, be it considered of use for what political objects it may, is condemned by each and every one of the six reports referred to, as a way for regular trade deserving the name of British commerce.

64. As to the Yang-tsze river route to the west of China, Mr. Consul Swinhoe's Report of his late expedition up that stream to the eastern extremities of the Szechuen and Yunan provinces, recently presented to Parliament, fully confirms what Captain Blakiston's excellent survey and account of it years back established, of the unsuitableness of the upper portion of the stream for the conveyance of regular commerce; and in transmitting Mr. Swinhoe's Report to the Foreign Secretary of State, Her Majesty's Ambassador at Pekin observed:—

> "That all thought of obtaining access to the Upper Yang-tsze for steamers must be relinquished for the present; and it is clear no navigation by steamers is possible higher than Ichang."

I have, however, before me copy of a memorial from the Chinese merchants of Ichang to the Imperial Government of China, praying that the river between Hankow and their city may on no account be opened to foreign vessels of any kind; because, as they but too truly state, the effect must be to take the carrying trade between those cities wholly out of Chinese hands, as had been injuriously done between the open ports along the seaboard of the empire, between Shanghai and Hankow,* and between the mouth of the Peiko and Tientsin, to the very grievous wrong of their own vessels and people. The provisions, also, of Sir Rutherford Alcock's convention with China, which is being so strongly objected to by our merchants trading with the open ports, appear to indicate that the Chinese Government is indisposed, for the present at least, to encourage the further advance of foreign merchants into the interior of the empire.

65. Advices

* Four hundred foreign steamers passed up and down between Shanghai and Hankow, in 1869. No wonder, therefore, that Chinese junks and their builders and sailors, find *their* "occupation gone."

65. Advices from Hankow, of 8th of January last, communicate that enterprising Russian Hongs are building steamers to load teas therefrom, *viâ* the Suez Canal, direct for Odessa; from whence they will have grain freights to London, and return therefrom to Shanghai and Hankow, with general cargoes. The same Chinese advices state:—

> "That the increasing interest shown by the home and Indian press in the proposition to open up Western China, from the port of Rangoon by railway, and thus to draw to an English port the bulk of teas of the western districts, and at the same time shorten the sea voyage very materially, is attracting much attention."

66. There is still one rival route to the direct one from Rangoon to Kyang-Hung before the public, which I ought not to leave unnoticed in this communication to your Grace; because, among other reasons, a predecessor of your Grace's at the India Office, and if I recollect rightly, your own Under Secretary, Mr. Grant Duff—I have not their speeches at hand to refer to—in their endeavour, at the close of last Session, to justify the suspension of the survey of the direct land route, expressed themselves to have faith in such other route as a way for British commerce with the west of China. I refer to the Calcutta and Assam route, *viâ* Sudiya in Upper Assam, across the perpetually snow-clad eastern extremity of the Himalayas, in which lie the sources of the Irawadee, the Lohit, and other mountain streams; and then across the lofty ranges which run north and south between the Nou, the Lan-Tsan, and the Kinsha rivers, where these severally issue from Tibet, to the Chinese town of Bathang, on the Tibetan frontier of the province of Syechuen. The able and enterprising explorer, Mr. T. T. Cooper, made persevering endeavours, two years since, to cross *from* Bathang, by this route, or some proximate one, *to India*; but failing in that, and imagining it might be accomplished from Upper Assam to Bathang, he proceeded to Calcutta, and under the laudable patronage and support of its Chamber of Commerce, went last year to Sudiya in Upper Assam, to make the attempt. But no one, who has properly considered Lieutenants Burlton and Wilcox's Reports of their exploration of the Kampti country and sources of the Irawadee river, could anticipate that, whatever dry season mountain paths may exist across the mountain regions north of their route, any way could be found, or made, across them *for commerce*. Though Mr. Cooper spent considerable time at Sudiya in collecting information, making every possible preparation, and obtaining local guides, recent accounts from Calcutta state that, after making some considerable progress across the territories of mountain chiefs bordering on Assam, including those of the Degaroo Mishmee and Meju tribes, and extensive intermediate barren tracts, he was necessitated, by the jealous hostility of Tibetan Lamas and Chinese frontier authorities, to retrace his steps to British territory. One report, however, represents that he states his object was *not* to find a trade way *into China through Bathang*, but one into Tibet and the regions north of it, for the teas of Assam, &c.; a project which the Chinese, having the controlling power they have over Eastern Tibet, and supplying it as they have done from time immemorial with tea, are not, I imagine, likely to allow early realisation of, desirable as such a market must be to the tea growers of Assam.

67. Your Grace will, I trust, therefore see that the sole remaining way by which our manufacturers and merchants can have the western portion of China peaceably made accessible to them, is the one from Rangoon to Kyang-Hung, or to some point of the Upper Kamboja river in that State. It was 33 years since the tributary princes of Kyang-Tung and Kyang-Hung, their ministers and subordinate chiefs, frankly and warmly expressed to Captain McLeod *their* readiness to facilitate all in their power our trading with China across those States. The Chinese settled in them, and those of Esmok trading with caravans in the dry season over the country between the Upper Kamboja and the Salween rivers, no less earnestly expressed to him, as many such had previously done to Richardson, *their* wish and desire that we should so establish regular commerce with their country; where, they all said, our *merchants* would be well received, and most welcome. The judicious instructions Commissioner Blundell gave to McLeod, dated Moelmyen, the 20th of November 1836, and the letters he sent by him to the Tsobwa of Kyang-Tung and the Tsenwibua of Kyang-Hung, as well

well as to the Viceroy of Yunan in case he proceeded into China, expressly state that "the object of his mission was, peacefully, to extend British trade, from the "Gulf of Martaban, to their States, and the West of China"; and the replies the envoy took back from them, were even more friendly and promising than could have been hoped for. Though the length McLeod found the road to Kyang-Hung through the Siamese Shan States of Zimmai, &c., 638 miles, with *their* devastated condition, and the hostility of *their* chiefs to his object, caused the effort to be then no further prosecuted; our annexation, 15 years later, in 1852, of the Pegu and Martaban provinces of Burma, not only placed us in independence of the Zimmai route to Kyang-Tung and Kyang-Hung, but gave us command of a much shorter one, with the first half of it across our own territory. This half has been surveyed and reported on most favourably for a rail or tramway; and the Report of the Surveyors, with map and sections, has been, for some time before Parliament. Of its 250 miles, 169 are therein reported to be easy of construction, 35 moderately easy, and only 40 miles at all difficult, having a single mile of tunnel; and, excepting a few insignificant streams, having only one measuring 1,500 feet, to be crossed.

68. Seeing, then, that the full period of "a generation" *has passed away** since McLeod was so *urged* by the ruling authorities of Kyang-Tung and Kyang-Hung, and by the Chinese merchants there established, as well as by others periodically traversing them in the dry season with caravans from Esmok, to cause our trade to be extended across those States to China; I submit to the impartial consideration and practised judgment of your Grace, whether, in pressing this question on ministerial attention, the Chambers of Commerce of the United Kingdom can be rightly said, in their great need of new foreign markets, "to be following the mere will-o'-the-wisp," your Parliamentary Under Secretary, Mr. Grant Duff, permitted himself to affirm to Parliament they were; or whether, as he on the same occasion also stated they were, "they are following a man "with a chronometer in his head, to a country of which we know no more than "of that beyond the river Styx;" and are *still* "a generation too soon" to have their desires realised.

69. Under the official rebuffs and discourtesies which have been extended to me through the years I have felt it right to recommend the opening of this "new mark" to ministerial attention, it is possible I may not have advocated it without, in some instances, showing that I have felt those rebuffs and discourtesies to be unmerited. But my having so done, in no respect affects the merits of the project, or lessens the claim the manufacturing and mercantile interests of the kingdom have on the Home and Indian Governments in regard to it; and will not, I trust, be permitted to do so in your Grace's enlightened and practised judgment.

70. Among the letters which I and my late son addressed to Sir Charles Wood on the subject during the period he held the Seals of the India Office, there were two dated the 20th of January 1862, and 15th of January 1866, which are in print,† and contain more important information and reasoning in favour of the project than this communication does. Indeed, for a clear understanding of its merits and of the immediate and permanent benefit it will bring to England and India, a perusal of those two of our earlier communications is, perhaps, more essential at the present time than when they were written. And as we printed the first-dated of them as a pamphlet in the year it was written, and several copies of it were then forwarded to the India Office, and the later dated of them is in print as a Parliamentary Paper, both must be at your Grace's command. I would therefore solicit your notice of para. 64 of the latter document, in its 37th and 38th pages, and submit whether, if the proffer, it conveyed

* Among the erroneous reasons and unsound arguments with which Mr. Grant Duff sought to justify to Parliament the hostility of the Government of India to this project for the extension of our commerce in the East, he resorted to the common official plea, "that it was before its time, though it might be desirable a generation or two hence."

† The *first*, a pamphlet, V. roy. 8vo., London, 1862, "China and a New Commerce therewith from Rangoon," by Captain Richard Sprye and Reynell-Hele-Fowell Sprye, Esq. The *second*, Parliamentary Paper, "East India, Shan States, &c.," 350, Sess. 1866.

conveyed from me had been accepted, much trouble and considerable outlay* would not have been saved to the Government of India through the four years which have since passed, satisfaction have been given to the commercial community of the kingdom, and great benefits have resulted to England and India during the period.

71. I have confined myself in this letter to the few points it notices of Chief Commissioner Fytche's "Memorandum" to the Viceroy and Governor General of India, dated the 30th of June 1869, and of Captain Sladen's "Narrative" dated the 24th of February of the same year,† because I am preparing for submission to the Chambers of Commerce, in pamphlet form, a complete review of those documents and of the four other printed Reports of the Bhamo Route Expedition, referred to in para. 63 preceding; in connection with other trustworthy information which I received, from time to time, on the subject, from the East.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Richard Sprye.*

His Grace The Duke of Argyll, K.T.,
H. M. Secretary of State for India.

---

* Including among others, the considerable cost of Lieutenants G. E. Sconce's and C. E. Watson's misnamed "Salween River Surveying Expedition," of 1863; of Mr. Francis Fedden's and Captain C. E. Watson's as misdirected survey of the same river in 1864; and the still more serious cost, for the commercially as useless expedition, of Captan Sladen to Momien, in 1868-69.

† *See* subsection, No. LXXIX., Foreign Records of the Government of India.

EAST INDIA (BRITISH BURMAH).

COPY of a LETTER from Captain *Richard Sprye* to the Secretary of State for *India*, dated 30th March 1871, relative to the TRADE with *Western China* direct from *Rangoon*, &c.

(Mr. Baines.)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
7 July 1871.

EAST INDIA (KOOKA OUTBREAK).

[illegible] to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 2 and July 1872;—*for*

"COPY of CORRESPONDENCE, or EXTRACTS from CORRESPONDENCE, relating to the KOOKA OUTBREAK."

India Office, 26 July 1872.

ARTHUR E. HOBHOUSE,
For SIR HENRY ANDERSON,
Secretary, Judicial Department.

(Mr. Kinnaird.)

Ordered, by The H[illegible]ommons, *to be Printed,* [illegible]872.

356.

CONTENTS.

From	To	Date.	Page.
Government of India - -	Secretary of State for India -	19 Jan. 1872 (No. 7) -	3
Telegram, Secretary to Government, Punjab.	Home Secretary, Calcutta -	15 Jan. „ (No. 1) -	3
Telegram, Viceroy - - -	Lieutenant Governor, Punjab -	16 Jan. „ (No, 2) -	4
Telegram, Lieutenant Governor, Punjab.	Viceroy - - - -	16 Jan. „ (No. 3) -	4
Telegram, Viceroy - - -	Lieutenant Governor, Punjab -	16 Jan. „ (No. 4) -	4
Telegram, Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana.	Home Secretary, Calcutta -	16 Jan. „ (No. 5) -	4
Telegram, Secretary to Government, Punjab.	- - ditto - - - -	16 Jan. „ (No. 6) -	4
Ditto - - - -	- - ditto - - - -	17 Jan. „ (No. 7) -	4
Telegram, Mr. Cowan - -	- - ditto - - - -	17 Jan. „ (No. 8) -	5
Telegram, Secretary to Government, Punjab.	- - ditto - - - -	17 Jan. „ (No. 9) -	5
Ditto - - - -	- - ditto - - - -	18 Jan. „ (No. 10)	5
Ditto - - - -	Home Secretary, Calcutta; also to Magistrate, Allahabad, and Secretary to Government, North Western Provinces.	18 Jan. „ (No. 11)	5
Ditto - - - -	Home Secretary - - -	18 Jan. „ (No. 12)	5
Ditto - - - -	- - ditto - - - -	18 Jan. „ (No. 13)	5
Telegram, Viceroy - - -	Lieutenant Governor - -	19 Jan. „ (No. 14)	6
Government of India - -	Secretary of State - - -	2 Feb. „ (No. 9) -	6
Telegram, Secretary to Government, Punjab.	Home Secretary, Calcutta -	19 Jan. „ - -	6
Ditto - - - -	- - ditto - - - -	19 Jan. „ - -	6
Telegram, Lieutenant Governor, Punjab.	Viceroy - - - -	19 Jan. „ - -	7
Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab.	Secretary to Government of India.	16 Jan. „ (No. 9 *c*)	7
Telegram, Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana.	Secretary to Government, Delhi	15 Jan. „ - -	7
Ditto - - - -	Commissioner, Umballa -	15 Jan. „ - -	8
Telegram, Assistant to Inspector General of Police, Lahore.	Inspector General, Delhi -	16 Jan. „ - -	8
Telegram, Deputy Commissioner, Nolankallee.	Secretary to Government -	16 Jan. „ - -	8
Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab.	- - ditto - - - -	17 Jan. „ (No. 15 *c*)	8
Secretary to Government of India.	Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab.	22 Jan. „ (No. 102)	8
Officiating Under Secretary to Government of India.	Magistrate, Allahabad - -	22 Jan. „ (No. 103)	8
Telegram, Home Secretary, Calcutta.	Lieutenant Governor, Punjab -	22 Jan. „ - -	8
Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab.	Secretary to Government of India.	17 Jan. „ (No. 18 *c*)	9
Mr. Cowan - - - -	Commissioner, Umballa -	15 Jan. „ (No. 14)	9
Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab.	Secretary to Government of India.	19 Jan. „ (No. 23 *c*)	9
Commissioner, Umballa - -	Secretary to Government, Punjab.	17 Jan. „ - -	10
Mr. Cowan - - - -	Commissioner, Umballa -	16 Jan. „ - -	11
Commissioner, Umballa - -	Mr. Cowan - - - -	17 Jan. „ - -	11
Ditto - - - -	Secretary to Government, Punjab.	18 Jan. „ - -	12
Demi-Official Letter from Captain Menzies - - - - -		18 Jan. „ - -	12
Special Report of Crime, Ludiana District, on 17th January 1872		—	13
Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab.	Secretary to Government of India.	20 Jan. „ (No. 24 *c*)	14
Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana	Commissioner, Umballa -	17 Jan. „ (No. 15)	14

From	To	Date.	Page.
Mr. Cowan - - - - -	Commissioner, Umballa -	17 Jan. 1872 (No. 16)	16
Secretary to Government of India.	Secretary to Government, Punjab.	24 Jan. „ - -	16
Telegram, Secretary to Punjab Government.	Home Secretary, Calcutta -	22 Jan. „ - -	17
Government of India - -	Secretary of State - - -	2 Feb. „ (No. 12)	17
Telegram, Punjab Government	Home Secretary, Calcutta -	21 Jan. „ - -	17
Ditto - - - - -	- - ditto - - - -	23 Jan. „ - -	17
Officiating Secretary, Punjab Government.	Secretary to Government of India.	22 Jan. „ (No. 29*c*)	17
Commissioner, Umballa - -	Secretary to Punjab Government.	19 Jan. „ - -	17
Mr. Cowan - - - - -	- - - - - -	19 Jan. „ - -	19
Commissioner, Umballa - -	Secretary to Punjab Government.	20 Jan. „ - -	19
Officiating Secretary to Punjab Government.	Secretary to Government of India.	26 Jan. „ (No. 36*c*)	21
Commissioner, Umballa - -	Secretary to Punjab Government.	22 Jan. „ (No. 27)	21
Mr. Cowan - - - - -	Commissioner, Umballa -	21 Jan. „ - -	23
Commissioner, Umballa (Letter of Instructions).	Mr. Cowan - - - -	17 Jan. „ - -	23
Telegram, Deputy Commissioner.	Secretary, Malodh - -	16 Jan. „ - -	23
Telegram, Commissioner, Ludiana.	Secretary - - - -	17 Jan. „ - -	24
Telegram, Secretary to Government.	Commissioner, Ludiana - -	- - - - -	24
Telegram, Commissioner, Ludiana.	- - - - - -	- - - - -	24
Government of India - -	Secretary of State - -	16 Feb. 1872 (No. 14)	24
Telegram, Secretary, Punjab Government.	Home Secretary, Calcutta -	29 Jan. „ - -	24
Telegram, Home Secretary, Calcutta.	Secretary to Punjab Government.	4 Feb. „ - -	24
Secretary to Government of India.	- - ditto - - - -	8 Feb. „ (No. 289)	24
Government of India - -	Secretary of State - -	15 March „ (No. 17)	26
Ditto - - - - -	Ditto - - - -	2 May „ (No. 28)	26
Officiating Secretary to Punjab Government.	Secretary to Government of India.	7 Feb. „ (No. 59*c*)	26
Ditto - - - - -	Ditto - - - -	12 Feb. „ (No. 72*c*)	28
Mr. Cowan - - - - -	Commissioner, Umballa - -	9 Feb. „	28
Officiating Secretary to Punjab Government.	Secretary to Government of India.	14 Feb. „ (No. 76 *c*)	29 to 47
Forwarding the proceedings in the trial of Kookas.	- - - - - - -	- - - - -	
Secretary to Government of India.	Officiating Secretary to Government, Punjab.	22 Mar. 1872 (No. 569)	48
Officiating Secretary to Punjab Government.	Secretary to Government of India.	15 March „ (No. 914)	48
District Superintendent of Police, Ludiana.	Deputy Inspector General of Police, Umbala.	6 Feb. „ (No. 56)	49
Officiating Secretary to Punjab Government.	Secretary to Government of India.	11 April „ (No. 1270)	50
Commissioner, Umbala - -	Officiating Secretary to Punjab Government.	8 April „ (No. 153)	50
Ditto - - - - -	Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana.	17 Jan. „ - -	52
Mr. Cowan - - - - -	Officiating Secretary to Punjab Government.	8 April „ - -	53
District Superintendent of Police, Ludiana.	Officiating Under Secretary to Punjab Government.	5 April „ - -	54
Secretary to Government of India.	Secretary to Punjab Government.	30 April „ (No. 857)	54
Government of India - -	Secretary of State for India -	3 May „ (No. 151 *a*)	59
Secretary of State for India -	Government of India - -	18 July „ (No. 32) -	60

COPY of CORRESPONDENCE, or EXTRACTS from CORRESPONDENCE, relating to the KOOKA OUTBREAK.

(No. 7 of 1872.)

From Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Duke, Fort William, 19 January 1872.

WE enclose for your Grace's information a copy of the telegrams noted in the annexed list, regarding certain disturbances created by bodies of Kookas in the Ludiana district of the Punjab.

2. Two attacks were committed by these men: one, by a body said to be 200 strong, on Malodh Fort, during the night of the 14th January; the other, probably by the same body, though estimated at 500 in number, on Malair Kotlah, on the morning of the 15th. Both attacks were repulsed.

3. In compliance with the application of the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana, a strong military force was promptly despatched to his aid from Delhi and Jullundur. Meanwhile, the Maharajahs of Patiala, Nabha, and Jheend, rendered prompt assistance, and about 100 Kookas, who were concerned in the attack on Kotlah, have been killed, wounded, or captured, including their two leaders, Lehna Singh and Heera Singh. The Deputy Commissioner telegraphs, under date the 17th instant, that tranquillity has been restored.

4. The leader of the Kooka sect, Gooroo Ram Singh, was at once ordered into Delhi by the Lieutenant Governor, and has since been sent, with two of his lieutenants, under a guard to Allahabad.

5. These are the only particulars we have yet received, but inquiries are in progress as to the causes which occasioned, and the persons who were engaged in, these outrages. It is conjectured, however, that the object of the Kookas, in their attacks on Malodh and Kotlah, was to procure arms.

6. We await the receipt of a full report from the Lieutenant Governor, and we shall forward it to your Grace as soon as possible.

TELEGRAMS.

(1.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 15th January 1872.

From Secretary to Government, Punjab, Delhi, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

DEPUTY Commissioner, Ludiana, telegraphs the following:

"Two hundred Kukas attacked Malodh Fort last night, wounded Surdar Buddan Singh, and killed two men. One Kuka killed, and two captured. I go out at once. Particulars by post."

The crime shows great boldness on part of Kukas.

(2.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 16th January 1872.

From Viceroy to Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab.

YOUR telegram of yesterday received. It is very desirable that the most experienced officer available should be sent to the spot to inquire into the matter.

It is of the utmost importance that the whole facts of the case should be thoroughly sifted and ascertained without delay, so that there can be no possible chance of the Government being misinformed as to the causes which occasioned, and the persons engaged in, this most serious outrage.

(3.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 16th January 1872; 11.50 A.M.

From Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, Delhi, to the Viceroy.

ATTACK on Malodh by Kukas, already reported, was followed next morning by one on Malair Kotla. Seven inhabitants thereof killed; numbers of Kukas, 500.

In compliance with requisition of Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana for troops, one regiment Native Infantry, wing of Europeans, detachment of Cavalry, leave this morning for Khanna, between Umballa and Ludiana.

Deputy Commissioner has since telegraphed that a great number of Kukas have been surrounded at Malair Kotla, and that he has got cavalry from Nawab, but I have not stopped troops going.

Following on antecedents, these outrages show incorrigible conspiracy in leaders of sect. Country not safe whilst leaders at large. I have therefore authorised Forsyth to effect capture of Ram Singh and principal Soobahs. Report by post.

(4.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 16th January 1872; 4 P.M.

From Viceroy to Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, Delhi.

YOUR action entirely approved. We shall be anxious to hear further particulars.

(5.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 16th January 1872.

From Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, Malodh, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

16th January 1872.—THE inquiry progresses. The whole facts, and I hope the names of all engaged, will be discovered. I go on to Kotla to-night or to-morrow. It is not known yet with certainty where the Kuka rebels are.

(6.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 16th January 1872.

From Secretary to Government, Punjab, Delhi, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

16th.—DEPUTY Commissioner, Ludiana, telegraphs to-day; "The inquiry progresses. The whole facts, and I hope the names of all engaged, will be discovered. I go on to Kotla to-night or to-morrow. It is not known yet with certainty where the Kuka rebels are."

(7.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 17th January 1872.

From Secretary to Government, Punjab, Delhi, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

COMMISSIONER telegraphs from Ludiana, 16th: "The European companies from Jullundur have arrived. All quiet here. Seventy Kukas, very severely wounded, after Kotla

Kotla fight, were seized at Sherpur, in Patiala territory; probably these are all. Former number evidently exaggerated by native reports. Ram Singh was with Cowan to-day, and has now been sent for to come in here."

(8.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 17th January 1872.

From Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, Kotla, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

TRANQUILLITY restored. About 100 Kukas killed, wounded, or captured. Patiala, Nabha, and Jheend giving active assistance.

(9.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 17th January 1872.

From Secretary, Punjab Government, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

DEPUTY Commissioner telegraphs from Kotla 16th: "Tranquillity restored. About 100 Kukas killed, wounded, or captured. Patiala, Nabha, and Jheend giving active assistance."

(10.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 18th January 1872.

From Secretary, Government, Punjab, Delhi, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

MAHARAJAH telegraphs following:

"Yesterday, 16th, at 11 morning, Sayad Nyaz Alli, my Naib Nazim of Omergurh, arrested with only a few men with him, with great courage, 68 Kukas who made disturbance at Kotla and Mulodh. Among them there are 29 wounded men. Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, their leaders, have also been apprehended. More by dâk."

(11.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 18th January 1872.

From Secretary, Punjab Government, to Home Secretary, Calcutta; Magistrate, Allahabad; and Secretary, Government, North Western Provinces.

RAM SINGH, Kuka leader, with Lukka Singh and Saheb Singh, his lieutenants, forwarded to Allahabad, under charge of European officer and Gurka guard by this morning's train.

(12.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 18th January 1872.

From Secretary, Government, Punjab, to Home Secretary.

AT Kotla, on 17th instant, 49 of the men who had attacked Malodh were blown away from guns by the Deputy Commissioner. The circumstances under which this was done are not yet clearly known, but explanation has been called for from Commissioner. The other Kuka leaders have been arrested.

(13.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 18th January 1872.

From Secretary, Government, Punjab, to Home Secretary.

AT Malodh two Kukas killed, four wounded, and five captured; 68 captured in Patiala territory, of whom 29 were wounded, others since captured. No Government troops were engaged.

engaged. At Malodh Surdar lost two men killed and two wounded. At Kotla the Kotwal was killed fighting gallantly; seven men also killed and 15 wounded. Quiet restored.

(14.)

TELEGRAM, dated the 19th January 1872; 1 P.M.

From Viceroy to Lieutenant Governor.

Clear the Line.—Stop any summary execution of Kukas without your express orders.

(No. 9 of 1872.)

From Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Duke, Fort William, 2 February 1872.

IN continuation of our Despatch No. 7, dated the 19th January, we transmit for your Grace's information a copy of further papers, as noted in the annexed list, regarding the recent outrages committed by bodies of Kookas at Malodh and Malair Kotlah, in the Ludiana District of the Punjab.

2. In accordance with the recommendation of the Punjab Government,* and under the circumstances so fully explained by Mr. Forsyth, the Commissioner of the Ambala Division,† we have issued warrants under Regulation III. of 1818 for the detention in custody in the Allahabad gaol of the Kooka Goroo Ram Singh, and of 10 of his most influential subahs.

* Letter from Punjab, No. 9 c, dated 16 January 1872.

† *See* enclosure of letter from Punjab, No. 23 c, dated 19 January 1872.

3. While fully acknowledging the promptitude and vigour with which the local officers acted on the first intelligence of the disturbances, we regret we have been obliged to question the propriety of the ulterior proceedings of Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana. We have, you will perceive, ordered his suspension, pending full inquiry into his conduct, in summarily executing the Kooka insurgents captured in the Patiala Territory.

TELEGRAM, dated the 19th January 1872.

From Secretary to Government, Punjab, Delhi, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

THE following from Commissioner, 19th: "All at present known to have been concerned in attack on Kotla have been captured and convicted. Fifty were executed yesterday by Cowan, among them Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, subahs. Sixteen are now to be executed. Four made over to Patiala for punishment. Seven Kookas caught at Malodh, being in British territory, will be tried there by me to-morrow, and case sent to Chief Court immediately. No direct evidence against Ram Singh in this case sufficient to put him on his trial. Colonel Gough and detachment of cavalry here. Perfect tranquillity. Cowan's prompt action deserves praise. Patiala, Jheend, and Nabha gave signal help."

TELEGRAM, dated the 19th January 1872.

From Secretary to Government, Punjab, Delhi, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

FOLLOWING telegram from Ludiana: "Sixteen more executed yesterday at Kotla by Commissioner. Four made over to Patiala. Seven, who were captured at Malodh, undergo regular trial to-day. Baillie still at Bhainee, which he has cleared of all males. One hundred and seventy-two, who came in yesterday afternoon and were sent off by me in parties to respective districts, except fifty, who, having no regular residence but Bhainee, are here in custody waiting Commissioner's orders. Smith from Lahore will take down Kahn Singh, and other subahs, to Allahabad this afternoon."

TELEGRAM, dated the 19th January 1872.

From Lieutenant Governor, Punjab, Delhi, to Viceroy, Calcutta.

YOUR telegram. Mr. Cowan's executions were followed yesterday by sixteen more, eliberately ordered by Forsyth after reaching Maler Kotla. Kookas arrested in British erritory will be regularly tried. No more summary executions will take place.

From *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 9 C.); dated Delhi, the 16th January 1872.

I AM directed by the honourable the Lieutenant Governor to forward copies of telegrams, the purport of which has already been communicated to his Excellency the Viceroy.

2. It will be seen that on the night of the 14th an attack was made by a party of Kookas, estimated at 200, on the Fort of Malodh, situate about 20 miles south of Ludiana, belonging to the Malodh Sirdars, Sikh chiefs of approved loyalty and service. One or two casualties occurred on either side, and the son of Sirdar Mith Singh, by name Badan Singh, a Jageerdar magistrate, was wounded. The object of the attack was presumably to obtain arms, but no details have yet been received. On receipt they will be at once communicated.

3. The next morning a larger force of Kookas, 500 in number, attacked the fort of the large town of Kotlah, capital of the Mahomadan State of Maler Kotlah, about 30 miles south of Ludiana. Some seven or eight persons were killed by the assailants, who appear to have been beaten off with some casualties. A telegram from Lahore mentions that thousands of Kookas are assembling in the neighbouring villages to re-attack. This statement is probably exaggerated, and this morning the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana reports that two Kookas were killed and four captured, while a large number has been surrounded at Katta, which may be a mis-spelling for Kotla.

4. On the news of the attack on Malodh, the Lieutenant Governor at once deputed Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C.B., Commissioner of the Amballa Division, to Ludiana, to report at once the measures advisable to adopt; but before the departure of the train, the second report of the attack on Maler Kotla was received.

* * * * * * *

6. The honourable the Lieutenant Governor at once conferred with his Excellency the Commander in Chief, and it was arranged that the 1st Gurkhas, a wing of the 72nd Regiment, and a mule battery, should proceed to Khanna, the nearest station to Kotla, to act under the orders of General Tytler, commanding the Umballa Division, where necessary. A troop of the 12th Bengal Cavalry accompanied them. Ludiana, which is now unprotected, will be strengthened by three companies of the 54th Foot from Jullunder, and a half-battery of Royal Artillery.

7. The Lieutenant Governor has directed the arrest of Ram Singh and of his principal and most influential subahs—Sahib Singh, Rûr Singh, Lakka Singh, Kahn Singh, Brahma Singh, Jowahir Singh, Malak Singh, Man Singh, and Hukma Singh. The arrest of Ram Singh will be effected as rapidly as possible, the details of the capture being arranged by General Tytler, in communication with the Commissioner of the division.

8. The men above named, if arrested, will be at once forwarded to Allahabad, as his Honor does not consider it advisable to retain them in the Punjab. Regarding their future destination, the Lieutenant Governor will make further recommendations, but he now requests the issue by his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council of warrants, under Regulation III. of 1818, against all the men above mentioned.

9. So little information has been received as yet that it is difficult to form any conclusions as to the course the Kookas are now likely to adopt. The honourable the Lieutenant Governor, however, has every hope that the measures taken by him will restore confidence and tranquillity to the country at once. He is convinced of their necessity, and trusts that they may receive the full concurrence of his Excellency the Viceroy.

TELEGRAM, dated the 15th January 1872.

From the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, to the Secretary to Government, Delhi.

TWO HUNDRED Kookas attacked Malodh Fort last night, wounded Sirdar Buddun Singh, and killed two men. One Kooka killed and two captured. I go out at once. Particulars by post.

TELEGRAM, dated the 15th January 1872.

From the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, to the Commissioner of Umballa.

MALER KOTLAH attacked by 500 Kookas this morning. Eight or ten killed. Send troops sharp.

TELEGRAM, dated the 16th January 1872.

From the Assistant to Inspector General of Police, Lahore, to the Inspector General, Delhi.

DISTRICT Superintendent, Ludiana, reports that 200 Kookas attacked Maler Kotlah Fort. Few killed and wounded both sides. Thousands are assembling in neighbouring villages to re-attack. Civil officer informed Government.

TELEGRAM, dated the 16th January 1872.

From the Deputy Commissioner, Molankallee, Ludiana District, to Secretary to Government.

DON'T send troops. I have sent for some cavalry from Nawab. Two Kookas killed, and four captured at Madondhi. A great number surrounded at Katta.

Confidential, from *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 15 C.); dated Delhi, the 17th January 1872.

I AM desired by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor to request that the name of Pahara Singh, omitted by mistake from my letter, No. 9 C., of yesterday, may be added to those of the Kuka leaders for whom warrants are required under Regulation III. of 1818.

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, to *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab (No. 102); dated the 22nd January 1872.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letters Nos. 9 C. and 15 C., dated respectively the 16th and 17th instant, reporting particulars connected with the attacks made by certain Kukas on the Fort of Malodh and Kotla; and in reply I am desired to state that the Governor General in Council is pleased to approve the action taken by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor.

2. Warrants of custody under Regulation III. of 1818, against Ram Singh and his subahs (named in your letters) have been sent direct to the magistrate of Allahabad.

From *W. M. Souttar*, Esq., M.A., Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of India, to the Magistrate of Allahabad (No. 103); dated the 22nd January 1872.

I AM directed to enclose 11 warrants of custody issued under Regulation III. of 1818, against the Kooka leader, Ram Singh, and certain of his influential associates, who have been sent by the Punjab Government to Allahabad.

TELEGRAM, dated the 22nd January 1872.

From Home Secretary, Calcutta, to Lieutenant Governor, Punjab, Delhi.

WARRANTS against Ram Singh and followers sent by post to Allahabad.

From *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 18 C.); dated Delhi, the 17th January 1872.

IN continuation of my letter, No. 9 C., of yesterday, I am desired to forward, for information, copy of the first detailed report received from the Deputy Commissioner of Ludianah on the recent outbreak of the Kookas.

From *L. Cowan*, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Ludianah, to the Commissioner, Umballa Division (No. 14); dated the 15th January 1872.

LATE on the night of the 13th instant, Surfraz Khan, Deputy Inspector of Police at Sanehwal, came in and reported that, on the same day, a gang of about 100 Kookas of the Patiala State who had gone to Bhainee to be present at the "Maghee" Mela held there, a small gathering (at which probably 500 persons assembled) had worked themselves into a state of frenzy, and declared that they would be revenged for the death of Gyanee, a culprit who was hanged at Ludianah last month. Surfraz Khan was present at Bhainee when this occurred. He stated to me that Ram Singh, the leader of the Kookas, went up to these men with a turban round his neck, and entreated of them not to create a disturbance; that they would not listen to him; and that Ram Singh then came to the Deputy Inspector, and reported to him that these men were up to mischief, and that he had no control over them. This occurred about 2 p.m. on the 13th. Ram Singh named Heera Singh and Lena Singh of Sukroudee, in the Patiala State, as the leaders of the gang. Soon after this gang left Bhainee, and the Deputy Inspector, notwithstanding the gravity of the report made to him, thought it sufficient to tell off a serjeant of police to see the gang out of our territory. The serjeant returned a few hours afterwards, and reported that the gang had entered the Patiala State and had gone in direction of Rampoor. Not till *then* did the Deputy Inspector come into Loodianah with a report of the affair. I should mention that the Kookas are said to have declared their intention of proceeding to Maler Kotla.

2. I immediately warned the Vukils of Patiala and Kotla, and noticed to the District Superintendent of Police the gross negligence of the Deputy Inspector in not having had this gang followed up and watched.

3. Information has just reached me that last night, about 7 p.m., a gang of 200 Kookas attacked the residence of Surdar Badan Singh at Malodh, wounded the Surdar and killed two men, and carried off two or three horses. Of the attacking party 10 are said to have been mounted. In this affair one of the attacking party was killed, and two have been captured; Surdar Badan Singh is related to the Maharaja of Patiala, and it is probably in revenge for the assistance rendered by the Maharaja in the butcher murder case that this attack has been made on his relative. If it be true that some of Surdar Badan Singh's horses have been carried off, this is not a pleasant feature, for it denotes that some other atrocity is in contemplation. I go out at once to Malodh to make inquiry into this case, and shall report to you all that I discover.

P.S.—Intimation has been sent to the Maharaja of Patiala by letter and telegram, informing him that Heera Singh and Leena Singh of Sukroudee are the reported leaders, and asking him to have them captured and give assistance.

I have summoned Ram Singh and his chief subahs to Malodh to make such inquiries as will, I hope, lead to the identification of all concerned.

From *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 23 C.); dated Camp Delhi, the 19th January 1872.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith copies of letters from Mr. T. D. Forsyth, C.B., Commissioner of the Ambala Division, dated 17th and 18th instant, with annexures; and copy of a demi-official letter dated 18th, from Captain Menzies, Deputy Inspector General of Police; also a special report dated 17th, from Lieutenant Colonel E. Perkins, District Superintendent of Police, Ludiana District, on the subject of the Kooka outbreak.

2. The Honourable the Lieutenant Governor observes that the action taken by him, when the first news reached him by telegraph of the desperate attacks on Malodh and Maler Kotla, in sending to the scene of disturbance sufficient troops to restore order, and in deporting the head of a sect which had proved itself dangerous to the public safety, has been entirely approved by his Excellency the Viceroy; and his Honor the Lieutenant Governor has received this expression of his Excellency's approval with much satisfaction.

3. The Lieutenant Governor regrets the course taken by Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana, in summarily executing the Kooka insurgents captured in Patiala

territory, and is of opinion that there was no such urgent necessity as to justify that officer acting without the orders of the Commissioner, whose letter directing formal procedure to be employed in the trial of the insurgents appears to have reached Mr. Cowan after the executions.

4. The position of the Deputy Commissioner was, however, peculiar. He was in a Native State, some distance from the officer to whom he had to look for instructions, and no doubt believed that the outbreak was of such a character, and likely to excite the sympathies and active co-operation of so large and powerful a sect, that it was necessary to take action promptly before it had grown to any formidable dimensions. The Commissioner, Mr. Forsyth, considers that the action of the Deputy Commissioner deserves praise, and has himself at Kotla executed, after formal trial, 16 more of the men implicated.

5. The Lieutenant Governor is aware that all the men implicated in murder, rebellion, and the most savage attacks on the towns of Malodh and Maler Kotla were liable to the punishment of death in ordinary course of law. He is also aware that any success, however temporary, obtained by the insurgents, would probably have been followed by risings of the Kookas in other districts; but he is still of opinion that there was undue haste in the executions, while policy would not have required, as an example, so large a number of capital punishments. At the same time the position of an officer, alone and acting upon his own responsibility, when naturally excited by the enormity of offences, the relative importance of which he is unable to judge exactly from ignorance of what is occurring elsewhere, must fairly be considered; and if Mr. Cowan has erred on the side of precipitancy, it is not given to all officers of Government to be at the same time energetic and discreet. An opportunity has been given to Mr. Cowan of explaining more fully the grounds of his action.

6. Complete tranquillity is now restored, and any other trials which may be necessary will be conducted for offences committed in British territory, and in accordance with ordinary legal procedure.

7. The deportation of Ram Singh, the leader of the turbulent Kooka sect, and his most influential lieutenants, appears to the Lieutenant Governor to have been an inevitable result of the present outbreak, and whether proof be forthcoming to connect him with the particular crimes under report appears to his Honor of little moment. The Kooka sect has shown itself to be obnoxious to public tranquillity; the series of violent crimes during the past year at Amritsar, Raikote, and Morindah, which had so much alarmed society, have now been followed by open rebellion and attacks upon towns, which, if successful, as from their suddenness they might well have been, would have occasioned serious inconvenience to the Government. The Government contented itself with punishing the actual perpetrators of the first-mentioned crimes, and trusted that its moderation would have induced the leaders of the sect to insist on their followers abstaining from violation of the law. Such has not been the case. It was at Bhainee, the village of Ram Singh, that the Kookas who committed the present outrages assembled, and from which they departed on their expedition; and whether Ram Singh at the last found his followers had got beyond his control, whether he desired an experiment to be made to try the temper of the Kookas, to be followed, if successful, by a general rising of the sect, or whether he only believed that the time had not come when action could be safely taken, is uncertain. What is certain is that the outrages were the immediate result of the doctrines taught by him, as the crimes at Amritsar, Raikote, and Morindah were committed admittedly with his knowledge, and nothing which has since come to light has in any way altered the view of the Lieutenant Governor, on which the instructions to the Commissioner of the Ambala Division were based, that the deportation of Ram Singh had become a measure absolutely necessary in the interests of public tranquillity. Mr. Macnabb, the late Officiating Commissioner of the Ambala Division, before leaving it, placed on record his opinion of the necessity for placing Ram Singh in confinement, and the Lieutenant Governor will submit a further report on the subject.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Delhi; dated Camp Ludiana, the 17th January 1872.

I HAVE the honour to forward herewith copy of a letter received from the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, at an early hour (5 a.m.) this morning, reporting that tranquillity had been completely restored in his district. A copy of my reply is also forwarded.

2. I telegraphed to you last night the substance of news which had been brought to me by the vakil of his Highness the Maharaja of Patiala, to the effect that a body of about 70 Kookas, some with guns, some with swords, and others with gundàsas and sticks, had come from Maler Kotla to Sherpore, which is about 13 miles west of Kotla, and had surrendered to the Nazim of Amergurh. About 30 of these men were wounded, and all acknowledged

acknowledged that they had been in the attack on Kotla. The total number of Kookas employed on this attack appears not to have exceeded 125.

3. Ram Singh, it appears from one report sent in by the District Superintendent of Police last night, joined the Deputy Commissioner at Malodh, on his requisition, but was told to come into Ludiana by him, on Mr. Cowan's advancing to Kotla.

4. I have directed Colonel Baillie to cause Ram Singh to come to Ludiana at once. Lukka Singh came in of his own accord on the 15th, and has been detained till Ram Singh's arrival, when he shall be disposed of as ordered by the Inspector General's telegrams.

5. It is reported that 200 Kookas are collected in the village of Bhainee, which is 15 miles distant from Ludiana, *on the road to Kalka.* I have directed Captain Menzies to proceed there and bring back with him any Subahs or others whose presence may be required here.

6. As soon as I have decided what to do with Ram Singh, on his arrival here, I shall proceed to Kotla.

7. Two companies of Her Majesty's 54th Regiment arrived yesterday from Jullundur, and are lodged in the fort. The artillery from Jullundur is coming in. Colonel Gough, with 100 sabres, has just arrived. I have telegraphed to the General Commanding Sirhind Division to keep the European troops at Ambala, but to send on the 1st Goorkas to this place.

8. Further reports shall be submitted hereafter.

From *L. Cowan*, Esq., Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, to *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division; dated Camp Kotla, the 16th January 1872, 7.30 p.m.

IN reply to your telegram of yesterday's date, informing me that you would be at Ludiana this evening, and directing me to send a report to meet you there, which telegram has just been received by me, I have the honour to report to you that tranquillity has been completely restored, and that there is no necessity for you to come to Kotla.

2. The gang of rebels, for no other name will adequately characterise them, never numbered more than 125; of these there were at Malodh 2 killed, 4 captured; at Kotla 8 killed, 31 wounded. Of those wounded, 25 or 26 escaped at the time; but 68, including 27 wounded, have been captured in the Patiala State at Rurh, a village 12 miles from this. The entire gang has thus been nearly destroyed. I purpose blowing away from guns, or hanging, the prisoners to-morrow morning at daybreak.

Their offence is not an ordinary one. They have not committed mere murder and dacoity; they are open rebels, offering contumacious resistance to constituted authority, and, to prevent the spreading of the disease, it is absolutely necessary that repressive measures should be prompt and stern. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur; but I am satisfied that I act for the best, and that this incipient insurrection must be stamped out at once.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division, to *L. Cowan*, Esq., Deputy Commisaioner, Ludiana; dated Ludiana, the 17th January 1872.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated Kotla, 6th January, 7.30 p.m.

2. The body of Kookas now apprehended in Patiala territory have committed two separate offences, one offence affecting British jurisdiction, the other offence affecting the semi-independent jurisdiction of Maler Kotla.

3. As regards offences committed in Maler Kotla, the authorities there have full power to try and sentence criminals, sending the case up to the Commissioner for sanction when the sentence is capital punishment.

4. I request that you will prepare at once the case against such as appear to you to be reserving of capital punishment, and I shall then give immediate orders; but with deference to your expressed desire for promptitude, the case is not sufficiently urgent to justify the abandonment of the very simple form of procedure we have at hand.

5. I purpose proceeding to Maler Kotla very shortly.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, Delhi; dated Camp Ludiana, the 18th January 1872.

I HAVE the honour to inform you that I have considered it absolutely necessary, for the preservation of peace in this district, first for the peace of the whole province, to deport Ram Singh, leader of the Kooka sect, at once from the Punjab, and to send him to Allahabad for safety until the pleasure of the Government regarding his final disposal be made known.

2. The complicity of Ram Singh in the outrages committed by his followers at Malodh and in the state of Maler Kotla has not yet been thoroughly inquired into; and it is a fact that he reported to the police the intention of Lehna Sing and Hera Sing, the chief actors in the present case, to commit outrages. But by his own admissions his followers make use of his name and take advantage of his presence among them to call on their fellows to commit murders and create disturbance. He admits, whilst I am now writing down his words, that some time (he says about a month or six weeks) before the Amritsar murder, two men, Jhunda Sing and Mehr Sing, asked leave to kill the butchers. Others joined in the request, but he strenuously forbade them; nevertheless, they perpetrated the crime. He admits that though he had a strong suspicion that these men were the culprits, he did not give any information to the Government. Some time afterwards, he says that Dull Sing, Mungul Sing, Dewan Sing, and two others came and asked his leave to commit the Raikote murder; but he forbade them, and they did the deed without his knowledge. But he admits that he never gave any clue to the Government officers, not even when he was summoned to Bassean by Mr. McNabb and interrogated. It is, therefore, quite evident that he kept the Government in the dark as to the proceedings of his followers. His excuse is, that he was ignorant of our laws, and that as he had forbidden his followers to be guilty of murder, there was no obligation resting on him to report the matter to Government, not even when he found that murders proposed by his followers had been committed.

4. To allow such a man to be at liberty is in the highest degree dangerous, even supposing his statement to be true, and then to be no more guilty of complicity than is to be inferred from his silence, when information from him, as in the Amritsar case, would have led to a prompt apprehension of the real culprits.

5. I trust that the action I am now about to take may receive the sanction of the Government, and that a warrant may be issued, under Regulation III. of 1818, for the detention in custody of Ram Singh and that of his subahs who during the next day or two shall be apprehended and forwarded to the magistrate of Allahabad.

DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER from Captain *Menzies*, dated Ludiana, the 18th January 1872.

My dear Colonel,

I ENCLOSE special report from Perkins, just received. It appears that Mr. Cowan has acted on his own responsibility, and executed the greater part of those arrested in Patiala. Forsyth has gone out, and I fancy will try the remainder, and have them executed in the legal manner. They appear to have been quite beyond control. I was up all last night arranging for dispatch of Ram Singh, Lukka Singh, Sahib Singh, and Jowahir Singh, who were sent off under a guard of 12 Goorkhas and Mr. Jackson to Allahabad. Ram Singh came in here, in obedience to a summons sent out by you directing him to do so, with only four followers. He arrived at two a.m. and left at four a.m. During the two hours Mr. Forsyth questioned him, and he certainly acknowledged to have been aware of both the Raikote and Amritsar murders being contemplated, and has given up the names of the men who were the prime movers. In the former, Dull Singh, Dewan Singh, and Mungul Sing, and in the latter, Jhunda Singh and Mehr Singh, of Thutta, Zillah Amritsar. Baillie went off last night with 25 sowars to fetch Ram Singh from the direction of Malodh, but he had passed on to Bhainee; so Baillie halted at Sahnewal for the night, and at 4.30 a.m. 40 Goorkhas and 12 police were sent down to him by special train, and he went straight off to Bhainee to arrest remaining subahs, and to search for arms and papers. Just as he was leaving Sahnewal, five other subahs came in there with the clerk serjeant, viz.:—

Brahma Singh,
Pahara Singh,
Hookma Singh,
Kahn Singh, Nahung, and
Gopal Singh;

so he sent them on by morning train, and I have now got them here under a Goorkha guard waiting for a European officer to escort them. Everything seems quiet. I had written round to all districts about their gaol and treasury guards, and warned them against any surprise. We seem to have secured all the chief men except Maluk Singh, and he is said to be at Bhainee, and Baillie will probably bring him in this morning. I myself was against Ram Singh being deported, but Mr. Forsyth said that he must send him off before he went out to Maler Kotla.

POLICE DEPARTMENT, LUDIANA DISTRICT, No. 3 OF 1872.

SPECIAL REPORT OF CRIME, 17th January 1872.

1. Description of the Offence. Section of the Code; also distance and direction of place from Police Station.	2. 3. Number of Persons. Supposed to have been concerned.	2. 3. Number of Persons. Arrested.	4. 5. Value of Property. Plundered.	4. 5. Value of Property. Recovered.	Statement of the Case. Conduct of the Police. Steps taken by them.
					KOTLA.
396	About 100		–	–	Arrived here yesterday afternoon with Deputy Commissioner about 5 o'clock. On the road were met by me Rissaleh from Jheend, another from Nabah, also the Naib Nazim of Omerghur (Wezir Ali), Patiala, who reported Maharajah been successful in capturing the greater part of the gang who attacked this place. The capture seems to have been easily effected, no one being hurt. The Kookas were probably knocked up and dispirited. The Nazim stated that some 30 men were wounded; from this it is evident the Kotla Jamadar's men must have fought well. But one wounded Kooka was left behind. There were seven killed. 10 o'clock, a.m. Have just returned with Deputy Commissioner from inspecting the city and scene of action. The gang appeared to have met with little or no difficulty in entering the city than the broken-down wall, and no opposition until they reached the palace square; here they were met by the Thannadar and a few men, and at this place there was the only real fighting, about 15 being killed on both sides. The Thannadar is said to have killed three men before he succumbed to a sword wound in the head. The Kookas evidently hoped to get at the treasury, but luckily broke open the wrong door, finding only a few papers and missals in the place. They took some arms out of a *kothi*, but not finding any ammunition, threw them down a well. The Kotla people were evidently unprepared. This, they say, was in consequence of the short notice they received of the meditated attack (the reports from their vakil only reaching Kotla at eight p.m. on the 14th, the men having been informed by me at 10 o'clock the previous night, 13th). 17th, 12 o'clock. Just starting to assist in bringing in the Kookas, who are reported to be about six miles off. Roads very bad, and cattle knocked up. 3 o'clock. Returned to Kotla; met the party about seven miles off; collected fresh cattle for the hackeries, now about three miles off. Both Hera Singh and Lehna Singh, the leaders, taken. They are generally well-dressed and well-to-do men; but have the appearance of bold, determined-looking fellows. Hera Singh told Deputy Superintendent of Police that the *whole* band was taken. Several of them were exceedingly abusive, and declaring they would have no government but their own, &c. &c. 7 o'clock. Just returned from the execution; arrangements excellent; seven guns; 49 blown away, and one cut to pieces when savagely attacking the Deputy Commissioner.

Fortunately, as we were finishing the execution, Commissioner's letter was received directing these ruffians, up to their elbows in blood, to be tried under the extradition laws, &c.

8 p.m.—Kahn Singh, Subah, has just been brought in from Mulloopoor by party of Nabha cavalry (a village, five koss from this), by orders of Deputy Commissioner. This man is a most influential Subah and leading man amongst the Kookas, and attendant and confidential adviser of Ram Singh's.

(signed) *E. Perkins*, Lieut.-Colonel,
Deputy Superintendent, Police.

A report came in here this evening from Malodh, that 150 Kookas had congregated in a jungle near Khannah.

E. P.

From *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 24 C.); dated Delhi, the 20th January 1872.

In continuation of my letter No. 23 C. of yesterday, I am desired by the honourable the Lieutenant Governor to forward copies of letters Nos. 15 and 16 of the 17th instant, from Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, reporting further on the Kooka outbreak and his proceedings connected therewith. His Honor reserves further remark until the Commissioner's report is received.

From the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana to the Commissioner of the Ambala Division (No. 15), dated the 17th January 1872.

In reply to your telegram, the receipt of which was delayed owing to my having left Malodh just before it arrived at that place, I addressed a hurried letter to you last evening reporting that tranquillity was completely restored, and that it would not be necessary for you to come to Kotla. I now continue the narrative of what has occurred.

2. I yesterday completed the inquiry in the Malodh case. Seven prisoners were placed on their trial; four of these men were wounded; they were taken red-handed. The evidence, and their own admissions, formed the most conclusive evidence against them. Their names are Bagwan Singh, Gyan Singh, and Tummun Singh of the Patiala State, and Mehr Singh of Aliwalpúr, District Jullundur, all Kookas. There was some doubt whether the other three persons joined in the attack; they are kept to be tried on other charges. From the inquiry it appeared that on the 13th instant, at Bhainee, Hera Singh and Lehna Singh of Sukroudie in Patiala, two men who had formerly been in good circumstances, but were now poor, collected a gang of Kookas, estimated at from 60 to 100 in number. These men they seated apart from the other Kookas who had come to visit Ram Singh, and by prayers, recitations, &c., worked them up to a state of frenzy, and then, after abusing the British Government and the native states who had assisted in the Raikote murder case, called on them to revenge the death of Gyanee, a subah who was hanged at Ludiana a month ago, promising arms, horses, and money, if they would follow them. These two men said that arms and horses would be found at Kotla, and that they would then proceed and sack Sangroor, Nabha, and Patiala, gathering strength as they went. Ram Singh gave intimation to the Deputy Superintendent of Police, Surfraz Khan, that this gang meditated mischief, and he himself begged of them not to create a disturbance *at Bhainee*. Whether this remonstrance was made in good faith, or was a deep move on Ram Singh's part, I am unable now to say.

3. About 2 p.m., on the afternoon of the 13th instant, this gang left Bhainee in a body; they proceeded *viâ* Rampoor and Pael, in Patiala territory, without, however, resting at these places, and about 10 p.m. reached Rubboo, a village in this district about 3½ miles from Malodh, on the border of the Patiala State. They remained at a well distant about 400 or 500 paces from the village of Rubboo. The Deputy Superintendent of Sanchwal (Surfraz Khan) came into Ludiana on the night of the 13th to report the departure of the gang from Bhainee, and about 11 p.m. I sent notice to the vakils of Kotla and Patiala, directing them to give warning to their respective states.

4. The Kooka gang remained in the neighbourhood of Rubboo during the night of the 13th and day of the 14th. There is no evidence to show that their numbers increased after leaving Bhainee; and I am inclined to think that the greatest number together at one time did not exceed 150 men. The delay at Rubboo was probably caused by a hope that they would be joined by others, or by doubts of the success of an attempt on Kotla. It probably occurred to the leaders, as they were about to start for Kotla, that it would be easy to obtain arms and horses at Malodh. It was certainly not their intention to attack Malodh when they left Bhainee.

5. The gang left Rubboo in the evening, and reached Malodh as it became dark. They made the attack in the manner I have described in a previous letter. Their success at Malodh was a very poor one; they killed two men, slightly wounded the sirdar, and secured three horses, one gun, and one sword. In return they left two of their number killed and four wounded prisoners. Considering the suddenness of the attack, this result is creditable to the people of Malodh and to the men of the adjoining village of Bheree, who turned out on hearing the beat of drum, and reached Malodh before the Kookas left it, and gave valuable assistance.

6. The Kookas then proceeded to Kotla, about nine miles distant from Malodh, and appeared at Kotla on the morning of the 15th. Intimation of the threatened attack reached the Ahulkars of this small state on the evening of the 14th, and some patrols were placed round the town during the night, and the guards at the gates strengthened. On the morning of the 15th these precautions were discontinued, and the Kooka gang about 7 a.m. made a sudden attack. They made for the palace and treasury, but were encountered by the Kotwal Ahmad Khan, and a few men. Ahmad Khan, who appears to have behaved with great gallantry, was killed, and, in the confusion which followed, seven

seven other persons were killed and 15 wounded. The Kookas failed to get at the treasure, and after taking two horses and a few swords, retreated, followed by the Kotla people who had now assembled armed. A sort of running fight was kept up and long shots fired, and many more Kookas were wounded, till both parties reached the village of Rúrr in the Patiala State, the Kookas carrying most of their wounded with them. At this place the Kotla officials were told by a wounded Kooka that the gang intended to return and repeat the attack on Kotla, and thought it prudent to return, after sending intimation to the officials of Sherpore in Patiala.

7. On receipt of the first intimation of the attack on Kotla and arrival of the Kookas at Rúrr, the Naib Nazim of Sherpore rode to Rúrr, accompanied by three sowars. He found the village abandoned, the Jât villagers having gone off in alarm with their families, and the Kookas seated in the jungle a little way from the village. The Kookas at first showed fight, advancing towards the Naib Nazim with drawn swords and shouting out abusive language, but this was mere bravado; the ruffians were completely cowed. They were hungry and tired, and had a number of wounded men with them, and after a short parley, they gave up their arms, many of the swords covered with blood, and surrendered. Sixty-eight Kookas (including a woman) were here captured who had been present at the attacks on Malodh and Kotla. Of these 29 were wounded, seven of them very severely. The prisoners were conveyed to the fort of Sherpore. I have sent for them. The Rajas of Nabha and Jheend responded with alacrity to my requisition for troops. In less than an hour after receipt of my *morasilas* they dispatched artillery, cavalry, and infantry to Kotla. I hope to be able to allow these troops to return this evening or to-morrow.

8. When I first heard of the attack on Kotla, the situation appeared to me to be a very grave one, and I telegraphed that troops might be sent. Two such atrocities as the attacks on Malodh and Kotla perpetrated by the same people who committed the murders at Amritsar and Raikote justified me in thinking that this was more than a dacoity. It looked like the commencement of an insurrection, and I trust I shall not be thought to have caused unnecessary alarm by my first reports.

9. It transpires that the disturbance was got up by two men, Hera Singh and Lehna Singh, residents of the village of Sukroudie in the Patiala State. These men were formerly in affluent circumstances, but have latterly become poor and desperate. They induced a number of the most ignorant of the Kooka men, who are easily excited, to join them; their sole object, in the first instance, being plunder. What the ulterior object of the leaders was it is impossible to say. One of the leaders, Lehna Singh, was captured at Rúrr, the other, Hera Singh, is believed to have been killed in Kotla; but the corpse has not yet been identified.

10. The losses sustained by the rebels in their short campaign of three days' duration are as follows:—

At Malodh - - - -	2 killed,	4 wounded and taken.
At Kotla - - - -	7 „	5 captured.
At Rúrr - - - -	68 captured, of whom 29 are wounded; whilst they have inflicted a loss of—	
At Malodh - - - -	2 killed,	2 wounded.
At Kotla - - - -	8 „	15 „
Total - - -	10 „	17 „

At least two-thirds of the whole gang have been killed, wounded, or captured. The remainder are being hunted like vermin, and many more of them will be taken.

11. I am in hourly expectation of the arrival of the prisoners from Rúrr. I propose to execute at once all who were engaged in the attacks on Malodh and Kotla. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur in exercising an authority which is not vested in me, but the case is an exceptional one. These men are not ordinary criminals. They are rebels having for their immediate object the acquisition of plunder, and ulteriorly the subversion of order. It is certain that, had their first attempts been crowned with success, had they succeeded in arming themselves and providing themselves with horses and treasure, they would have been joined by all the abandoned characters in the country, and their extinction would not be effected without much trouble. By the timely preparation at Kotla the first efforts were defeated, and by the active exertions of the Patiala officials, this miserable attempt at rebellion has been stamped out; but others of their stamp must be deterred from following so bad an example; and that the warning should be effectual, it must be prompt and terrible. I have every confidence then that the Government of the Punjab will approve of the immediate execution of those prisoners who have been taken red-handed.

From *L. Cowan*, Esq., Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana, to the Commissioner of the Ambala Division (No. 16); dated the 17th January 1872.

In continuation of my letter to your address of this morning's date, I have the honour to report to you that 68 rebel Kookas were brought in to-day from Rúrr. Of these, two were women, leaving 66 men; 22 of the men were wounded, most of them slightly.

2. The conduct of these prisoners was most defiant and unruly; they poured forth the most abusive language towards the Government and the chiefs of Native States. *All of them* admitted that they were present at the attacks on Malodh and Kotla, and gloried in the act; they said they had attacked Malodh for the purpose of procuring arms, and Kotla because their religion required them to slay the killer of cows.

3. The two women were residents of the Patiala State, and I made them over to the officer commanding the Patiala troops for conveyance to Patiala. Forty-nine of the rebels were blown away from guns this afternoon on the parade ground of the Kotla chief in the presence of troops of the Patiala, Nabha, Jheend, and Kotla States. It was my intention to have had 50 men blown away, and to have sent the remaining 16 rebels to Malodh to be executed there to-morrow, but one man escaped from the guards and made a furious attack on me, seizing me by the beard and endeavouring to strangle me; and as he was a very powerful man, I had considerable difficulty in releasing myself. He then made a most savage attack on some officers of the Native States who were standing near me. These officers drew their swords and cut him down.

4. This was a most painful duty, and it was made inexpressibly painful to me by receipt of your letter of to-day's date, received as the last batch was being lashed to the guns, desiring me to make an inquiry and forward the proceedings to you for punishment (*sic*). In carrying out execution of my own sentence I acted on the honest and sincere conviction that I was acting in the best interests of Government. A rebellion, which might have attained large dimensions, was nipped in the bud, and a terrible and prompt punishment was in my opinion absolutely necessary to prevent the recurrence of similar rising.

5. I most sincerely trust that you will, after this explanation, approve of what I have done. I am placed in a most difficult position here, with reference to the 16 rebels who have remained unpunished. It was, as I have stated above, my intention to have sent them for execution to Malodh to-morrow, and I earnestly beg that you will sanction my carrying out sentence at once. I believe that these executions *have had*, and will have, a most happy effect. * * * The demeanour of the people, their shouts and remarks wherever I go, all show this.

6. I purpose dismissing to-morrow morning to their respective states the troops assembled here, and shall remain here till noon to-morrow in the hope of receiving an order from you sanctioning my carrying out sentence on the remaining Kooka rebels. Should you not accord this sanction, I will make inquiry and forward to you for orders.

P. S.—Among the rebels blown away were Hera Singh and Lehna Singh, the leaders of the gang, and instigators of the outbreak.

P. S. 2nd.—Just as I am closing this letter, the party of cavalry I sent in pursuit of the Kookas said to be concealed in the village of Maloopoor, which I communicated to you in my demi-official of to-day's date, has returned bringing with it Kahn Singh, an influential subah, who resides at Bhainee, and three other Kookas. I reserve inquiry into these men's cases until to-morrow, as I have been extremely harassed all day.

(Home Department.—Judicial.—No. 122.)

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

Sir, Fort William, 24 January 1872.

No. 23c, dated 19th January 1872. No. 24c, dated 20th January 1872

I am directed to acknowledge your letters, quoted in the margin, reporting on the recent attack by fanatical Kookas on Malodh and Malehr Kotla. The Governor General has already, by telegraph, approved generally of the action taken by the Lieutenant Governor in dispatching troops to the seat of the disturbance, and in arresting and removing from the neighbourhood Ram Singh and his most influential Subahs. Warrants for their detention, under Regulation III. of 1818, have been already sent to the magistrate of Allahabad.

2. The local officers acted with promptitude and vigour on the first intelligence of the disturbance, but the subsequent proceedings seem to require serious notice. His Honor states that "he regrets the course taken by the Deputy Commissioner of Loodhianah, Mr. Cowan, in summarily executing the Kooka insurgents, captured in the Patiala

Patiala territory." The Government of India fully shares in the regret expressed by his Honor, and is of opinion that the papers submitted show nothing to justify the course taken.

3. Under these circumstances his Excellency in Council feels constrained to request that you will suspend Mr. Cowan until further orders, and awaits with anxiety such explanations as Mr. Cowan may have to offer, and the expression of his Honor's opinion on the whole subject.

4. The loyal, prompt, and efficient assistance given by the troops and officers of the Patiala, Nabha, and Jhind's States, no doubt, contributed materially to the suppression of disturbances, and to prevent their spread. I am to express his Excellency's entire satisfaction with their conduct.

TELEGRAM, dated the 22nd January 1872.

From Secretary, Punjab Government, Delhi, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

A REPORT was received yesterday that the telegraph wire was cut between Ludianah and Ferozepore, and that Kukas were marching on the latter place. No truth in the report.

(No. 12 of 1872.)

From Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Duke, Fort William, 2 February 1872.

IN continuation of our Despatch No. 9, dated the 2nd instant, we transmit for your Grace's information copy of further letters and telegrams* received from the Punjab Government, reporting proceedings connected with the recent outrages committed by Kookas at Malodh and Malair Kotlah.

* *See* annexed list.

TELEGRAM, dated the 21st January 1872.

From Secretary, Punjab Government, Delhi, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

REPORT of Kooka demonstration in Rahun unfounded.

TELEGRAM, dated the 23rd January 1872.

From Secretary, Punjab Government, Delhi, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

EVERYTHING up to this time has remained perfectly quiet in Ludiana and elsewhere.

(Confidential.)

From *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 29 C.); dated Camp Delhi, the 22nd January 1872.

IN continuation of my letter, No, 24 C. of the 20th current, I am desired by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor to forward copies of letters from the Commissioner of Ambala, dated 19th and 20th January, reporting proceedings in connection with the Kooka outbreak. Copy of the Deputy Commissioner's letter alluded to in the marginal note of the Commissioner's letter of the 19th is also sent. Copies of the other enclosures have already been furnished with my letter of the 20th instant.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner of Ambala, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab; dated Camp Kotlah, the 19th January 1872.

IN continuation of my letter dated 17th instant, fowarding reports from the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, I have now the honour to forward copies of further letters* received from him, and to submit a report of proceedings.

2. Up

---

* *Note.*—Nos. 15 and 16 of which copies were received from Deputy Commissioner direct and sent on to Government of India, with No. 24 C., dated 20th January.

2. Up to the time of dispatching the letter just referred to, no reliable intelligence of the whereabouts of Ram Singh had been received. It appeared as if he was playing a deep game, for he had reported to the police the departure of his followers from his village to commit some outrage, but it had been known and reported verbally by me to you some time before that a body of 200 Kookas were to assemble at Bhainee, Ram Singh's village, at the Lhori festival, which occurred on the 13th current, and that it was given out that there was to be some outbreak soon after. The correctness of these reports may have been doubted at the time as very vague, but, read by the light of subsequent events, there is, I think, little reason to question their accuracy, and for Ram Singh to wait till the party had gone off and then to report proceedings, and to declare himself without any influence, was a ruse on his part to try and escape the responsibility of the acts of his followers.

3. The Deputy Commissioner ordered Ram Singh to meet him at Malodh, which he did; but as Mr. Cowan was obliged to go on at once to Kotlah, he sent Ram Singh back to his home. Intimation of this was not however sent to me, and we had some trouble to find out where Ram Singh was. At 4 p.m., on the 17th, I dispatched Colonel Baillie with a party of Colonel Gough's cavalry to search for Ram Singh and bring him in. I had previously ordered parwanas to be sent in different directions requesting his attendance at once at Ludiana. Later in the evening I heard that he had reached Bhainee, where, I was informed, 200 Kookas were assembled. Mr. Hatchell, Assistant District Superintendent, who had passed through that village on the night of the 15th, had reported to me that there were no Kookas there beyond the ordinary inhabitants. These men must, therefore, have either concealed their presence from the police officer, or had assembled after his departure. I had instructed Captain Menzies to go out there at daybreak, but Colonel Baillie's subsequent movements induced me to make over the duty to him, a report of which will be forwarded shortly.

Sahib Singh. *
Jowahir Singh.
Servants.
Gooroutt Singh.
Nunoo Singh.

4. Ram Singh came into Ludiana with four followers noted in the margin, in obedience to the order I had issued. He arrived at 1 a.m. on the morning of the 18th, when I interrogated him and got answers, the substance of which I sent in an official letter to you by the morning train of the 18th* (yesterday). For reasons given in that letter, I decided to deport Ram Singh at once, and further information confirms my opinion as to the correctness of the step taken, although the particular outrage with which we are now concerned has been promptly dealt with, and we are able to report perfect tranquillity. We have no assurance that this tranquillity will not be disturbed at any moment. The assemblage of Kookas in the village of Bhainee, the appearance of small bodies of Kookas in villages near here, a few of whom have been apprehended, and the report received from Jullundher of a body of Kookas from Amritsur having raised their flag at Rahun, are a sufficient indication that there is some intention of a general rising, and the slightest failure on the part of the authorities to deal promptly with the maurauders now caught would be a signal to concealed parties to rush forward.

5. As I was travelling by rail to Ludiana on the 16th, I saw Kookas at three of the railway stations, and heard that others had been passing up the line. The Jhind Munshi reports that a Kooka in that state was observed to sell his land and throw away his property, declaring his intention of going off at once to join his Gûrû.

Yesterday afternoon a sowar coming from Malodh reported that he saw about 12 Kookas collected and seated on the ground near the road about two miles from this. The Deputy Commissioner at once sent out to search for the men, but they had disappeared. A party of Kookas had been seen to pass through the village of Saihbee in the Putiala Territory near Kotlah on the evening of the 15th, but afterwards separated. I beg to call attention to the Deputy Commissioner's letter just received, and sent in original with this.

6. It is with this impression on my mind that I now allude to Mr. Cowan's proceedings at Kotlah, which are fully detailed in his report. I had demi-officially and officially urged him to be careful to do nothing which could detract from the complete success of his energetic efforts to quell this disturbance. I pointed out that whilst offences committed against persons or property in British territory could only be tried according to regular form, and sentences only be carried into execution after confirmation by the chief court, the procedure in cases of crime committed in foreign states such as Malair Kotlah admitted of more prompt action, inasmuch as sentence could be carried out on the confirmation of the Commissioner.

7. Before, however, my official letter had reached him, Mr. Cowan had disposed of 70 prisoners in a summary manner. There was no question as to their guilt, for they were all apprehended red-handed; and unquestionably had the proceedings been sent up to me, I should have confirmed the sentence of death. Whilst then I regret the informality of the procedure, I consider myself justified now in confirming the sentence. There being no arrangements for hanging so many men at Kotlah, and considering the circumstances of the case and occurring in a native state, these men were executed by Mr. Cowan by being blown from a gun; a proceeding warranted by former precedents when large numbers of rebels were thus disposed of in 1857.

8. Having dispatched Ram Singh yesterday morning I rode out to Kotlah, accompanied by Colonel Gough and a party of his cavalry, and the remaining 16 prisoners were regularly tried by Mr. Cowan, acting on behalf of and sitting on the bench with the Nazim and

---

* *Note.*—Copy forwarded to Government of India with No. 23 c., dated 19th January 1872.

and Tehsildar of the Malair Kotlah State. The proceedings were formally recorded; and the sentence of death passed by them, having received my sanction, was carried into execution in the presence of the European officers and the officials of Malair Kotlah and the adjoining States.

9. There still remain seven persons implicated in the attack on Malodh, four of whom were captured at the time by the Sardar's people. This offence having been committed in British territory, the criminals will be regularly tried before the sessions to-day at Malodh, and sentence will be carried out after the confirmation by the chief court in the usual manner at Ludiana.

10. In the evening of yesterday I distributed the following rewards from the Malair Kotlah coffers to the persons prominently mentioned by Mr. Cowan as having distinguished themselves in apprehending the Kookas who were concerned in the attack on the Kotlah Palace and Treasury, and I gave instructions to the Nazim of that Principality to make proper provision for the family of the Kotwal, Ahmed Ali, and the others who gallantly defended, at the expense of their lives, the property of their state:—

	Rs.
Niaz Ali, Naib Nazim	1,000
Panjab Singh, a durbari	300
Jaymul Singh, who gave the information	200
Mustan Ali	100
Utum Singh	50
Ruttun Singh	50
Gulab Singh	50
Partab Singh	50

11. Letters of thanks on behalf of the Malair Kotlah State were at the same time addressed by me to the Maharajah of Patiala, and Rajahs of Jhind and Nabha, and delivered in Durbar to the Vakeels of the Rajahs.

From *L. Cowan*, Esq., dated Kotlah, the 19th January, alluded to in Marginal Note above.

YESTERDAY Narain Singh, Vakil of Sardar Hukkikut Singh of Ber (one of the Malodh villages), reported to me the receipt of information from his master that a party of 50 Kookas passed through the village of Ber yesterday at noon, and, in reply to inquiries, said that they were going to Kotlah; and that about two hours later another party of Kookas, said to be 40 or 50 strong, were seen seated in the grass preserve of the Sardar, and also said they were going to Kotlah.

2. Anup Singh, a Sowar in the service of the Malodh Sardar, was dispatched from Kotlah yesterday about half-past six p.m. with a letter for his master. On this side of Surrond, a village three *kos* from Kotlah, he observed a party of 10 or 12 men travelling *off the road* in the direction of Kotlah. Anup Singh was relieved at Surrond, and immediately returned to Kotlah, and, when about one and a half *kos* from Kotlah, overtook a party, probably the same, but increased in numbers to about 20, still marching parallel to, but some way off, the road in the direction of Kotlah.

I sent out a party of Patiala cavalry with Anup Singh as a guide in search of these gangs, but they returned unsuccessful.

3. Since the outrage at Kotlah several reports have been received of parties of Kookas from a distance having approached close to Kotlah and then disappeared.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner of Ambala, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab; dated the 20th January 1872.

IN continuation of my letter of 19th instant, I have the honour to report that I proceeded yesterday to Malodh and held sessions there for the trial of the prisoners who had been captured there, and who were concerned in the case of dacoity with murder. Four men were put on their trial, and convicted on their own confession, and sentenced to death. But it is not my intention to put this sentence into execution, because a sufficient example has been made, and all four of these men are most severely wounded, and two have broken limbs. In a few days I purpose to commute the sentence to transportation for life.

 2. I have

2. I have received a report from Captain Menzies, Deputy Inspector General, that Captain Baillie found 172 Kookas in the village of Bhainee and the Subahs named in the margin. Four of these Subahs, viz., the first four, were sent into Ludiana for dispatch to Allahabad. The remainder are kept for the present in Ludiana pending further orders; 122 of the Kookas have been sent to their homes; the remaining 50 having no home and no ostensible means of living, being, in fact, a dangerous class of this sect, who having sold all that they possessed hold themselves in readiness to perform any act that their leaders may order, will be called on to furnish security, or, in default, will be incarcerated for a period of two years according to law.

Brahma Singh.
Kahn Singh, Nihung.
Pahara Singh.
Hookma Singh.
Futteh Singh.
Hera Singh.
Gurmukh Singh.

Kuzan Singh.
Harnam Singh.
Harsa Singh.
SummundSingh.
Uttur Singh.
Dharm Singh.

I have ordered a small police post to be established at Bhainee for the present.

A number of axes (30) were found in Ram Singh's house.

3. At Kotlah, towards which place parties of Kookas have been flocking from all parts during this last week, but have suddenly disappeared when within a mile or two of the place, there is a considerable apprehension of a second attack. I have therefore ordered the Nazim to rise 100 men, well armed, for the defence of the palace. * * *

4. In my letter announcing the deportation of Ram Singh, I mentioned that he had reported the intention of his followers to the police; this was said by me on the authority of the district officers; but, on examining the police officer yesterday, I find that the case is not nearly so favourable to Ram Singh. An assemblage of (it is said by him) 1,000 Kookas were at Bhainee on the 11th and 12th January. During these two days there was of course free inter-communication amongst the leaders and their followers. On the 13th the Deputy Inspector heard that a body of 100 men "mustana," *i. e.*, who had worked themselves into frenzied excitement and a state of desperation, had separated themselves from the rest, and were preparing to start for Kotlah. Hearing this, the Deputy Inspector went to Ram Singh and asked what it all meant; Ram Singh merely replied that they were "mustana," and had passed beyond his control. The Deputy Inspector asked for a list of their names; Ram Singh only gave 13 names, and said he knew nothing about the rest, though their number by all accounts was not less than 100. The Deputy Inspector then called on Ram Singh to bid them go to their homes quietly, whereupon Ram Singh went to them, putting a handkerchief round his neck, and begging them to go away and not get *him* into a row. * * * * * *

5. The events of the past week, and of the past year, show that the Kookas are a dangerous sect over whom their leader and the Subahs have no influence for good, and it is advisable for the peace of the country that they should be prohibited from moving about the country inculcating their doctrines, and that gatherings of Kukas in larger numbers than 10 or 12 should not be allowed.

6. It is also advisable not to leave Ludiana entirely without troops of some kind for the present until the movements of the Kooka sect cease to be troublesome.

7. I beg to bring to notice the energetic exertions of Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, whose prompt action has put a stop to what threatened to be a serious outbreak. I regret exceedingly that his summary executions without trial should detract from the good service he has rendered, but I trust that the circumstances in which he was placed may be taken into consideration. Immediately on receipt of my orders, he suspended proceedings, and proceeded to try in proper form the remaining prisoners. Colonel Perkins has accompanied Mr. Cowan throughout the whole time, and has been most energetic.

8. Colonel Baillie and Captain Menzies, Deputy Inspectors General, have rendered valuable assistance. I have already alluded to the prompt assistance rendered by the Maharaja of Patiala, and the Rajas of Jhind and Nabha, whose services I trust may be acknowledged by his Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

9. There being no longer any necessity for the presence of European troops at Ludiana, I recommend that the detachment of the 54th and artillery be sent back to Jullunder. Colonel Gough's party of 100 Sowars and the Goorkha Regiment might be allowed to remain for the present.

10. I now return to Ambala.

P.S.—Since writing this report, I have received your telegram directing me to stop all summary executions without the Lieutenant Governor's express orders. It will be seen that I had already done so, and I may here state that, on my arrival at Kotlah, I found 30 men apprehended; of these 16 were put on their trial for being more or less prominent in the attack on Kotlah, and, exercising the powers invested in the Commissioner, I sentenced them to death; of the remaining 14, four have since been sentenced to transportation for life, and the remainder have not been punished.

(Confidential.)

From *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 36 C.); dated Camp Gungatole, the 26th January 1872.

I AM directed to forward, for the information of his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council, a letter from the Commissioner of the Ambala Division, No. 27, dated 22nd January, with enclosure, on the subject of the action taken by Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana, on the occasion of the late Kooka outbreak.

2. His Honor the Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that Mr. Cowan acted with great promptitude and energy in calling out the Jhind and Nabha Horse, and going himself at once to Malair Kotlah to aid in the defence of that place and the suppression of the disturbance.

3. As regards the executions ordered and carried out by him in concert with the Malair Kotlah authorities, the Lieutenant Governor believes that he acted as he thought for the best, and under a strong sense of his personal responsibility for the adoption of the promptest measures for securing the peace of the country, and his Honor considers that much allowance must be made for the difficult position in which he was placed, and for his being unable to judge certainly to how many places the Kooka outbreak extended, and in what degree it might gain head by delay in the infliction of punishment.

4 But, considering that the Commissioner was close at hand, and that many of the prisoners taken were wounded, and all greatly dispirited, the Lieutenant Governor is of opinion that Mr. Cowan would have shown more coolness and discretion had he obtained the previous sanction of his proceedings by superior authority. It is clear, however, that this sanction would not have been withheld, as, on his arrival, the Commissioner sentenced 16 more prisoners to death after trial, and, in doing so, it may be held that he did not exceed the authority vested in him as the *ex-officio* Political Agent for the Malair Kotlah State.

5. It may no doubt be reasonably questioned whether so many capital executions were, even under circumstances so trying, necessary or expedient, and whether an example equally deterrent might not have been made by a less indiscriminate sentence. The Lieutenant Governor himself inclines to this opinion, but on the other hand it is certain that all the prisoners executed were, even under the ordinary criminal law of the British territory, guilty of capital offences, whilst the position and antecedents of the Malair Kotlah State, as a solitary Mahomedan principality, constantly exposed to fanatical attacks, strongly impel its authorities and inhabitants to advocate as a measure of security their repression by the severest punishment. It is said that the Kotwal returned to the town apprehensive of a repeated attack, and both the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner allude to parties of Kookas flocking round Malair Kotlah and creating fresh alarms. The authorities on the spot could alone correctly judge of the tendency of such demonstrations, and, in his Honor's opinion, the action taken in good faith by them must be supported.

6. Adverting to paragraph 11 of the Commissioner's letter, from which it might erroneously be inferred that the Lieutenant Governor had approved of the numerous executions ordered by Mr. Cowan, copies of the telegrams in question are herewith submitted. Writing in total ignorance of the large number of executions eventually carried out, the Lieutenant Governor, whilst supporting the Commissioner in his enforcement of regular judicial procedure, and so checking the Deputy Commissioner's precipitancy, was desirous at the same time of evincing his appreciation of the zeal and energy shown by him in following up the case.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner, Ambala Division, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab (No. 27); dated the 22nd January 1872.

I HAVE the honour to forward the explanation* called for from Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, in your No. 22 C., dated 18th instant.

2. I also forward copy of the instructions which I sent to Mr. Cowan, and refer you to my telegram to you,† copy sent herewith, and your reply, and to my official letter of 18th instant to Mr. Cowan, copy of which I forwarded to you some days ago.

3. In considering Mr. Cowan's proceedings it is necessary to distinguish between acts done in British territory and those done in Native states to which our penal and procedure codes do not apply.

4. The procedure in subordinate Native states, such as Kotlah, is for the head of the

* Letter dated 21st January 1872, from Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana.

† No. 2 telegram at end of enclosures.

State to prepare a case of murder by taking evidence of witnesses, defence of accused, &c., then to pass sentence and forward the case for sanction of the Commissioner of the Division.

5. As his Honor is aware, I from the outset deprecated any departure from the regular course, and sent out instructions at once to Mr. Cowan to this effect. They unfortunately did not arrive until he had disposed of 50 men.

6. I regret exceedingly this hasty action on Mr. Cowan's part. His reason for such is that he felt it necessary to stamp out the incipient rebellion by a swift and terrible punishment. That his prompt and vigorous action had this effect is, I think, undoubted.

7. A party of 100 men, who had devoted themselves to death to carry out the plans of their leader, left the village of their Guru with the intention of seizing the defenceless State of Malair Kotlah, and possessing themselves of arms and treasure, to be distributed to the rest of their sect who were to flock round Kotlah from all sides.

8. As they passed Malodh, a sudden impulse prompted them to attack that place. Had all the men been caught at Malodh, all would have been liable under section 396*, Indian Penal Code, to sentence of death; but probably it would have been considered that all were not equally guilty, as all might not have clearly apprehended the nature of the expedition on which they had embarked. Moreover, the British Government is strong enough to maintain order without having recourse to wholesale executions in order to create a deterrent effect.

* Dacoity with murder.

9. The case, however, was very different when the same party passed on to Kotlah. Not one of these men could plead ignorance of the object in pursuit. They knew that blood rested on the head of the whole gang, and that they would probably shed more blood. No mercy then could be expected by them at the hands of the state they were to attack. Nor could the Malair Kotlah State afford to show any signs of weakness. They had been attacked once, and, unless the assailants were thoroughly cowed, they might be attacked again. It was in fact from fear of a second attack by a larger body of Kookas that the Nazim returned so suddenly to Kotlah from Rur, whither he had followed the gang.

10. It appeared to me then only right that a severe and prompt example should be made, and I was prepared to confirm the sentence of death against all those proved on trial to have been actually engaged in the attack on Kotlah. I should certainly have exempted from capital punishment those who had been severely wounded, and their number was nearly 20, but all the rest I should have condemned to death, and in fact did condemn 16 men, after fair trial.

11. Mr. Cowan's action placed me in an embarrassing position. When I first received his report I was under the impression that he had conducted the proceedings according to the custom in Native states, and had merely usurped my power of sanction. It seemed to me an unworthy act to suddenly disown the over-zealous proceedings of an officer to whom the Lieutenant Governor had just sent a telegram applauding his energy and zeal with reference to my own suggestion to moderate that zeal.

12. I therefore determined to confirm Mr. Cowan's acts so far as regards his usurpation of the Commissioner's authority. As there are no records of trial, none being held by him, I am unable to do otherwise than accept Mr. Cowan's assurances that all the men were actually present at the attack on Kotlah, and if so, all were equally liable to capital punishment, though as regards those severely wounded, execution ought to have been stayed.

13. Had I at once disavowed Mr. Cowan's acts, and mitigated the sentence on those who were subsequently regularly tried and convicted, after the proceedings had been sent to me, at a time too when bands of Kookas were flocking to Kotlah, to join the advance party, leniency on my part might have been mistaken for weakness. I therefore allowed the full sentence to be executed as regards those Kotlah assailants whose active complicity was legally established. But I took occasion, on the trial of the men concerned in the Malodh murders, to mitigate the severity of the former proceedings, and a telegram received the next day from you conveying the Lieutenant Governor's orders confirmed the judgment I had arrived at.

14. Whilst lamenting the hasty and irregular action of Mr. Cowan, I am bound to express my conviction that the very prompt and terrible measures taken by him crushed in its birth a very serious outbreak, and I trust the excellent service he has rendered may weigh against the irregularity and severity of procedure.

From *L. Cowan*, Esq., Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, to *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner, Ambala Division; dated 21st January 1872.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of letter from the Secretary to Government, Punjab, to your address, No. 22 C., dated 18th instant, forwarded to me by your precept of yesterday's date, and to reply as follows.

2. When I reached Kotlah the situation was very grave. The greatest alarm and consternation prevailed throughout this part of the country. Fields were deserted, and all ordinary occupations abandoned by the people of the villages between Ludiana and Kotlah. The men were collected in crowds in the gateways of the villages, and the women on the housetops, eager for information which reached them in an exaggerated form.

3. On reaching Kotlah I found that the rebel gang had been captured a few miles off in the Patiala State. I received information that small parties of Kookas were flocking towards Kotlah from distant parts, and I learned that the troops of the Kotlah state had given up the pursuit of the rebels and returned to Kotlah to protect the town from another expected attack. As the contingents from adjoining Native states had arrived, or were close at hand, I felt confident that in the presence of such a force, and with the arrangements I hurriedly made, there was no fear of an immediate attack on Kotlah or any place in its neighbourhood; but that a terrible example was needed to put a stop at once to what was assuming the proportions of a *rebellion*, and to prevent a recurrence of similar outrages at a future time, I therefore determined to execute near the scene of their crime a number of the rebels who were taken red-handed, and all of whom confessed their crime, and to execute the remainder at Malodh. I arrived at this determination after long and painful thought. I was sensible of the great responsibility I was incurring, but I acted in the honest conviction that what I did was in the best interests of Government and of society.

4. The later information received confirms the belief that a serious outbreak was intended, and that matters were precipitated by the hasty action of this fanatical party before the arrangements of the leaders were fully matured. For several days after the attack parties of Kookas arrived from all parts, and on hearing of the fate of their brethren instantly dispersed and disappeared. Had the large number of rebels captured been detained in custody to await a formal trial, there is not the slightest doubt that similar atrocities would have been committed in other parts and that a state of anarchy would have followed.

5. With this explanation I leave myself in the hands of the Government. I acted from no vain motive, or from cruelty, or a desire to display authority. It was my sincere conviction that the punishment, terrible as it was, was imperatively necessary to prevent the spread of an insurrection. One or two petty successes in other parts by other parties of Kookas would have caused great numbers to flock to the rebel standard, and the difficulties of Government would have been increased. I most conscientiously believe that the executions at Kotlah prevented a much more serious rising.

DEMI-OFFICIAL LETTER of Instructions dated the 17th January 1872, referred to in Para. 2 of Mr. *Forsyth's* Letter.

YOU have done *admirably*, but for heaven's sake don't let the whole thing fall short of perfect success by any hasty act.

By dealing with the men now caught as culprits in the Kotlah territory, they can be hanged legally, without the delay of sending the case to the Chief Court, by attending to the form usual in all such cases, *i.e.*, sending up the proceedings to me, and, to save time and trouble, I am going out to Kotlah as soon as I have disposed of Ram Singh. But if you hang (yourself) these men, *i.e.*, the men caught at Malodh, you will fall short of perfect success. A delay of 12 hours cannot produce harm, whereas illegal action may cause trouble. I only wait for Ram Singh to come in to-morrow morning, and I shall be out at once.

COPIES of the TELEGRAMS referred in Para. 6 of Secretary's Letter transmitting these Papers.

(1.)

From Deputy Commissioner to Secretary, Malodh, *viâ* Loodiana, whence it was dispatched on the 16th at 21 h. 15 m.

AGAINST four of the Malodh murderers the proof is convincing. Allow me to execute them on the spot. It is of importance that the punishment should be prompt. I go on to Kotlah, 16th January.

(2.)

From Commissioner, Ludiana, to Secretary, dated 17th January, 0 h. 20 m.

REFERRING to Cowan's telegram asking permission to execute at once four men. Since then we have got 70 men. I am on the spot, and can dispose of the cases according to form and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary, and would increase excitement better allayed.

(3.)

Reply sent on 17th from Secretary, Government, to Commissioner at Ludiana.

WITH reference to your telegram regarding execution of rebels, Lieutenant Governor concurs with you. He, however, approves Mr. Cowan's energy and zeal.

(4.)

First Telegram reporting Execution of Men was dispatched by Commissioner, from Ludiana, on 18th, at 7 h. 16 m.

Forty-nine Kookas blown from guns at Kotlah. One cut to pieces when savagely attacking Deputy Commissioner.

(No. 14 of 1872.)

From Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Duke, Fort William, 16 February 1872.

IN continuation of our Despatch No. 12, dated the 2nd instant, we transmit for your Grace's information a copy of the further Papers noted in the annexed list, relating to the recent disturbances committed by Kookahs in the Punjab.

TELEGRAM, dated the 29th January 1872.

From Secretary, Punjab Government, Camp *viâ* Delhi, to Home Secretary, Calcutta.

YOUR letter No. 122, dated 24th of January. The Lieutenant Governor requests that action, in accordance with the 4th paragraph of your letter, may be delayed until receipt of my letter of the 26th instant, containing his Honor's views and Deputy Commissioner's explanation. He observes that the conduct of the Deputy Commissioner can hardly be considered apart from that of the Commissioner of the Division.

TELEGRAM, dated the 4th February 1872.

From Home Secretary, Calcutta, to Secretary, Punjab Government, Camp *viâ* Umballa.

YOUR telegram dated 29th January and letter dated 26th. Fresh papers do not alter the opinion stated in paragraph 2 of my letter of 24th January, and Government of India requests Lieutenant Governor to act in accordance with paragraph 3 of same letter.

(Home Department.—Judicial.—No. 289.)

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

Sir, Fort William, 8 February 1872.

I AM to acknowledge your telegram of the 29th ultimo, and your letters noted on the margin, all having relation to the late Kooka outbreak. The Governor General in Council has considered these papers with anxious attention, and he wishes, before passing final orders on the subject, to direct your attention to the points which appear specially to require explanation.

2. His

No. 29 C., dated 22nd January 1872.
„ 35 C., „ 24th „
„ 36 C., „ 26th „
„ 38 C., „ 27th „
„ 44 C., „ 30th „

2. His Excellency in Council agrees with his Honor's opinion, expressed in his letter of 26th January, as to Mr. Cowan's promptitude and energy, and that some allowance must be made for the difficult position in which he was placed; but he feels that nothing short of immediate urgent necessity could justify such a measure as the summary execution of 49 persons, and that in an exceptional and highly objectionable manner.

3. The papers at present before his Excellency do not appear to him to show the existence of any such immediate urgent necessity. The following are Mr. Cowan's own statements on the subject. In his letter to Mr. Forsyth of the 16th January, he says:—

"The gang of rebels, for no other name will adequately characterise them, never numbered more than 125. Of these, there were at Malodh, 2 killed, 4 captured; at Kotlah, 8 killed, 31 wounded. Of those wounded, 25 or 26 escaped at the time, but 68, including 27 wounded, have been captured in the Patiala State, at Rurh, a village 12 miles from this. The entire gang has thus been nearly destroyed. I purpose blowing away from guns, or hanging, the prisoners to-morrow morning at daybreak.

"Their offence is not an ordinary one. They have not committed mere murder and dacoity; they are open rebels offering contumacious resistance to constituted authority, and, to prevent the spreading of the disease, it is absolutely necessary that repressive measures should be prompt and stern. I am sensible of the great responsibility I incur; but I am satisfied that I act for the best, and that this incipient insurrection must be stamped out at once."

4. In his letter (No. 15) of the 17th January, also to Mr. Forsyth, he relates the circumstances of the arrest of the prisoners. He says that 68 of them, of whom 29 were wounded (seven very severely), surrendered to the Naib Nazim of Sherpore and three native cavalry, and that the party, which originally consisted of not more than 125 men, had before that time lost nine persons killed and nine prisoners. He adds, "At least two-thirds of the whole gang have been killed, wounded, or captured. The remainder are being hunted like vermin, and many more of them will be taken."

To use his own words, "The ruffians were completely cowed."

5. In the same letter he remarks that in less than an hour after the receipt of his letters, the Rajahs of Nabha and Jheend "dispatched artillery, cavalry, and infantry to Kotlah." He also makes the following remark: "It is certain that had their first attempts been crowned with success, had they succeeded in arming themselves and providing themselves with horses and treasure, they would have been joined by all the abandoned characters in the country, and their extinction would not be effected without much trouble. By the timely preparations at Kotlah, the first efforts were defeated, and by the active exertions of the Patiala officials, this miserable attempt at rebellion has been stamped out." He adds, however, "but others of their stamp must be deterred from following so bad an example, and that the warning should be effectual, it must be prompt and terrible."

6. In his letter of January 21st, he says: "As the contingents from adjoining native States had arrived, or were close at hand, I felt confident that in the presence of such a force, and with the arrangements I hurriedly made, there was no fear of an immediate attack on Kotlah, or any place in its neighbourhood; but that a terrible example was needed to put a stop at once to what was assuming the proportions of a rebellion."

7. These statements show that no immediate danger was to be apprehended; that if the crime was an attempt at insurrection it had failed; that the insurgents were "completely cowed," and were nearly all made prisoners, many of them being wounded as well; that the danger which might have arisen, if the fort had been taken, had been averted; and that ample military force for the maintenance of order was at Mr. Cowan's disposal.

8. Mr. Forsyth's letter of the 19th, and its enclosure, no doubt, show that several small bodies of Kookas were observed on the 18th January (the day after the execution) in the neighbourhood of Kotlah; but the conduct of these persons on the 18th could not have had anything to do with Mr. Cowan's act from the first.

9. The impression which the papers leave on his Excellency in Council is, that Mr. Cowan ordered the execution, not under the pressure of immediate urgent necessity, but because he thought that it might possibly have the effect of preventing an insurrection of a more general kind.

10. In his Excellency's opinion, a general apprehension of this sort is not enough to justify what was done. Nothing could justify it except the presence of immediate urgent necessity, and of this his Excellency has no evidence whatever in the papers before him.

11. The apprehension that a general insurrection was imminent, and could be averted by the means taken, and not otherwise, might have the effect of excusing Mr. Cowan, to a greater or less extent, if it rested upon reasonable grounds, but the papers disclose only slight, if any, grounds for such an apprehension. Upon this subject what Mr. Cowan has to show is some ground for thinking that when "this miserable attempt at rebellion," as he calls it, "had been stamped out," a summary execution would, and that punishment in the common course of law would not, deter other persons from rebelling.

* * * * *

13. With regard to Mr. Forsyth's proceedings, they would appear to have been legal; but his Excellency in Council fails to perceive the necessity for such extreme and indiscriminate severity as Mr. Forsyth displayed.

14. His Excellency in Council awaits the explanations of the officers concerned upon these points, together with an expression of his Honor's views upon the whole matter, and will reserve final orders on the subject till they have been received and fully considered. Meanwhile, as you have been already informed by telegraph, his Excellency in Council thinks it necessary to maintain the instructions in paragraph 3 of my letter, No. 122, dated 24th ultimo, that Mr. Cowan be suspended from office.

(No. 17 of 1872.)

From Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Duke, Fort William, 15 March 1872.

To Secretary to Chief Commissioner of British Burmah, No. 470, dated 10 March 1872.
To Secretary to Government of Punjab, No. 472, dated 10 March 1870.

In continuation of our Despatch, No. 14, dated the 16th ultimo, we transmit, for your Grace's information, a copy of the correspondence noted in the margin, showing that we have deemed it expedient to remove Ram Sing, the Kooka leader from Allahabad, and to order his detention in safe custody to British Burmah.

2. We await the reply of the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab to our letter, No. 472, before determining on the course to be pursued with respect to the other State prisoners named on the margin of the 3rd paragraph of that letter.

(No: 28 of 1872.)

From Government of India to Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Duke, Fort William, 2 May 1872.

Judicial, to Secretary of State:
No. 7, dated 19th January 1872.
No. 9, dated 2nd February 1872.
No. 12, dated 2nd February 1872.
No. 14, dated 16th February 1872.
No. 17, dated 15th March 1872.

In continuation of our Despatches noted on the margin, we transmit, for your Grace's information, copy of further papers, noted in the annexed list, relating to the recent disturbances by Kúkas at Malodh and Malehr Kotla, the summary execution of the Kúka prisoners at the latter place, and the conduct of Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner of the Ludiana District, and Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner of the Amballa Division, in connection therewith.

2. We beg to refer to our Letter to the Punjab Government, No. 857, dated the 30th ultimo, and to the Memorandum mentioned in the 2nd paragraph thereof, for full details of the circumstances of this painful case, and of the grounds on which we have determined to remove Mr. Cowan from the service, and to transfer Mr. Forsyth from his present appointment in the Punjab to a position in another Province in which he will not have to superintend the judicial proceedings of a Native State. We have also recorded our opinion that Mr. Forsyth should not in future be employed on similar duty.

3. In directing Mr. Cowan's removal from the service, we have done so with deep regret, both on account of his previous good character and conduct, and because he acted with promptitude in the first instance in concerting measures for the repression of the Kúka movement. We propose to address your Grace in the Financial Department, requesting that Mr. Cowan may be admitted to the benefit of a pension.

From *L. P. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 59 C.); dated Camp, Karnal, 7th February 1872.

* * * * * *

5. The attacks on Malodh and Malair Kotla, following so immediately one after the other, decided his Honour the Lieutenant Governor to deport Ram Singh and his most prominent Soobahs from the Punjab, and the information which has since been received and forwarded to the Government of India, together with the evidence forming the enclosures to this

this letter, taken in connection with the proceedings at Amritsar and Raikot, and the evidence recorded for several years past of the tendency of the Kooka teaching, and the character of its teachers, confirm the Lieutenant Governor in the conviction that the deportation was necessary. His Honor is also of opinion that Ram Singh and his Soobahs should be confined at a distance from the scene of their intrigues, at such a place and in such a manner as to render their rescue or escape, or return to the Punjab, impossible.

6. The evidence against Ram Singh, previously collected, has been considerably strengthened by that now obtained. His own statement recorded by Mr. Forsyth, Commissioner of Ambala, is conclusive as to his knowledge of the intentions of his followers to put a stop to the slaughter of kine by the murder of butchers, for which he admits that his permission was asked before the perpetration of the crimes at Amritsur and Raikot. Ram Singh states that he refused permission, but it may be presumed that the direct evidence as to his complicity by permission or instigation is true, since his followers would not have adopted a line of conduct of which their chief had expressed disapproval, and the Kooka teaching for some time past had denounced cow-killing as a practice which should be stopped.

7. It is impossible to disconnect Ram Singh from the action taken by his followers in the recent outbreak. It was from the village of Bhainee that the band departed on their expedition, and it is shown that the information which Ram Singh was at first stated to have given to the police of the intentions of the party was of the most meagre description, and given, not voluntarily, but after express interrogation by the deputy inspector. The evidence in the present proceedings is summed up by the Commissioner in the note dated the 1st February, which forms an enclosure to the present proceedings. This evidence affords strong proof that there was an intention of an organised rising of the sect in the Punjab, although it is probable that the undisciplined eagerness of some of the Kookas precipitated matters and ensured the failure of the design. The opinion of Native gentlemen of known loyalty regarding the tendency of the teaching of Ram Singh, and the objects at which he aimed, was entirely in accordance with that at which the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor has arrived, and his Highness the Maharajah of Patiala and other influential Native gentlemen had strongly advised the arrest and removal of Ram Singh from the country.

8. As regards the execution at Malair Kotla, his Honor would call particular attention to the evidence given in Appendix IV. It is sufficient, joined to the probabilities of the case, to prove that, had the gang of Kookas been successful at Kotla, their numbers would soon have been considerably swelled, and it would be impossible to contemplate, without much anxiety and alarm, even the temporary triumph of a fanatical mob appealing to the rooted and wide-spread prejudice against kine-killing.

9. In the opinion of the Lieutenant Governor it was an object of very great importance to check the gang at once and completely, and he thinks that great allowance must be made for the operation of this well-grounded conviction in the mind of an officer placed in the position of Mr. Cowan. Doubtless that officer felt deeply that it depended on his action whether this fanatical outbreak was to be quelled once for all, or whether, from hesitation, delay, or false mercy on his part, it was to gain head, and at the cost of much bloodshed and confusion grow into a serious religious insurrection. There can be no question that the frequent reports made of fresh bodies of Kookas being in the neighbourhood, threatening further attacks, together with the uncertainty as to the state of things elsewhere, were calculated to deepen his sense of responsibility, and apparently had the effect of bringing him to the desperate resolution he ultimately arrived at.

10. The Lieutenant Governor is not of opinion that the evidence now submitted indicates that the immediate retirement of the bands of Kookas who were observed moving towards Kotla was the result of the executions ordered by Mr. Cowan, for in nearly every instance they are said to have gone back on the 15th, the day the attack took place, whereas the executions were carried out on the morning of the 17th. Their retirement appears to have been caused really by the attack having been beaten off by the Kotla people. Still these reports made of the approach of fresh bands, and his ignorance of their further movements, naturally tended to increase Mr. Cowan's anxiety and to confirm him in his conviction that the circumstances called for, and justified, the immediate infliction of exemplary punishment.

11. The defects in Mr. Cowan's proceedings are patent. He recorded no evidence of witnesses of defence, or the criminals, although there appears to have been time to have done so on the 16th. He hurried on the executions, although the prescribed reference to the Commissioner would not have caused 24 hours' delay. Above all, he included, without selection of ringleaders and instigators, in one common capital sentence all the persons (excepting women and children) known to have been concerned in the attack.

12. But without desiring to disguise the precipitancy, the undisciplined presumption, or the unmeasured severity of Mr. Cowan's conduct, the Lieutenant Governor cannot lose sight of the countervailing considerations. He did no injustice. The crimes punished were deliberately planned and committed, were fraught with the utmost alarm to society from the secrecy of their conception, and the suddenness and desperation of their execution. It is true that the purpose was not accomplished; but there was not one of the criminals

whose life was not strictly forfeited to public justice. So much may be said, even if those outrages are looked upon simply as municipal offences, but it is impossible so to regard them; there is not only much evidence, but also a universal agreement amongst persons qualified to judge, showing that, originating in a carefully stimulated religious fanaticism, they had a political object, every step in the attainment of which threatened the most serious disturbance of the existing order of things. Hence not only was every one of these criminals' life forfeited to public justice, but it was essential to the maintenance of public authority that a striking example should be made. Mr. Cowan had for some time past officiated as Deputy Commissioner of the Ludiana District, in which are the head-quarters of the Kooka Sect. He had the best opportunities of judging of the nature of their organisation, and the tendency of their designs. As a magistrate, he has brought to conviction some of its members, and his life has been threatened in revenge. On hearing of the outrages under notice, he acted with promptitude in immediately proceeding to Malodh, and with forethought in summoning the troops of the protected States, and his informal and unauthorised sentences were, the day after their execution, supported by the deliberate pronunciation of similar sentences, by the authority to whom Mr. Cowan ought previously to have referred, on 16 similar offenders.

13. The Lieutenant Governor does not underrate the necessity for holding officers in the exercise of public authority strictly responsible that the forms and procedure prescribed for their guidance are exactly observed; nor does he deny that an officer of cooler head and greater forethought, or even one more fearful of responsibility than Mr. Cowan, would have vindicated in such a crisis the assailed rights of public order and political authority with more circumspection and discrimination. But, on the other hand, these very occurrences exemplify the difficult position officers may be placed in, and the dilemma to which minds not, perhaps, exceptionally strong, and necessarily much disturbed and excited, may be exposed. And the Lieutenant Governor cannot blind himself to the consequences of the growth of a belief that the only course that can be followed with personal safety is the cautious adherence to technical forms, and the studied evasion of individual responsibility. Where, therefore, as in the present case, his Honor sees no cause to doubt but that the proceedings, however, in his opinion, hasty and irregular, were taken in good faith as necessary to the public safety, and however indiscriminate, impolitic, and unduly severe, involved, nevertheless, no absolute injustice, the Lieutenant Governor holds that he chooses the lesser public evil in not withholding his support to irrevocable acts.

In compliance, however, with the instructions contained in your letter, No. 122, dated 24th January, Mr. Cowan has been placed under suspension, and the Lieutenant Governor can only ask for a careful consideration of the papers herewith submitted.

From *Lepel H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 72 C.); dated Camp Dadhopur, the 12th February 1872.

WITH reference to the order for the suspension from office of Mr. Cowan, Officiating Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, conveyed in para. 3 of your letter, No. 122, dated 24th January, I am desired to forward, for submission to his Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General, copy of a letter from Mr. Cowan, dated 9th February 1872.

From *L. Cowan*, Esq., Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana, to *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner and Superintendent, Ambala Division; dated Ludiana, the 9th February 1872.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your Memorandum, dated 7th instant, forwarding extract from a letter of the Secretary to Government, Punjab, to your address, dated the 5th idem, directing my suspension from office until further orders. I only await the arrival of Major Parsons to make over charge of the district to him.

2. This degradation was most unexpected by me. I had hoped that my proceedings, irregular though they were, would, under the grave circumstances of the case, have met with the approval of Government. I entertain the hope that the order for my suspension was written before the evidence, so strongly confirmatory of the belief entertained by me at the beginning, reached the Government of India.

3. I have reported before that I did not carry out the executions at Kotla recklessly or thoughtlessly. I knew how great was the responsibility I was incurring; I knew that grave disapproval of my conduct by Government would, in all probability, be followed by dismissal from the service of Government, and to me, and to those dependent on me, dismissal means ruin and beggary. But I incurred this great risk in the belief that the preservation of the peace of the country required the severe measures of repression adopted by me, and that no more lenient measures would have had the same effect.

4. If

4. If I have unfortunately failed to convince the Government that such severe measures were necessary, I will beg that 23 years of faithful service, during which time I have repeatedly received the thanks of Government, may be weighed against this one irregular proceeding. I have never been accused of cruelty. I have never, in my recollection, raised a hand to strike a native.

5. I shall feel obliged by your forwarding this letter to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, with the request that it may be transmitted, should his Honor the Lieutenant Governor think fit, to the Government of India.

Dated Ambala, the 10th February 1872.

Endorsed by the Commissioner and Superintendent of Ambala Division.

FORWARDED to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

From *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 76 C.); dated Camp Mahlana, the 14th February 1872.

I AM desired to forward, for the information of the Supreme Government, copy of the proceedings of the Commissioner of Ambala, in the trial of Kookas concerned in the recent outbreak.

COURT OF SESSIONS, AMBALA DIVISION.

CASE No. I., of 1872.

THE CROWN *versus* - - 1. Bhugwan Singh.
2. Gyan Singh.
3. Thumman Singh.
4. Mehr Singh.

Charge.—Dacoity with murder, Section 396, Indian Penal Code.

Arrangement of File.

1. Calendar, charge, and opening sheets.
2. Report of Civil Surgeon, Ludiana.
3. Other evidence for prosecution.
4. Examination of accused before committing Magistrate.
5. Defence.
6. Opinion of Assessors.
7. Finding and sentence of Sessions Judge.

CALENDAR of PRISONERS Committed by the Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana in the Month of January 1872, to take their Trial before the Sessions Judge.

Name, Parentage, Residence, Caste, and Age of Accused.	Offence, and the Date on which Committed.	FOR PROSECUTION. To the Fact.	To the Apprehension.	Medical Evidence.	Finding and identity of Property or Body.	Character.	Other Evidence.	DEFENCE. Defence.	Character.
1. Bhugwan Singh, son of Ram Singh, Kooka 2. Gyan Singh, son of Dulla Singh, Kooka. 3. Thumman Singh, son of Abbul Singh, Kooka. 4. Mehr Singh, son of Goolaba, Kooka.	Dacoity with murder (committed on the 14th January 1872)	1. Dassundhee. 2. Kishna. 3. Soobha. 4. Hari Singh. 5. Sirdar Buddun Singh. 6. Nihal Singh.	7. Sahib Singh. 8. Ram Singh. 9. Vundeer. 10. Nathwa. 11. Bassawa.	—	—	—	12. Surfuraz Khan, Deputy Inspector. 13. Dhoukal Singh. 14. Kirpa. 1. Dassundhee. 2. Kishna. 3. Soobha. 7. Sooba Singh. 5. Sirdar Buddan Singh. 6. Nihal Singh. 4. Hari Singh. 15. Dewa Singh.	- none.	

NAMES.	Date of Apprehension.	Whether on Bail or in Prison.
Accused 1, 2, 3, 4 - -	14th January 1872 -	In Prison.

ABSTRACT OF CASES.

Against the four accused—Bhugwan Singh, Gyan Singh, Thumman Singh, and Mehr Singh—The evidence is clear and conclusive. They are all wounded, and were taken in the very act of committing the offence with which they are charged. Their presence at the place of capture is incompatible with innocence. Some further inquiry must be made into the conduct of the remaining three prisoners, who are forwarded to the District Superintendent of Police for separate inquiry and chullan.

The accused Nos. 1 to 4 are committed to take their trial before the Sessions Judge, this 19th day of January 1872.

This order is explained to them. They have no witnesses.

Camp Malair Kotla, 19 January 1872. *L. Cowan*, Magistrate.

CHARGE.

I, L. COWAN, Esq., Magistrate of Ludiana, hereby declare that Bhugwan Singh, accused, on or about the 15th January 1872, committed dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396, Indian Penal Code, and I direct that he be tried on the said charge by the Sessions Court.

15 January 1872. *L. Cowan*, Magistrate.

CHARGE.

I, L. COWAN, Esq., Magistrate, hereby declare that Gyan Singh, accused, on or about the 15th January 1872, committed dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396, Indian Penal Code, and I direct that he be tried on the said charge by the Sessions Court.

15 January 1872. *L. Cowan*, Magistrate.

CHARGE.

I, L. COWAN, Esq., Magistrate, hereby declare that Thumman Singh, accused, on or about the 15th January 1872, committed dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396, Indian Penal Code, and I direct that he be tried on the said charge by the Sessions Court.

15 January 1872. *L. Cowan*, Magistrate.

CHARGE.

I, L. COWAN, Esq., Magistrate, hereby declare that Mehr Singh, accused, on or about the 15th January 1872, committed dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396, Indian Penal Code, and I direct that he be tried on the said charge by the Sessions Court.

15 January 1872. *L. Cowan*, Magistrate.

No. *of Sessions for the Month of January* 1872.

PROCEEDINGS of a Court of Sessions held by T. D. Forsyth, Esq., C.B., Sessions Judge of the Ambala Division, at Malodh, Ludiana district, on the 19th day of January 1872, with the aid of the following assessors: (1) Mir Hashum Khan Bahadur, Ressaldar; (2) Gholam Kadir, Superintendent of Aub; (3) Maatub Singh, Lumberdar of Daooda.

THE CROWN *versus* -
1. Bhugwan Singh, of Ram Singh, Kooka.
2. Gyan Singh, of Dalla Singh, Kooka.
3. Thumman Singh, of Abbel Singh, Kooka.
4. Mehr Singh, son of Goolaba, Kooka.

Charge.—Dacoity with murder, Section 396, Indian Penal Code.
Committed by Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana at Ludiana on the 19th January 1872.
The charge is read and explained to the prisoner, who acknowledged it to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

MEMORANDUM of Papers transferred from the Magistrate's File to the Sessions' File, and read out as part of the Proceedings of this Court.

Calendar.
Charge Sheets.
Report of Civil Surgeon, Ludiana.
Evidence of Sirdar Buddun Singh taken by Mr. L. Cowan.
Examination of the four accused before the committing Magistrate.

From *J. Ince*, Esq., M.D., Civil Surgeon, Ludiana, to the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana; dated Ludiana, the 18th January 1872.

I HAVE the honour to report that, about 8 a.m. on Monday, the 15th instant, I received your verbal instructions, through the superintendent of police, to proceed without delay to Malodh for the purpose of examining and reporting upon the persons killed and wounded during the attack by the Kookas upon that place the previous evening. I at once laid out my horses and joined you at Malodh between 2 and 3 p.m. the same day, having been somewhat delayed in the latter portion of the journey by rain.

My hospital assistant, Mirza Ameer Beg, accompanied me with medicines, instruments, and surgical appliances.

2. The following statement shows the number of persons I examined:—

PERSONS.	Killed.	Wounded.	TOTAL.
Malodh men - - -	2	2	4
Kookas - - - -	2	4	6

Malodh men. Killed.

3. Of the Malodh men who have been killed, one was Boota, the Sirdar's coachman who was wounded in five places, the chief one being across the right temple, probably by a "gundassa," and the skull was fractured; the other was Nubbee Bux, a Munshee, who had received five very severe sword wounds, two of which were across the back of the neck, and by which his head was nearly severed from his body.

Wounded.

4. Of those wounded was the young Sirdar himself, Buddun Singh, who had received six wounds, three of which were probably sword-cuts, one by a gundassa, and two by sticks; fortunately they were all slight, but that across his left lower jaw, a sword-cut, about four inches long, will leave an indelible scar. The other, Nihal Singh, received three slight sword wounds, one across the right cheek, and two others upon the left hand and wrist.

Kookas. Killed.

5. Of the dead Kookas, No. 1 had an incised wound over the left cheek bone, and a fractured skull. No. 2 had an incised wound across the front part of the head, and also a fractured skull. The expression of these two bodies was a most fiendish one, and contrasted horribly with the placid faces of the two Malodh ones, which were lying beside them in the same shed; indeed, the scene afforded a striking proof of the fact that the state of the mind, or rather its facial reflection at the moment of death, is as lasting as the attitude of the remaining portions of the body.

Wounded.

6. Of the four wounded, Gahani Singh had received a bullet wound on the right arm, a little below the shoulder-joint, causing a very severe and comminuted fracture of the bone. Phagwan Singh had a slight contused wound on the back of the right elbow, and a contusion on the back. Thummun Singh had a slight contused wound about half an inch long just above the left elbow, and three slight contusions upon the head. Lastly, Meer Singh had a contusion over the left hip, at the slightest touch of which he cried out very vociferously, and out of all proportion to the apparently slight injury he had sustained.

Visitation of Malair Kotlah.

7. About 7 a.m. the next day (the 16th) I started on the same duty for Malair Kotlah, as the Kookas had made a still more formidable attack upon the latter town the morning after their assault upon Malodh. After a very disagreeable ride in a drizzling rain across country, which, owing to the very heavy rain, was here and there several inches deep in mud and water, I reached Kotlah about 10 a.m., and the following is a detailed account of the killed and wounded I there examined:—

Persons.	Killed.	Wounded.			Total.	Grand Total.
		Very Severely.	Severely.	Slightly.		
Kotlah men - -	8	2	4	9	15	23
Kookas - -	7	1	1	- -	2	9

Kotlah men.

8. The eight Kotlah men who were killed had all been burned or buried before my arrival, but I was informed that one was the Kotwal and the other seven sepoys.

Wounded.

9. The names of the two who were very severely wounded are Hafiz Ali Shere, Moonshee, who received five sword wounds, one across right side of the head, another across left side of face, another across right side of the neck, and another upon the lower hip; but the worst was that across the left temple, by which the skull was fractured; and Gainda, a sepoy, who received a sword wound upon the top of the head, which probably caused a fracture, and another slighter one upon the right arm.

The names of the four who were severely wounded are—

Meera Buksh - - - a sword-cut across left wrist.
Munda - - - - " "
Kara - - - - - " "

and Sussa, whose thumb and two first fingers of the left hand were cut off, and who is said to have killed the Kooka who maimed him. The names of the nine who were *slightly* wounded were, Beera, with four sword wounds; Gunda, three sword wounds across the fingers of the left hand; Kumma, two wounds, a sword puncture and a contusion; Maiho, several contusions by a *latti* or stick; Subadar Shahdul Khan, one sword-cut upon the left arm, near the wrist; Abdool Ruheem Khan, one sword-cut; Gholam Mohomed (who said he killed three Kookas himself), one sword puncture; Khudia, one contusion upon the head; and Deena, one contused wound.

Kookas. Killed.

10. The bodies of the seven Kookas who had been killed I found lying in pools of blood, and heaped together upon the floor of a small room near the Treasury; their attitudes were various, but the expression of the faces was nearly the same in all, and no less fiendish than that of their dead comrades at Malodh. They had been terribly hacked about with swords,

swords, chiefly about the heads and chests, and most of them had received several wounds; the head of one was nearly severed from the body, and the right arm of another was completely separated half way above the elbow, and was lying beside the corpse.

Wounded.

11. Of the two wounded Kookas, one was Wazeer Sing, who had received a dangerous sword wound, about five inches long, over the region of the spleen, and another, but slighter one, upon the left shoulder. Of the other wounded person only the severed right hand was picked up after the fight. I found it lying amongst the dead bodies, and satisfied myself that it was not a part of either of them, but really a member belonging to another.

Conclusion.

12. After examining the dead bodies, and visiting all the wounded which have been above described, most of whom were, except the Kookas, lying at their own houses in the town, and giving advice and directions regarding their treatment, I left them in charge of the native medical officer attached to the dispensary there. I then returned to the spot where the principal fighting had taken place; and, having written and despatched to you the demi-official account of what I saw on arrival at Kotlah, the particulars of the Kooka attack, the gratifying news of the capture of so many of the fugitives by the Patiala Tehsildar of Sherpore, and some other matters, I prepared to return to Ludiana, which I reached about 8 o'clock the same evening.

THE CROWN *versus* 1. BHUGWAN SINGH; 2. GYAN SINGH; 3. TUMMUN SINGH; AND 4. MEHR SINGH.

WITNESS No. 1 for Prosecution, *Surfraz Khan*, Deputy Inspector of Police of Sanchwal, Ludiana District.—States on solemn affirmation: On the 11th of this month I went to Bhainee to keep order at the fair there. The fair was over on the 12th. On the 13th in the morning, I heard that a body of *mustanas*, Kookas, had separated themselves from the rest. The Lumberdar and chowkeedar told me of this, and said they were up to mischief. I then went at once to Ram Singh, and said I wished to speak to him alone. He said, these people, *i.e.*, Hira Singh and Lehna Singh, residents of Lukrundee in Patiala, are heads of this body, and won't obey my word. I said "Why, what is their intention?" He gave me no answer, and only said they had become *mustana*. I asked him to give me a list of their names. He gave me a list of 13 men. I gave that list afterwards to the office. I have a copy here, and read it: "Lehna Singh, son of Mehtab Singh; Hira Singh, head; Anoop Singh, Oodam Singh, Nund Singh, of Hadaya; Jogha Singh, Wuryam Singh, Bhag Singh, of Mehraj; Narain Singh, of Rur; Sahib Singh, Soojan Singh, Gyan Singh, and Khan Singh, of Bulhera."

He said he knew no more. I asked how many men there were altogether; he said about 50 or 60. I then told Soobhoo Lumberdar, Dowlut Ram Lumberdar, Bhugwana Chowkeedar, and Kullander Khan, Serjeant, to inquire how many men there were collected in this separate body at a well close to Bhainee.

They reported the number to be about 100. After this I said to Ram Singh, "You explain to them that they are to commit no disturbance, and send them away." He went, and, putting his cloth round his neck, said to them, "Go to your homes, and don't make a row, or it will be worse for me." They replied, "Give us some food, and we will go." He fed them, and they went away, and Ram Singh reported their departures.

I then sent the Serjeant and Hurree Singh to follow them, and find out which way they should go. They went to Rampore Kattian, in the Patiala territory.

When they reached Patiala territory the Serjeant and others returned and reported the fact. I at once wrote information to the Thanadar of Doraha. I then came to Ludiana by the evening train, and at 10 P.M. informed the district superintendent of police, and then the deputy commissioner.

I was then ordered to go to the different Vakeels and inform them.

There were about 1,000 Kookas at the fair. They were occupied in reading and reciting passages, but no one said anything.

The *mustana* gang frequently expressed their intention of going to Kotlah.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* ONE BHUGWAN SINGH AND THREE OTHERS.

WITNESS No. 2 for Prosecution, *Dhonkul Singh*, son of *Maha Singh*; Age 60 years; Caste, Rajpoot; Resident of Malodh; Occupation, Cultivator.—States on solemn affirmation: I am durwan, and was on duty at the gate of the town on the evening of the 14th, when town lamps were lighted.

I was sitting at the gateway, when suddenly a number of men, Kookas, perhaps 200, came in. They seized my hands and tied them behind my back, and placed a guard of four

men over me. They passed on, and when they came back, and went out, my son untied my arms. They were in the fort about an hour or so. There was some fighting, and the Kookas ran out.

Prisoners do not cross examine.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH AND THREE OTHERS.

WITNESS No. 3 for Prosecution, *Kirpa,* son of *Oodam*; Age 28 years; Caste, Khatri; Resident of Malodh; Occupation, Shopkeeper.—States on solemn affirmation: Absent at Kotlah.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* ONE BHUGWAN SINGH AND THREE OTHERS.

WITNESS No. 4 for Prosecution, *Dussundhee,* Son of *Lahya;* Age, 40 years; Caste, Teylee; Resident of Malodh; Occupation, Teylee.—States on solemn affirmation: I am a syce in the employ of the Sirdar Mith Singh. I was in the stables when the Kookas came. My brother, Boota coachman, told me to get out of the way, and I went to my house from fear. But I heard a noise and went out, and found my brother killed. I hit about and my stick was broken. They took two mares away with them. I only got a blow on my arm; no mark left.

I recognised Puhara Singh. He was on a mule. I knew him, because he was born here. He came inside riding his mule. There is another man whom I can identify if I see him. He was wounded on the leg. I recognise No. 2 Gyan Singh also. He asked me for a horse, but I would give none. Then they attacked my brother.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH AND OTHERS.

WITNESS for Prosecution, *Natheea.*—States on solemn affirmation: About 10 a.m., the day after the dacoitee, I went to village Arori. At the well near it I saw some one sitting in his blanket. I asked who he was; he said, a *sadh.* I seized his blanket, and he called out, "Don't, my leg is broken." I then knew he was a Kooka, so had him apprehended. I recognise him as Mehr. Kurri is not a mile from Malodh.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH.

WITNESS No. 5 for Prosecution, *Kishna,* son of *Thakur Singh;* Age, 25 years; Caste, Rajpoot; Resident of Malodh; Occupation, Chuprasse of Sirdar.—States on solemn affirmation: I am chuprassee of the Ludiana Court, in service with Sirdar Buddun Singh. I was in the Cutcherry building in the evening, when about 18 or 20 Kookas came in. I was sitting about two paces from Kazee Nubhee Buksh. They demanded arms. The Moonshee said he had none. They then attacked him with axes on the neck and killed him. I got a blow from a stick on the back. It was night. I could recognise no one. I ran away. The Moonshee was killed in my presence. Purboo, another chuprassee, was there, and he attacked the Kooka, and got a slight wound in return. I do not recognise anyone. The Moonshee was seated and was dragged out, and asked for arms, and because he gave none was murdered. I then ran out, leaving the Kookas inside, and went to Khea, a village close by, and roused the people. About 90 men came with me, and stopped the door,

door of the village, and there was a scuffle. I know nothing about the capture of these Kookas now in Court.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH.

WITNESS No. 6 for Prosecution, *Dewa Singh,* Son of *Jaimal Singh;* Age, 18 years; Caste, Jât; Resident of Malodh; Occupation, in service of Sirdar.—States on solemn affirmation: When the Kookas came I was in my father's house. About 20 men came in, and one of them struck my mother on the wrist, and asked for arms and for the keys to open the boxes in our house. They took away a double-barrelled gun belonging to my father, also a *tulwar* belonging to the Sirdar. I could not identify the men; it was night.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH.

WITNESS No. 7 for Prosecution, *Hurree Singh,* Son of *Sher Singh;* Age, 50 years; Resident of Malodh; Occupation, service of Sirdar.—States on solemn affirmation: I am servant to Sirdar Buddun Singh. When the Kookas came in, Sirdar Buddun Singh had come from shooting, and it was eventide. I was sitting by him when some 10 or 12 Kookas came in and called out "*futteh,*" and attacked him. They asked for arms and horses. There was a scuffle, and all came outside the room. There they wounded the Sirdar by blows on the neck and head. He then seized an axe from one of them and laid about him with it, and they fled. They abused him, saying he was a friend of Maharaja and a child of the English. Bishen Singh and Nihal Singh were there at that time. I was merely pushed. There was no wound inflicted on me.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Divislon.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH.

WITNESS No. 8 for Prosecution, *Sahib Singh,* Son of *Gurdas Singh;* Age, 40 years; Caste, Jât; Resident of Kheri.—States on solemn affirmation: On the evening when the Kookas came I was in my village, when a chuprassee and sweeper came calling out that dacoit had attacked the village. I and my fellows turned out to the number of about 90 and ran to the gate of the Malodh Town; found t shut and protected by the Kookas, as we had to go out and enter by a bastion. I went first along the street and found that the coachman had been killed. We all collected, and there was a general fight, and four of their number were struck down and captured. I did not go into the bazaar. There may have been men killed. I do not recognise any dacoit, nor can I do so now. I thought they were ordinary marauders, but people all said they were Kookas. I had a *latti* in my hand; so had others. My lumberdars came out, too, to the rescue. Of the four now in Court, two were captured just outside the town near the *moree,* and two about 200 yards outside. It was dark. I don't recognise the men, but I knew they had been seized. My villagers had no arms, only sticks and stones. I got a wound on my shoulder, and many were wounded with stones and sticks. Of the four men who were brought in two died. Two others were apprehended in the morning. Of the four men brought in at night, all were more or less wounded.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH.

WITNESS No. 9 for Prosecution, *Soobah*, Son of *Abbela;* Age, 20 years; Caste, Goojar; Resident of Malodh; Occupation, Syce in service of Sirdar Buddun Singh.—States on solemn affirmation: I am syce in Sirdar Buddun Singh's service. On the evening of the daicotee about 20 Kookas came into the yard where I was. Some passed on upstair. They took away 16 horses out of the stables. I came back, having been released by the inhabitants pelting the dacoits with bricks. They succeeded in carrying four excellent horses away. I did not recognise anyone. I hid from fear when they came, and did not get wounded.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

Transferred to Sessions File, the Sirdar being too ill to attend Court.

THE 16th January 1872. *Sirdar Buddun Singh* for Prosecution on Solemn Affirmation.—On evening of 14th, about half past-six p.m., I was seated in this room. About 12 or 13 men armed came up to the door, and came in. At first they salamed, then seized me by the hair and dragged me to the door. They said, "You give assistance to the English; that is not good. You are a relation of the Maharajah's." After being dragged across the doorway I seized an axe out of the hand of one of the Kookas and struck the men who were holding me with it. Before I seized the axe I was wounded in three or four places with a sword. They then ran away; they lighted a blue light (*mehtab*) to light them up my stairs. I identified one of the accused, Lukka Singh Soobah. He did not speak. I have often seen him. They asked for arms and saddles for the horses they had taken.

L. Cowan, Magistrate.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH.

WITNESS for Prosecution, *Ram Singh,* Son of *Goorditta*; Age 30 years; Caste, Jât; Resident of Sumul Khan; Occupation, Lumberdar.—States on solemn affirmation: I was present at the outside of the wall when two men wounded were captured and brought in. I do not recognise faces now, for it was quite dark at the time; but these men were caught and brought in. Two men had already been raptured when I saw the men captured at the *moree* and brought in. Out of the four men caught at night, two died. In the morning two more were caught and brought in.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH.

WITNESS for prosecution, *Sunder,* Son of *Jaia*; Caste, Blahun; Resident of Malodh.—States on solemn affirmation: On the morning after the dacoitee I was going outside the village for a necessary purpose, and saw a man going along very slowly. He was wounded on his arm, and he asked me the way to Kubbenwal. I asked where he was going to, and he said to Kotlah. I ran on and told that a Kooka was outside, and the Thanadar then went out and brought him in. I recognise Tummun Singh as the man apprehended.

Certified that the above evidence was read over to the witness in the Oordoo language, which he understood, and acknowledged by him to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

(11.)

EXAMINATION OF ACCUSED.

16th January 1872. *Bhugwan Singh*, Son of *Ram Singh*, Kooka of Nuggul, Patiala. accused No. 1.—I went to Bhainee five days before *Maghee*. I went alone from my village, I did not join any gang. The Kookas who were seated near me talked of going to loot Kotlah. Lehna Singh and Hira Singh of Lukrundee were among them. There were about 50 or 60 men who planned to attack Kotlah. I don't know who first originated the idea, but I heard everyone saying that they would get horses and arms at Kotlah. There was no mention of Malodh at Bhainee. No one asked me to join them; it was my fate to join them. I do not see any Kookas among the party. This gang were not *mustanas*. This party were separate from all the others at a well of Ram Singh, about 300 paces from the village. They belonged to different villages. On the 13th, after eating food at noon, we all left Bhainee. There were about 50 or 60 in all. There were no swords with us. There were a few small *gandassas*. I did not hear anyone say that they would be revenged for Gyanee's death. I know that we were going to Kotlah to seize horses and arms. I do not know what it was intended to do after we got the horses and arms. We all went together from Bhainee, and gaining by Pael in the Patiala State reached Rubboo on the Patiala border 2½ *coss* from Malodh, when a watch of the night had gone (probably 10 p.m., 13th January). We did not stop at any village on the road to Rubboo. I do not know if any others joined in, or supplied arms on the road or not. I had only a stick in my hand. I was mounted on my mare (worth rupees 2-8-0). We rested that night and Sunday in Rubboo at a well outside the village. People from the village brought bread to us. I do not know their names. We all left when two *ghurrees* of the day remained. There was no Soobah with us. I did not see any one with *tulwars*. A few had axes, and the rest sticks. I did not know we were coming to Malodh till we reached the village. Hira Singh and Lehna Singh were our leaders. There were the same number when we reached Malodh as when we left Bhainee. I arrived at Malodh, and came in to village with the others on horseback. I am lame. I came only as far as the oilman's shop, where oil was taken from. I did not join in the attack. I sat on my mare in the bazaar, whilst the others attacked the house and cutcherry. A little while after the Kookas began to run away, and bricks were thrown from the roofs of the houses. I was struck in several places, and fell off mare. I was also struck by *latti* and seized. I only know the names of Hira Singh and Lehna Singh of the dacoits. I make this confession voluntarily. I do not know the names of the two Kookas who were killed.

The confession above recorded contains accurately the whole statement of accused, and to the best of my belief no influence was used to make the confession.

L. Cowan, Magistrate.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH.

Charge—396, *Indian Penal Code.*

No. I.—DEFENCE.

BHUGWAN SINGH, Son of *Ram Singh;* Caste, Kooka; Residence, Nuggul Ilaqua, Patiala, having pleaded guilty, says the statement he made before the magistrate is quite correct; it is read over to him, and there adds: I am not an enemy of the Government. I came with the party to see what was going on, not to plunder. I am lame, and does it look as if I was fit to commit a dacoitee? I rode on horseback. I was not present when the conversation took place between Labba Singh and Heera Singh, but I heard at the well, where we were all collected at Bhainee, that he had promised to join us.

The above contains the whole of the statement made by accused in my presence.

T. D. Forsyth.

(12.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 2, *Gyan Singh*, Son of *Dulla Singh*, Kooka, of Pholayree, Patiala.—I went to Bhainee on the 11th; I stayed there two nights. Thumman Singh, my nephew, went with me. About 10 or 12 Kookas worked themselves into a frenzy (*mustana*). A number joined them till there was about 100. They were shouting out that they would have an exchange for Gyanee, who was hanged. Heera Singh and Lehna Singh were the leaders.

leaders. I do not know the name of any others. On the second day the party left the village. I followed them with Thumman Singh, and joined them at Pael. They asked me to come to Kotlah with them, that they would there get arms and horses. They said they would first loot Kotlah, then Sungroor, then Nabha, then Patiala. I joined them and came on to Rubboo. At Bhainee Lukka Singh and Hurnam Singh, Soobahs, came and sat down with the *mustanas*. I heard Heera Singh say to them that they were going to take revenge for Gyanee's death, and would first go to Kotlah for horses and arms. The Soobahs said, "We will follow you, go on to Kotlah. I came from Pael to Rubboo with the gang. Remained a night and day in Rubboo. Heera Singh bought food in the village out of his own pocket and gave to us. We remained at a well about 500 paces from village. The people of Rubboo did not know for what purpose we were there. We all left Rubboo in evening. There was only one *tulwar* with Lehna Singh, some had gundassas, and some axes and sticks. I had a stick only. At Rubboo I and Thummun Singh were going to our houses. Heera Singh asked us to come with him as far as Kotlah. We were not told we were to loot Malodh. We arrived at gate of Malodh at dark. On the road I heard it counselled to come to Malodh, as there were 40 horses and arms to be had here. I came inside with the others. It was arranged that all those with sticks were to go and guard the small gate. I went there with Thumman Singh, Uttur Singh and another, whose name I do not know. A little after 10 or 12 men attacked us with sticks and bricks, and Uttur Singh and my fourth companion were killed. I was wounded by a shot in the right arm, and Thummun Singh was wounded. I fell, and was taken there. I do not know the names of any of the others of the gang. I make the confession voluntarily. At Bhainee Ram Singh came to us, and said—"Oh brother, do not create a disturbance!" and told us to go to our houses at once, as we would not obey him.

L. Cowan, Magistrate.

The confession above made contains accurately the whole of accused's statements, and no influence was used to make the confession.

L. Cowan, Magistrate.

Charge 396, *Indian Penal Code.*

DEFENCE.—*Gyan Singh*, son of *Dullah Singh*: Caste, Kooka; residence, Pholayree; having pleaded guilty, the statement made by him before the magistrate is read out and acknowledged to be correct. He adds: I am a friend of the Sirkar. I served in the cavalry; I have done nothing wrong. I did not know what was going to be done. When Labba came to talk to the mustanas, Heera Singh said, "We are going to Kotlah and Jhind, and Nabha and Patiala, to revenge ourselves for the part they took in Gyan Singh's death. If you are a poor lot (*pajee*) don't come; but, if not, come with us. Labba Singh said, go, I will come afterwards. Hurnam Singh was there, but said nothing."

The above contains the whole of the statement made by accused in my presence; it was read over to accused, who acknowledged it to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth, Commissioner.

(13.)

EXAMINATION of accused, *Thummun Singh*, son of *Albel Singh*, Kooka, of Pholayree, Accused No. 3.—I am Gyan Singh's (accused No. 2.) nephew. I went after him to Bhainee, and left after him on the 13th. I joined him and about 100 Kookas in Rubboo. I joined them. They said they were going to Kotlah to get horses and arms. I do not know for what purpose they wanted horses and arms. My uncle did not tell me. We left Rubboo in the evening, and arrived at the village at time of lighting lamps. I had nothing in my hand. I did not come inside the village. I went and stood outside the Moree. I did not know the others were going to loot Malodh. I thought they were passing through on their way to Kotlah. I went alone outside (deponent will not explain why he separated himself from the others). I was outside and heard noise and sounds of fighting, and a number of men ran out of the village and attacked me (deponent has wounds on the left arm and head). I fell down, and was arrested at once. I make this confession voluntarily. I do not know the names of the two Kookas who were killed.

The confession above recorded contains accurately the whole of the statement made by accused, and to the best of my belief no influence, by means of any promise, threat or otherwise, was used to make the above confession.

16 January 1872. *L. Cowan*, Magistrate.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH.

Charge—Section 396, *Indian Penal Code.*

DEFENCE.

Tummun Singh, son of *Albel Singh*; Caste, Kooka; age, ; residence, occupation, .—Having pleaded, his statement made before the magistrate is read and acknowledged to be correct, and adds: I only went to the fair. I had no stick, no arms. I did not know we were coming to plunder Malodh. I am not a Kooka; I am a Jat.

The above was read over to accused, who acknowledged it to be correct; it contains the whole of the statement made by him in my presence.

T. D. Forsyth, Commissioner.

EXAMINATION of accused, *Mehr Singh*, son of *Golaba* of *Alawulpore*, Jullundhur district, 16 January 1872.—I went to Bhainee for the Maghee and stayed there one day. I saw Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, Mustanas, with many other Kookas, but I don't know what they were doing. I did not see any Soobahs with them. I did not see Ram Singh go to them and tell them not to make a disturbance. I left Bhainee alone, leaving all these Mustanas at Bhainee. I came to Rubboo intending to go to Hosinpore to visit a friend. The Mustanas all arrived after me. Then says: "The Mustanas arrived at Rubboo before me. I did not join them. They did not ask me to join them. I left 'Rubboo' with them on the following evening. I did not know where they were going. I came to Malodh with them; I went to a well outside town. I was alone. Heera Singh gave me food at 'Rubboo.' After I had been a little while at the well outside the village, a number of men came and seized me and beat me. I was arrested there."

L. Cowan, Officiating Deputy Commissioner.

ORDER.—Against the accused, Sahib Singh, there was sufficient evidence to warrant putting him on his trial. I await a report from the police before examining him and the other two remaining accused.

16 January 1872. *L. Cowan*, Magistrate.

ORDER.—A report is received that Ram Singh, leader of the Kookas, has been detained by the heavy rain, but will soon be here. The excuse is a reasonable one as notice was given to him only yesterday about 1 P.M., and it has rained ever since.

As I am about to start for Kotlah notice is given that Ram Singh may return to Bhainee. He will be summoned to Ludiana on my return if necessary.

Adjourned.

16 January 1872. *L. Cowan*, Magistrate.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SING.

Charge—Section 396, *Indian Penal Code.*

DEFENCE.

Mehr Singh, son of *Golaba*; Caste, Kooka; age, ; residence, ; occupation, .—Having pleaded not guilty, his statement made before the magistrate is read over to him and acknowledged to be correct. (This prisoner is in great pain and cannot move, his leg being broken.) He adds: I came as far as the Shewalla just at the gate of the village. I was wounded by a lathee between the Shewalla and the gate. After this I went to the well in Rooian and was apprehended next day.

The above contains the whole of the statement made by accused in my presence; it was read over to accused, who acknowledged it to be correct.

T. D. Forsyth, Commissioner.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH.

Charge—Dacoity with murder: Section 396, *Indian Penal Code.*

Opinion of Assessors.—In their opinion, after hearing the evidence for prosecution, the offence is fully proved against all the prisoners. They were all arrested on the spot and are wounded; besides, they confessed their guilt.

(True translation.)

19 January 1872. *Gunga Bishen*, Clerk of Court.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH, GYAN SINGH, TUMMUN SINGH, MEHR SINGH.
Dacoity with murder: Section 396 *Indian Penal Code.*

The history of this case is as follows:

At an assembly of Kookas at the Maghee fair in Bhainee on the 11th and 12th January, it was decided by a party of Kookas, who had worked themselves into a state of frenzy and excitement, that Gyani Singh Soobah's death must be avenged. Heera Singh and Lehna Singh of Sekrowndee in the Patiala Territory were some of the leaders, if not the chief men in this business. The Deputy Inspector hearing of their excited state went to Ram Singh, the Kooka Guru, and asked the intention of these men. He gave no answer, merely saying they were Mustana.

Subsequently Ram Singh having given the Deputy Inspector the names of 13 men, "Mustana," went to them and begged the gang to go away to their homes, and commit no row. They asked for food from him and then went away.

Two of the prisoners now on their trial say that Lukka Singh Soobah came to the gang, when he was called on to join, to avenge Gyani Singh's death, or he was a *pujie admi.* Lukka Singh then promised to follow. This may have been said by him merely to get rid of them. They declared their intention of going to Kotlah, Jheend, Nabha, and Patiala, to take revenge on these states because of the part taken by them in hunting down the perpetrators of the Raikot murder.

From inquiries made in the case disposed of at Kotlah it appears that the attack was first directed against Kotlah as being a weak and notoriously misgoverned state, that they might get arms and money with which to attack the other places.

A gang of about 100 Kookas left Bhainee on the 13th and halted for the night at Rubboo. Next day as they passed towards Kotlah it was suddenly determined to attack Malodh, where Sirdars Mit Singh and Budden Singh live. The party of Kookas arrived at the gate just at dusk. They took possession of the gate, and proceeding through the bazaar, where they dropped sentries at cross streets, so as to secure their retreat, made straight for Sirdar Mit Singh's house. Entering the gateway they found some stables on the left, and Boota Coachman. He was called on to give up his horses, and on refusing was immediately cut down and killed. Dhowkul Singh Durwan, witness No. 2, had his hands tied behind him at the gate. Dussunda, witness No. 4, saw his brother Boota murdered.

The party then passed on to the house, and in one court-yard found the Sirdar Moonshee Nubbee Buksh, and killed him. Kishna Rajpoot deposes to the fact.

Opposite to this court-yard is Sirdar Budden Singh's house. A party of from 12 to 18 went in, seized his horses, and going up-stairs to his room, pretending to pay their respects, abused and attacked the Sirdar, who with great gallantry turned on his assailants, and seized an axe, and laid about him right and left. The party then took flight and were pursued down the bazaar by the inhabitants, who attacked them with sticks, guns, bricks, &c.

The men of the opposite village, Kheree, came to assist and drove off the Kookas.

In the fight six men of the Kooka party were wounded, two died; of the remaining four, two, Bhugwan Singh and Gyan Singh, were captured just outside the wall and brought in at once.

Witnesses Sahib Singh and Ram Singh depose to the capture of these men, and Sundee deposes to the apprehension of Tummun Singh just outside the village next morning.

Nuthana deposes to seizing Mehr in the village of Rui, not a mile distant from Malodh, next morning.

All the rest escaped and attacked Kotlah, but all or nearly all were captured, and that case having occurred in independent jurisdiction has been disposed of by the Commissioner in his capacity as agent.

There is not the slightest doubt as to the intentions or acts of the party to which these four prisoners belong, and I can see no reason for not recording the sentence in which all who are concerned in dacoity with murder are involved.

The assessors are unanimous in finding the parties guilty; their statements, in fact, admit guilt.

For

For two reasons, however, I hesitate to put into execution the extreme penalty of the law. Severe examples have just been made at Malair Kotlah, and there is room now for a display of clemency.

The second reason is that all the prisoners are more or less severely wounded. Two have broken limbs, and possibly the life of one is in danger. I therefore remit the sentence of death, and pass a sentence of transportation for life against all four prisoners.

Malodh,
19 January 1872.

T. D. Forsyth,
Commissioner and Sessions Judge.

THE CROWN *versus* BHUGWAN SINGH, &c.

Charge—Dacoity with murder: Section 396, *Indian Penal Code*

THE Court concurring with assessors finds that Bhugwan Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that Bhugwan Singh has committed the offence of dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396 of the Indian Penal Code; and the Court directs that the said Bhugwan Singh be transported for life.

19 January 1872.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* GYAN SINGH, &c.

Charge—Dacoity with murder: Section 396, *Indian Penal Code.*

THE Court concurring with assessors finds that Gyan Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that he has committed the offence of dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396 of the Indian Penal Code; and the Court directs that the said Gyan Singh be transported for life.

19 January 1872.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* TUMMUN SINGH, &c.

Charge—Dacoity with murder: Section 396, *Indian Penal Code.*

THE Court concurring with assessors finds that Tummun Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that he has committed the offence of dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396 of the Indian Penal Code; and the Court directs that the said Tummun Singh be transported for life.

19 January 1872.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

THE CROWN *versus* MEHR SINGH, &c.

Charge—Dacoity with murder: Section 396, *Indian Penal Code.*

THE Court concurring with assessors finds that Mehr Singh is guilty of the offence specified in the charge, namely, that he has committed the offence of dacoity with murder, and has thereby committed an offence punishable under Section 396 of the Indian Penal Code; and the Court directs that the said Mehr Singh be transported for life.

19 January 1872.

T. D. Forsyth,
Sessions Judge, Ambala Division.

PROCEEDINGS in the Case of the 16 Men tried at Malair Kotlah.

Malair Kotlah Jurisdiction *versus* Malair Kotlah State.

1. Albel Singh, Kooka of Balaon, Patiala.
2. Roor Singh, Mulu Majra, Patiala.
3. Kaisra Singh, Gillan, Nabha.
4. Saitha Singh, Rubboo, Ludiana.
5. Anroop Singh, Sakrondee, Patiala.
6. Sobha Singh, Rubboo, Ludiana.
7. Varriam Singh, Chuna Bahadoor Singh, Ludiana.
8. Sham Singh, Jagah, Patiala.
9. Hera Singh, Pittoo Ke, Nabha.
10. Baggat Singh, Kangla, Patiala.
11. Hakim Singh, Jubbal, Amritsar.
12. Varriam Singh, Mehraj, Ferozepúr.
13. Sobha Singh, Baddal, Nabha.
14. Soojun Singh, Rubbu, Ludiana.
15. Bela Singh, Rubbu, Ludiana.
16. Jourhir Singh, Bolean, Patiala.

Charge.—"Dacoity with Murder" at Kotlah on the morning of the 15th January 1872.

Niaz Ali for Prosecution on Solemn Affirmation.—18th January 1872.—I am Naib Nazim of Ummergurh, in the Patiala State. On the 15th instant, about noon, a zemindar of Burr came and reported to me at Sherepur that a body of Kookas had created a disturbance in Kotlah and had come to "Burr." I went at once with three sowars and a mohurrir to "Burr;" arrived there about 1 p. m. I saw 68 Kookas in the jungle about 30 or 40 paces from the village, of whom 29 were wounded, some only with contusions. The villagers had all fled out of fear. I asked them where they had come from; they said they had come after attacking Malodh and Kotlah. I told them to give up their arms. Some agreed to give up arms, others refused, and they disputed about it. At last they gave up 16 *tulwars*, one spear, and a number of *gundasses*, axes and sticks. The swords before the court are those they gave up. I arrested them and took them to Sherepur. There were no troops or people of Kotlah there. I got no information from Kotlah. There were four horses with them, three of them belong to the Sirdars of Malodh and one to some one in Kotlah. They had also a Kotlah chupprassee's badge with them. I identify the horses out of court. The 16 men before me and the two women were among the Kokahs I captured. The leaders were Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, of Sakrondee, and Gurmakh Singh, a lumberdar of Phariwai, in Kotlah. They told me they had left Bhainee with the intention of killing the cow-killers in Kotlah, and that on the road they turned off to get arms in Malodh. They did not tell me what they intended to do after leaving Kotlah. I told them it was no use to resist; that, though they might overpower me, the Maharajah would not leave a man alive. After taking the arms, I collected a number of men and escorted the Kokas to Sherepur, four *kos* from "Burr." I kept the prisoners a day at Sherepur and then sent them to you at Kotlah.

L. Cowan.

Accused do not question.

(No. 16.)

Punjab Singh for Prosecution on Solemn Affirmation. 18th January 1872.—I am lumberdar of Ramnuggur, in the Patiala State, and a durbaree of the State. On the 15th I sent out Niaz Ali to "Burr." My village is on the road from Sherepur to "Burr." I saw about 70 Kookas in the jungle outside the village, and the village deserted. After some dispute they gave up their arms to Niaz Ali. There were 16 *tulwars*, a spear, and a number of axes and *gundasses*. There were four horses. I identify the arms shown to me. All the swords were marked with blood, and many were without sheaths. About 20 or 25 were wounded severely. They said they had come from Bhainee to massacre the people of Kotlah who killed cows, and went to Malodh to get arms. The 16 men and two women now before me were among those whom I took to Sherepur. The four horses outside court are those taken from them.

L. Cowan.

Accused do not question.

(No. 17.)

Narain Singh for Prosecution on Solemn Affirmation. 18th January 1872.—I am the Mookhtear of Sardar Mith Singh, of Malodh. Three of the horses, two mares, and one horse outside court are the property of Sardar Mith Singh and his son, Buddun Singh. They were stolen from Malodh, on the evening of the 14th instant, by a gang of dacoits, who wounded the Sardar, Bhugwan Singh, and killed two men.

L. Cowan.

Accused do not question.

One of the swords shown to me was stolen from Malodh at the same time.

L. Cowan.

(No. 18.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 1, *Albel Singh*, Kooka. 18th January 1872.—I went to Bhainee for the Maghee festival four or five days ago. I met Heera Singh and Lehna Singh there. I left Bhainee with them and about 120 others. There was no talk about going to Kotlah. They said they were all going to their homes. I went with them to Rubboo; remained a night there. Next day we all went to Malodh. In the evening Heera Singh told us to come with him to Malodh and he would give us arms to kill the slayers of cattle. I remained in the bazaar when the others went into the fort. No Soobah came with us. When the gang left Malodh I accompanied and came to Kotlah. Heera Singh said the cow-killers were there. I came into the city with the others as far as the *Kella* Gate. I don't know who our guide was. I followed Heera Singh. I found a sword in Kotlah. I wounded a man with a sword before the Treasury. I don't know who he was. I then ran away with the others and went to *Burr*, where I was seized the same day by the Naib Nazim. No Soobah incited us at Bhainee to commit the outrage. Heera Singh at Bhainee and at several other places has asked me to join him in killing the killers of cows. The man I wounded was killed by one of my companions. I don't know if any joined us on the road from Bhainee. Several Kookas came to us and several left us. Ram Singh told us to leave Bhainee. I don't know why. I make this confession voluntarily.

L. Cowan.

Confession.
T. D. F.

(No. 19.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 2, *Roor Singh*, Kooka of Patiala. 18th January 1872.—I went to the Maghee fair at Bhainee. I joined the Kookas who were with Heera Singh and Lehna Singh. We did not speak about killing cow-killers; but the thought came into my heart to do so. I left Bhainee after Heera Singh and the party. I joined them next morning in *Rubboo*. I was going to my home. No one at Rubboo asked me to join them. I left Rubboo with the party and joined them at Malodh. In my heart I thought that we would get arms in Malodh. God told me. I went into the town, but remained in the gateway by God's order. I did not go further. When the Kookas returned I came with them and went to Kotlah. No one told me to go. I went. I came into the town and remained outside the gate of the palace. I had a stick. I joined in the fight before the Treasury, but did not strike any one. I did not get a weapon. We ran away; a number remained behind. I don't know if they were killed or not. The men whose corpses were shown to me were with us, but I don't know their names. I went from Kotlah with the others to "Burr," where I was captured. I don't know if all the other accused were in Kotlah with us or not. I don't know if any left our gang after we left Kotlah.

L. Cowan.

Confession.
T. D. F.

(No. 20.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 3, *Kaisra Singh*. 18th January 1872.—I went to Bhainee for the Maghee Melâ. I sat near where Heera Singh and Lehna Sing were. They did not advise me to join them in any enterprise. God put it into my heart to go with them. No Soobah spoke to us. (This last remark is voluntarily.) I left Bhainee with them. We went together to "Rubboo," and from Rubboo to Malodh. God ordered me to go there. No one else told me. I went inside, but stayed outside the fort gate, whilst the others went in. I had not even a stick. I then came with the party to Kotlah. I came inside the town to the palace gate. I was in the fight before the Treasury, but had no arms. I don't know who killed the Kotwal. I don't know who showed us the road in; I followed others. We came to Kotlah by God's order to kill the slayers of kine. From Kotlah we went to Burr, where we were captured. The whole gang was captured at Burr. None left us on the road.

L. Cowan.

Confession.
T. D. F.

(No. 21.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 4, *Saitha Singh*. 18th January 1872.—I went to Bhainee on the Maghee. I did not hear any counsel taken there to kill or rob. I followed the gang of Heera Singh and Lehna Singh to my house in Rubboo. I went with them

to Malodh the following evening. There were in all 50 men; all Kookas. I went inside, but stayed at the outer gate. I don't know why we went there. I went because Heera Singh and Lehna Sing went. From Malodh I went with the rest to Kotlah. Came inside of palace inclosure. I had a stick. I was in the fight, but did not hit any one. I left Kotlah with the others. I did not get a sword in Kotlah. We all came to "Burr." None left us on the road. At "Burr" we were captured. The men whose corpses have been shown to me were with us in Kotlah. I don't know their names. The other accused were all with us in Malodh and Kotlah.

L. Cowan.

Confession.
T. D. F.

(No. 22.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 5, *Arroop Singh*. 18th January 1872.—I went to Bhainee for the Maghee. I went with Heera Singh and Lehna Singh, who are of my village. No counsel was taken at Bhainee. I left Bhainee with Heera Singh and a number of Kookas. I don't know how many. I went to "Rubboo." From Rubboo to Malodh. I stayed at the outer gate by order of Heera Singh. I did not go to the Fort. I went from Malodh to Kotlah. I remained outside. Was not in the fight. When the rest ran out I joined them, and went to "Burr," where I was captured.

L. Cowan.

Confession.
T. D. F.

(No. 23.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 6, *Sobha Singh*, of Roobbu. 18th January 1872.—Came from Rubboo with the gang; did not go to Bhainee. Then says, I did not see Lehna Singh or Heera Singh in my village. The night of the row at Malodh I was in my village all night. On the 15th I left my home to go to the Pharwar Mêla. On the road as I was passing "Burr," I was arrested with the other accused. (I was alone.) I have no witnesses. (Pharwar is between Rubboo and Burr.) I lost my road.

L. Cowan.

This man was with the gang, and, from the geographical position of Pharwar and Burr, it is evident he was *not* going to Pharwar.

See statement of accused Nos. 3 and 4, as to all present being with gang at Malodh and Kotlah.

T. D. F.

(No. 24.)

Kurriam Singh, Accused No. 7. 18th January 1872.—I went to Bhainee for the Maghee fair. I saw Heera Singh there. I left Bhainee with him. He said nothing to me at Bhainee, but on the road he spoke about the killing of cows, and asked me to come to Kotlah and stop it. I went to Malodh with him. I stayed in the bazaar outside the gate of the fort. Was not engaged in the fight. Then I came to Kotlah; came to the palace yard; was in fight, but did not hit any one. I had only a stick with me. I then went to "Burr;" I followed Heera Sing. I was captured at "Burr."

L. Cowan.

Confession.
T. D. F.

(No. 25.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 8, *Sham Singh*. 18th January 1872.—Went to Maghee Mêla at Bhainee; met Heera Singh and Lehna Singh there. No counsel was held about cow-killing. I left Bhainee alone about noon; that night I put up at Kotlah under a tree outside the town. I did not eat any food there. I have no witnesses that I was there alone. That morning I went to "Burr," which is on the road to Jagah. I put up in the house of Muhtab Singh, Kooka. A lumberdar, whose name I don't know, saw me. I was in Mehtab Singh's house when I was seized. I was not with the other Kookas when I was seized.

Inaz Ali

Inaz Ali re-examined.—When Sham Singh was seized he was sitting with the other Kookas, and dressing their wounds.

Sham Singh—continued. I was formerly in service of the Jhind Raja, and dismissed for being a Kooka.

L. Cowan.

Confession of being at Kotlah. The case is clear against this man of being with the gang. *See* statement of accused Nos. 3 and 4.

T. D. F.

(No. 26.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 9, *Heera Singh.* 18th January 1872.—I went to Bhainee for the Maghee. I left Bhainee with Sham Singh (preceding witness who said he left alone). Came to Kotlah, stayed under a tree, and next morning went to "Burr." Put up in house of Heera Sing. His brother, whose name I don't know, was there. He is a Kooka. I went out for a necessary purpose, as Heera Singh and Kookas were being arrested, and I was arrested with them. I have no witnesses.

L. Cowan.

This man was not seized in a house. The whole gang were taken in a body. He confirms that he was at Kotlah. *See* statements of accused Nos. 3 and 4.

T. D. F.

(No. 27.)

Buggut Singh, Accused No. 10. 18th January 1872.—I went to Bhainee for the Maghee Mela. I saw Heera Singh and Lehna Singh there. I joined their party.

These two preached against cow-killing, and they said they were going to Kotlah to kill the killers of the kine, and invited us to accompany them. No Soobah came near us. Ram Singh came and told us not to make a disturbance *there,* but to take our food and go. A great many Kookas were in a state of frenzy. I was not. I went with them to Rubboo, then to Malodh, inside outer gate, then to Kotlah to palace yard. I had a stick; I was in the fight, but did not hit any one. I did not get any arms. We went first to the treasury. Heera Sing said that, after getting arms, we would kill the killers of cows. We ran away to "Burr," where I was seized. We had many wounded with us, therefore we remained together. I did not hear that we were to go anywhere after leaving Kotlah. Lehna Singh and Heera Singh were wounded in Kotlah, therefore we were dispirited and gave up the game.

L. Cowan.

Confession.

T. D. F.

(No. 28.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 11, *Hakim Singh,* 17th January 1872.—I did not go to the Maghee Mela at Bhainee. I went to Ambala to search for service 25 days ago. I lived with Sobha, a police havildar. I was formerly acquainted with him. I stayed four days with him. I asked Tehl Singh in the police to get me service. I don't know what his appointment was. I think he was a Munshi. He did not take me to any superior officer. I don't know if they will give evidence for me or not. I left Ambala 15 or 16 days ago. Went to Sooghur; put up with my "Nankee." I don't know how many days I stayed there. I don't know who lives next to my "Nankee" in Sooghur. From Sooghur I went to "Burr."* I went there in search of service. *I do not know any one in "Burr."* I sat down outside; other Kookas came up, and I was seized with them. I have no witnesses.

* What service is to be found at "Burr?"

L. Cowan.

This man was seized with the others of the gang in a body. His story about sitting down outside, and being joined by other Kookas, is quite incredible. He is a native of Amritsar. *See* statement of accused 3 and 4.

T. D. F.

(No. 29.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 12, *Kurrian Singh*, 18th January 1872.—I went to the Maghee fair at Bhainee. I met Lehna Singh and Heera Singh there, and I joined their party. They told us to fight for our religion, and asked who would follow them. I left Bhainee with them on afternoon of 13th. About 60 or 70 other Kookas were with us. We went to Rubboo, then to Malodh for arms. I went into bazaar, but did not enter fort. I did not fight. Then I came with the gang to Kotlah, entered palace-yard, had a stick, joined in fight, and struck several persons with my stick. Then fled with the others to "Burr," where I was apprehended. I did this because God told me to do so.

L. Cowan.

Confession.
T. D. F.

(No. 30.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 13, *Sobha Singh*, 18th January 1872.—I went to the Maghee Mela at Bhainee, and went with Heera Singh's party to Rubboo, then to Malodh, and afterwards to Kotlah. At Malodh I went into fort, but did not attack any one. At Kotlah I went into palace-yard; was in the row; did not strike any one. I had a stick only; then I went to "Burr," where I was captured. I went by order of Heera Singh to Malodh and Kotlah.

L. Cowan.

Confession.
T. D. F.

(No. 31.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 14, *Sojun Singh*, 18th January 1872.—My home is at "Rubboo." I joined Heera Singh at "Burr." I did not go to Kotlah or Malodh with them. I went to "Burr" six days ago for the Phurwar Mela (Phurwar is beyond "Burr"). I did not go to Phurwar because Gurmukh Singh did not go there. I am not Gurmukh Singh's servant, or in any way connected with him. I lived in "Burr" for one day in the house of a *man whose name I do not know.* I went out and sat down with some Kookas who were outside the village and was seized. I have no witnesses for my defence.

L. Cowan.

Niaz Ali's statement is clear that all the 65 Kookas were in the jungle 30 or 40 paces from the village of "Burr," and said they had come from Kotlah. All the villagers of "Burr" had fled out of fear. I consider this man's statement quite incredible. *See* statements of accused Nos. 3 and 4.

T. D. F.

(No. 32.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 15, *Bela Singh*, 18th January 1872.—I did not go to Maghee Mela when they came to my village (Rubboo). I joined them and went to Malodh; I went to bazaar. Then I went to Kotlah and entered the town. I stayed outside palace gate. I had no arms. I was not in the fight, but saw it. We went to Kotlah to kill the killers of cows.

L. Cowan.

Confession.
T. D. F.

(No. 33.)

EXAMINATION of Accused No. 16, *Jowahir Singh*, 18th January.—I went to the Maghee Mela at Bhainee. I left alone and joined Heera Singh at Rubboo. I went with them to Malodh and stayed at the outer gate. I then came to Kotlah, and came as far as the palace-gate. I did not join in the fight. I then went to "Burr," and was captured there.

L. Cowan.

Confession.
T. D. F.

ORDER.

ORDER.—The whole of the accused in this case were captured immediately after the attack on the town of Kotlah. They had in their possession arms which were deeply stained with blood, and property stolen from the State of Kotlah and Sirdar of Malodh. The whole of the accused make admissions which amount to confessions of guilt, and of their guilt no reasonable doubt can be entertained. The offences these men have committed are no ordinary ones. They have committed an act of open rebellion, and deserve the severest penalty of the law. I commit the accused for punishment to the Commissioner and Agent for the Kotlah State.

L. Cowan, Magistrate.

18 January 1872.

The conduct of certain officials of the Patiala State has been most praiseworthy. Considerable intelligence and courage were displayed by Niaz Ali, Naib Nazim, in the capture of so formidable a gang with the aid of only a few followers. His attendants, too, are deserving of rewards for the prompt and ready aid they rendered to him.

I recommend the following rewards:—

	Rs.
To Niaz Ali, Naib Nazim - - - - - - - -	1,000
„ Punjab Singh, Darbaree - - - - - - -	300
„ Izmak Singh, who gave the information - - - -	200
„ Mustan Ali - - - - - - - - - -	100
„ Ootum Singh - - - - - - - - - -	50
„ Ruttan Singh - - - - - - - - - -	50
„ Golab Singh - - - - - - - - - -	50
„ Pertab Singh - - - - - - - - - -	50

L. Cowan.

KOTLAH STATE *versus* ALBEL SINGH *and fifteen others, Kookas.*

Charge.—Dacoity with murder at Kotlah on the morning of the 15th January 1872.

THIS case has been conducted by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, on behalf of the Kotlah authorities; the Nazim and Tehsildar sitting with him and conducting the trial.

The evidence of Niaz Ali and Punjab Singh shows that a compact body of 68 or 70 Kookas were found by them in the jungle outside the village of "Burr," which place had been deserted by the villagers through fear. When interrogated, these men all acknowledged that they had come from Kotlah. Swords, one spear, axes, and gundasses, were in their hands and covered with blood. The statements furnished by the Nazim establish the fact of the attack upon the palace and treasury of Kotlah, the murder of the Kotwal and seven of his men, besides wounding of 15 more.

It is impossible to discriminate now between those who actually struck the blows which caused the death of these men, nor at this present moment would it be wise to display leniency towards a gang, every one of whom is, according to law, equally liable to the same punishment. The intentions of the gang are clearly indicated by their leader Ram Singh, *vide* his statement made before me at Ludiana on 10th. As regards prisoners Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 13, 15, and 16, their statements are ample confessions of their being actually inside Kotlah. Nos. 8 and 9 admit being at Kotlah. Nos. 6, 11, and 14 admit being with the gang when caught, and their admissions, coupled with the statements made by accused 3 and 4, leave no doubt in my mind that they were of the gang, and therefore are equally liable to punishment.

I concur with the committing officer, and confirm the sentence of death against all to be carried out into immediate execution.

T. D. Forsyth,
Commissioner and Superintendent, and *ex-officio* Agent to the Lieutenant Governor, Punjab.

Kotlah,
18 January 1872.

The remaining prisoners caught, but who it appears were not taken with this gang, will be dealt with separately.

T. D. F.

THE meritorious conduct of the Patiala officials having been certified by the Deputy Commissioner, Ludiana, I sanction the rewards to each as recommended by him. The money to be paid from the Kotlah revenues. Provision is also to be made for the families of the Kotwal and others who fell gallantly defending the palace and property of the Malair Kotlah State; the details will be settled in consultation with the Nazim of Kotlah.

Kotlah,
18 January 1872.

T. D. Forsyth,
Commissioner

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C. S. I., Secretary to the Government of India, to *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab (No. 569); dated the 22nd March 1872.

WITH reference to your letter, No. 76 C, dated the 14th ultimo, and the previous correspondence, relating to the trial and punishment of the Kookas concerned in the recent outbreak, I am directed to state that a paper drawn up by Mr. Forsyth, and containing the following passage, has been confidentially communicated to the Viceroy and the Governor General:—

"On reaching Ludhiana on the evening of the 16th, I received a letter from Mr. Cowan, expressing his desire to execute his prisoners at once. I wrote requesting him to leave all the men caught by the Patiala authorities in their charge till I could send out a guard to bring them into Ludhiana for trial. This letter Mr. Cowan must have received some time before he executed any."

2. This statement is directly contrary to the distinct assertion of Mr. Cowan, in the correspondence submitted by the Punjab Government. It is also contrary to the spirit of Mr. Forsyth's own account of the same incident in that correspondence. In his letter, No. 16, dated the 17th January last, to the address of the Commissioner of Umballa, Mr. Cowan refers to a communication which he had received before the execution terminated, when the last batch of prisoners was being tied to the guns; and this account is corroborated by Lieutenant Colonel Perkins, in his journal having reference to the same event.

3. Mr. Forsyth, in the correspondence submitted by the Punjab Government, extenuates the conduct of Mr. Cowan, by stating that his official letter and orders regarding the Kookas did not reach Mr. Cowan till the execution was over, making no mention of a demi-official letter which had reached Mr. Cowan sooner, though he alludes to the demi-official letter elsewhere. In the extract subjoined to paragraph 1 above, Mr. Forsyth speaks of having written a letter which Mr. Cowan must have received "some time before he executed any."

4. It is not clear whether this statement refers to some letter of which no official mention has been made, or to the demi-official letter mentioned by Mr. Cowan and Mr. Forsyth. If the former hypothesis be correct, the circumstance that the letter was not brought officially to the notice of Government should be explained. The latter hypothesis is inconsistent with the assertion of Mr. Cowan, which assertion was before Mr. Forsyth when the paper which forms the subject of my letter was drawn up by him.

5. These are points which, in justice to Mr. Cowan, should be cleared up. With this view I am desired to request that, under the orders of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor, you will be good enough—

(1) To obtain a copy of the letter referred to by Mr. Forsyth as having necessarily reached Mr. Cowan before the execution, and of the demi-official letter which is stated to have been delivered to Mr. Cowan during the execution, if there were two separate letters;

(2) if there was only one letter, to obtain from Mr. Forsyth a statement of the grounds on which he founded his belief that that letter must have reached Mr. Cowan before the execution;

(3) to obtain from Mr. Cowan an exact account of the circumstances under which the earliest letter from Mr. Forsyth reached him, of the hour at which it was delivered to him, of the place in which it found him, and of the number of Kooka prisoners who remained alive at the instant at which he became aware of its contents; and

(4) to obtain from Lieutenant Colonel Perkins a statement of the same character.

From *L. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 914); dated Lahore, the 15th March 1872.

IN continuation of this office, No. 93 C, dated 22nd February last, I am desired to forward, for the information of the Government of India, copy of a letter, No, 56, dated 6th idem, from Lieutenant Colonel E. N. Perkins, district superintendent of police, Ludiana, reporting on the late Kúka outbreak at Malodh and Malehr Kotla.

From Lieutenant Colonel *E. N. Perkins*, District Superintendent of Police, Ludiana, to Major *A. H. Bamfield*, Deputy Inspector General of Police, Ambala Circle (No. 56); dated Ludiana, the 6th February 1872.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your No. 157 of 29th ultimo, calling upon me for an official report of the proceedings of the late Kúka outbreak, &c.

As the Inspector General was informed of each day's occurrences by special report during the whole of the time I was absent at Malodh and Kotla with the Commissioner and Deputy Commissioner, I can but recapitulate the events of each day as already reported. The Deputy Commissioner taking the case into his own hands from the first, I only acted under his orders and carried into effect his wishes.

The assembling of the Kúkas at Bhaini (to which there was no restriction) for the Lohrí festival commenced on or about the 10th ultimo, everything went off quietly, parties arriving and leaving each day, the whole breaking up and going off to their homes by the 13th, with the exception of some 80 men headed by Heera Singh of Sukroudi, Patialá. This individual, it appears, had determined to avenge the death of one Giani Rutton Singh,* a subah (lately hung at Ludiana for the Raikote murders), and openly expressing his intention when starting from Bhaini, induced a number of other desperadoes to join him, intimating an intention of proceeding to Kotla, where they hoped to possess themselves of treasure, arms, &c.

* Gyani and Rutton Singh are two separate men, but hung at the same time.

The Deputy Inspector of Sánwál, Surfraz Khan, who was present at Bhaini, on hearing of this, sent a serjeant to follow them up, and on the return of this man with the report that the party had gone to "Rampúr" in Patialá territory, wrote to the Thanadár of Dourahá, in whose *iláquá* they then were, and came into Ludiana to report the matter in person. On his arrival I took him over to the Deputy Commissioner, who immediately had the information conveyed to vakils of Patialá and Kotla. Nothing more was heard during the 14th, and it was hoped that the band had broken up, but on the following morning an account of the attack on Malodh was received from the Deputy Inspector of Dehlon, upon which the Deputy Commissioner and myself started for the scene of action, and on the road were met by a sowar from Kotla, with information of another attack having been made on that place at 8 a.m. that morning, the man stating that when he left, the place was surrounded by Kúkas, and heavy fighting going on. Mr. Cowan, Deputy Commissioner, immediately wrote a telegram, requesting that troops might be sent, dispatching it by the Kotla sowar to Ludiana. On arrival at Malodh the place was inspected, and arrangements made for the security of the village, and the prisoners found placed under a proper police guard.

The band on leaving Bhaini appeared to have remained but a short time at Rampúr, and then started south, passing through the Patialá territory, and putting up for the night at a well belonging to one of the Kúka fraternity, near village Rubbú in Dehlon Thanná, on the confines of the district. Here they remained the night (13), and up to the evening of the following day (14).

At Rubbú it appears from the statements of the prisoners that the idea was first mooted of taking Malodh on their way, in hopes of obtaining arms, &c., from the Sirdars. They left Rubbú about 8 p.m., and entered the village by the west gate, leaving sentries to protect the same. One party proceeded at once to the house of Sirdar Buddún Singh, honorary magistrate, whom they attacked and wounded in the neck. Another party went to the stables, killed the coachman, and took away four horses. Nubbi Buksh, the munshi, was killed near the Sirdar's kutcherry; the whole street was full of men who were pelted with bricks, &c., from the roofs of the houses by the villagers, two of the Kúkas being killed and several wounded. The Kúkas possessed themselves here of three swords and a double-barrelled gun, remaining about an hour, and then left in the direction of Kotla, leaving behind them the killed and wounded, one shot through the arm by a shikari, and the others disabled by bricks and *lathis*.

The Deputy Commissioner was occupied the following morning (16) in examining the accused parties, and Ram Singh arrived about 12 o'clock, having been sent for from Bhaini the previous day, but the Deputy Commissioner being anxious to push on to Kotla, Ram Singh was told he would be called in to Ludiana, if wanted. We then left for Kotla, and on the road met the Risallahs of Jheend and Nábha, also the Naib Nazim of Omurghur (Wazir Ali), who reported his having been successful in capturing nearly the whole gang near Sherepore Patialá. On our arrival at Kotla, the greatest consternation and alarm still existed amongst the officials and townspeople, which only subsided on the appearance of the contingents of the surrounding states, for it was generally apprehended, from the constant reports from the neighbourhood of small bodies of Kúkas collecting in all directions, that another attack would take place.

The following morning (17) Deputy Commissioner and myself inspected the city and scene of action. The gang appeared to have had but little difficulty in entering the town through a large space in the dilapidated wall, and to have met with little or no opposition until they reached the palace square, where they were met by the Thanadár and a few men, and here the only real fighting took place, 15 being killed on both sides. The Thanadár is said to have killed three of the assailants with his own hand before he succumbed to a sword wound on the head.

The Kúkas evidently hoped to get into the treasury, but luckily breaking open the wrong door, found only a few papers, misls, &c., in the place. They also took some arms out of a Kothi, but not finding any ammunition threw them down a well, and they were afterwards

recovered. The Kotla people were evidently unprepared for the attack; this they say was in consequence of the short notice received, the report from their Vakil only reaching Kotla at 8 p.m. on the 14th, the man having been informed by me at 11 o'clock on the previous night (13), and the distance being only 31 miles. As the prisoners had not made their appearance up to 12 o'clock, I, after consultation with the Deputy Commissioner, went out with a few horse to meet them some six miles from Kotla, and brought them in, in safety. A more determined set of ruffians I never saw; several of them on the way in were excessively abusive, declaring they wanted no other government but that of their own sect.

It was determined by the Deputy Commissioner summarily, to execute 50 of the 68 captured by blowing them away from guns, reserving 16 to be hung at Malodh, and in consequence arrangements were made for the executions to take place that evening, which were duly carried out, a letter from the Commissioner *arriving too late to stop the same.*

I should have mentioned that on my meeting the party I found that Hira Singh and Lehná Singh, the leaders of the gang, had been taken, and the former informed me that the whole of the gang had been captured. During the executions a most savage attack was made upon the Deputy Commissioner by one of the prisoners, who was instantly cut to pieces. The following day (18) the Commissioner (escorted by a detachment of the 12th Cavalry under the command of Colonel Gough) arrived and confirmed Mr. Cowan's proceedings of the previous day. He also held a formal trial of the remaining prisoners, and sentenced them also to suffer death, thus showing that he considered the outbreak a serious one, and one from which, unless dealt with severely at the first, very great danger to the State was to be apprehended.

In the evening a Durbar was held by the Commissioner for the distribution of rewards to those who had done good service towards the capture of the gang, &c.

The following morning the Commissioner and party returned to Malodh, where he was occupied during the day in trying the four prisoners taken at that place; they were sentenced to be hung, a sentence which was afterwards commuted to transportation for life.

Up to the 18th information was frequently received that small parties of Kúkas from various quarters were flocking towards Kotla, and these gangs apparently only dispersed on hearing of the executions.

On the morning of the 20th the Commissioner, after receiving visits from the Sadars of Malodh, Rampúr, and Bhir, left for Dehlon and Ludiana. Deputy Commissioner Colonel Gough and self accompanying him.

I should have mentioned that the civil surgeon, Dr. Ince, went with us to Malodh on the 15th, and on the following morning preceded us to Kotla, and returned to Ludiana in the evening of the same day.

Referring to paragraph No. 2 of the letter, I am not aware of any extraordinary measures for information, &c. being in force consequent on the Raikot murders other than the arrangements I found on my receiving charge of the district at the latter end of November, which were those of Extra Assistant Commissioner Narain Singh, having been specially appointed to keep a look out on the movements of the sect, and report direct to the Commissioner and Deputy Inspector General; also a few men told off here and there through the district to report anything suspicious. The Kúkas, however, were particularly quiet previous to the late outbreak, which appears to have been quite a premature affair, and I believe against the wishes of Ram Singh, whose plans for a far more serious disturbance were thus, as it turned out, fortunately anticipated.

In conclusion, I have much pleasure in stating that the police worked well and willingly.

(Confidential.)

From *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of Punjab, to *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India (No. 1270); dated Lahore, the 11th April 1872.

Letter No. 153, dated 8th April, from T. D. Forsyth, Esq., C.B.
Letter dated 8th April from L. Cowan, Esq.
" " 5th " " Lieutenant Colonel Perkins.

With reference to your letter No. 569, dated 22nd March, I am desired to forward copies of the replies marginally noted, on the subject of Mr. Forsyth's orders to Mr. Cowan regarding the disposal of the Kookas concerned in the recent outbreak.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner, Ambala Division, to *L. H. Griffin*, Esq., Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab (No. 153); dated Ambala, the 8th April 1872.

In reply to your No. 1076, dated 2nd April 1872, I have the honour to state that three letters were addressed by me to Mr. Cowan on the subject of the mode of dealing with the prisoners taken at Malodh and Malair Kotla between the time of my arrival at Ludiana on the night of the 16th January and the receipt of the news of the executions on 17th January. The first letter was sent off some time in the night of 16th, and before the dispatch of my telegram to you marked B. I am not quite certain of the hour of dispatch. That it arrived at

at its destination before the executions took place is unquestioned. Mr. Cowan informs me that he received it on the 16th or 17th, but he probably in his reply will give the exact hour of its receipt. As to the contents of that letter, it being in demi-official form, I unfortunately kept no copy, and Mr. Cowan informs me that the original has been mislaid.

2. According to my recollection, the letter was to the effect that he was to keep the captured Kúkas in the hands of the Patiala authorities in the Fort of Sherpur, till I could send a guard to bring them into Ludiana for trial; and meanwhile he was to beat up strugglers.

Mr. Cowan says in a letter to me lately received, "I remember having received a demi-official from you on the 16th or 17th January to the effect that it would be best to keep the captured rebels in the Fort of Sherpur till you could send out a force to take charge of them." So that, on the main point, Mr. Cowan's recollection agrees with mine as to the purport of my orders for the disposal of the prisoners.

3. As regards the second letter I have to state that Mr. Cowan's telegram A, copy given in the margin, was received at the Ludiana Telegraph Office at 5.2 a.m. on the 17th, and at 5.48 a.m. my telegram B was received.

A.

Telegram from Mr. *Cowan*, Malodh, to Secretary to the Government of Punjab, Delhi, dated the 16th January 1872.

Against four of the Malodh murderers the proof is convincing. Allow me to execute them on the spot. It is of importance that the punishment should be *prompt*. I go to Kotla.

B.

Telegram from Commissioner, Ludiana, to the Secretary to Government, Punjab, Delhi.

Referring to Cowan's telegram asking permission to execute at once four men. Since then we have got 70 men. I am on the spot, and can dispose of the cases according to form, and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary, and would increase excitement, better allayed, &c., &c.

4. On making inquiry subsequent to the receipt of your letter now under reply, I am informed by the Telegraph Office that these messages were delayed five hours in the office, and were not dispatched till 10.25 a.m. and 10.30 a.m., respectively. I waited till about noon expecting an answer from the Lieutenant Governor; and as none* came, I dispatched my official letter No. 2, copy of which is already before Government, and is again submitted for convenience of reference, which letter reached Mr. Cowan while the executions were going on.

5. The third letter was written subsequently, but, as the second letter arrived too late, it is unnecessary to go into particulars as to the time of arrival of later orders. A copy of the letter, however, is annexed.

6. With reference to paragraph 4 of the letter from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, the loss of the original letter prevented my sending a copy.

As it was not couched in regular official form, and as it only contained instructions to keep the prisoners till they could be sent in for trial, and did not contain the peremptory prohibition against the summary executions to be found in the subsequent letters, it may be that Mr. Cowan considered he might exercise some discretion, and, therefore, his statement, alluded to by the Secretary to Government, may be taken to refer only to the prohibitory, and not to the declaratory order.

7. I take this opportunity to make some remarks explanatory of the sentence carried into execution against the 16 men on the 18th January.

8. When the case was submitted for my orders, I had to consider it in its judicial aspect, as well as from a political point of view.

9. Now, taking the judicial view of the case as it stood by itself, quite apart from all other considerations, 16 men belonging to a gang who had committed a double series of murders were pronounced to be guilty of the charge preferred against them. The sentence for their crime was death; and had the case been tried in the courts governed by our codes, it would have been incumbent on me to show very good cause why that sentence should be mitigated. Had the case then been a solitary one, there would have been no more ground for hesitating to confirm a sentence of death passed on 16 men, than there would have been last year for the chief court to hesitate to pass sentence on 12 men for the murder of the butchers.

10. I had, however, to consider all the surrounding circumstances, and the first one which would naturally influence me was the fact that so many men had already suffered for the same offence. But there were counterbalancing arguments which I now propose to reproduce.

11. One consideration was that, if the case admitted of it, Mr. Cowan ought to be supported. However much I might have deprecated his proposed action, and inwardly deplored it when as yet not taken, still when once done I felt myself placed in an entirely different and, it will be readily conceded, in a most difficult position. To hastily disavow his proceedings, and to cancel his acts at such a moment, I considered would be most unwise.

12. When the news of the executions by Mr. Cowan reached me, I had just ended a long confidential

* The answer, as follows, reached me after midnight, having evidently been delayed in transit:
"With reference to your telegram regarding execution of rebels, Lieutenant Governor concurs with you. He, however, approves Mr. Cowan's energy."—17th January 1872.

confidential talk with Guru Ram Singh. I had learned from him that the sect, which, when I met him at Anandpur Makhowal in 1867, owed him implicit obedience, now had passed entirely out of his control. Such was his assertion, and it was impossible not to be seriously affected by the reflections which arose out of such a revelation. The premature violence of Lehna Singh and his party might prove a miserable fiasco, but what assurance had I then that advantage of the occurrence would not be taken for the rest of the Kookas to rise, and thus support and push forward the movement began by their brethren? And would not the next step have been to plunge the province into actual war? When I went out to Kotla, I heard of bands of Kookas having been seen coming towards Kotla, but suddenly disappearing on reaching near enough to get information of the fate that awaited them. It was while the sentence passed on the 16 men was awaiting my sanction that news of some such bands being in the neighbourhood was brought to me, and men were sent out to ascertain the truth, and to apprehend the culprits.

To have shown leniency at such time, then, to any whom the law declared to be worthy of death would unquestionably have been mistaken for weakness. Every native knew that there was but one sentence to which those men were justly subject.

Last year the chief court had sentenced 12 men to death for the Raikot and Amritsar murders, and it was evident that these sentences had not had a deterrent effect.

13. There was another consideration to which weight had to be given.

The attack on the Mahomedan State of Kotla conveys but a small significance to the mind of the ordinary reader. But any one who has read the History of the Punjab Rajahs by Mr. Griffin will find that, so far back as 1794, Bedi Saheb Singh, lineal descendant of Baba Nanak, the first and most revered of the Sikh Gurus, proclaimed a religious war against the Malair Kotla Afghans, whom he accused of killing cows, as great an offence in the eyes of a Sikh as of any other Hindu.

This present attack, then, was but the repetition of former fanatical fury, with, however, an important difference. In the last century, and, in fact, till within the last quarter of a century, the normal condition of these provinces was anarchy, and attacks by one tribe or people on another were treated rather as a matter of course.

But since the British Government took possession of the country all classes have been taught to look for protection to the paramount power, whose first duty it has been truly said is to maintain security for life and property. To the British Government, then, the Mahomedans of Molair Kotla looked for deliverance in this hour of need.

As I entered the town of Kotla I was met by the Nazim and Tahsildar, who form the Council of Regency during the vacancy caused by the death of the late Nawab, and till the appointment of a successor. They earnestly described the dangers of their position, making, perhaps, more of the case than was correct, in order to exhalt their own services; but, in one respect, they were genuinely earnest. They were in a decided dread of a second attack, and spoke of other Kookas coming sooner or later to renew murders. That they had imbibed a fear, lest I should show too much leniency, was apparent from the earnest manner in which they begged that the men, whose complicity in the attack they, in conjunction with Mr. Cowan, had pronounced to be proved, should not be let off with a less severe punishment than the law warranted. I felt myself bound to give due weight to this consideration. I may here mention that the next day, when I went over to Malodh to try the men charged with the murderous attack on Sirdar Mith Singh's house, and before I began to take up the case, the Sirdar took me aside, and in a solemn manner assured me that, unless I passed sentence of death on the prisoners when found guilty, his life, and the lives of the people with him, would not be safe.

I did not allow this to influence my final decision as to the disposal of the culprits at Malodh, for reasons given in my judgment, but I went through the form of recording a sentence of death according to law.

14. There was yet another consideration. All these men had been doomed to execution on the previous day by Mr. Cowan, and it was known to all that they had only been spared temporarily by my orders arriving for their trial. If, then, after trial, it should be found that the sentence intended by Mr. Cowan was a just one, was there not a certain amount of necessity laid on me to justify his proceeding, in the eyes of the world by giving a legal sanction to his decision?

15. Viewing the whole circumstances of the case, I considered that the sentence ought to be carried out.

From *T. D. Forsyth*, Esq., C.B., Commissioner of Ambala Division, to *L. Cowan*, Esq., Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana; dated Ludiana, the 17th January 1872.

I HAVE to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated Kotla, 16th January, 7.30 p.m.

2. The body of Kookas now apprehended in Patiala territory have committed two separate offences; one offence affecting British jurisdiction, the other offence affecting the semi-independent jurisdiction of the Malair Kotla State.

3. As regards offences committed in Malair Kotla, the authorities there have full power to

to try and sentence criminals, sending the case up to the Commissioner for sanction when the sentence is capital punishment.

4. I request that you will prepare at once the case against such as appear to you to be deserving of capital punishment, and I shall then give immediate orders. But, with reference to your expressed desire for promptitude, the case is not sufficiently urgent to justify the abandonment of the very simple form of procedure we have at hand.

5. I purpose proceeding to Malair Kotla very shortly.

My dear Cowan,—You have done *admirably*, but for heaven's sake don't let the whole thing fall short of perfect success by any hasty act.

By dealing with the men now caught as culprits in the Kotla territory, they can be hanged legally without the delay of sending the case to the chief court, by attending to the form usual in all such cases, *i. e.*, sending up the proceedings to me; and to save time and trouble I am going out to Kotla as soon as I have disposed of Ram Singh. But if you hang (yourself) these men, *i. e.*, the men caught at Malodh, you will fall short of perfect success. A delay of 12 hours cannot produce harm, whereas illegal action may cause trouble. I only wait for Ram Singh to come in to-morrow morning, and I shall then be out at once.

17 January 1872. *T. D. Forsyth.*

From *L. Cowan*, Esq., Mussouri, to the Officiating Secretary to the Government of the Punjab; dated the 8th April 1872.

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter, No. 1577, dated the 2nd instant, with enclosure from the Secretary to the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 569, dated the 22nd March 1872, calling for explanation on certain points connected with the punishments inflicted during the Kooka outbreak in January last. All my papers relating to the case have been left at Ludiana. I had hoped to remain at this place for a few days only; that the correspondence was over, and that it would not be necessary to refer to it during my absence from Ludiana. My recollection, however, of the occurrences at Kotla on the 17th and 18th of January is so distinct that I do not hesitate to furnish the explanation called for, without waiting for the papers.

2. Before the execution of the 49 men was over, I received *only one* letter from Mr. Forsyth, directing me not to execute the captured Kookas, but to keep them for trial. This letter reached me on the evening of the 17th January a little before sunset; I was on what is called the parade ground of the Kotla State between a line formed by the sepoys of the native States and the guns. Forty-two or 43 of the insurgents had been executed before this letter was delivered to me: the remaining six or seven men were tied to the guns, and a bugler was awaiting the order to sound the "fire." Colonel Perkins and some of the higher officials of the native States were standing near me. After reading Mr. Forsyth's letter I handed it to Colonel Perkins, with the remark that it would be impossible to stay the execution of the men already tied to the guns; that such a proceeding would have the worst effect on the people around us. This letter was the *only one* I received from Mr. Forsyth on the 17th, directing me to abstain from executing the prisoners.

3. Earlier in the day before or about noon, as I was riding through the town of Kotla, a letter was put into my hand from Mr. Forsyth, who had arrived at Ludiana late on the previous night. This note was to the effect that he had heard of the capture of the rebels, and that, in the present disturbed state of the country, it would be better that they should be detained in the Patiala Fort of Sherepur till he would send out a sufficient strong guard to take charge of them. This note did not contain any instructions to have them brought *to trial*. I put the note in my pocket, and thought no more about it. It contained only a suggestion which could not be acted on, for the captured Kookas were then close to Kotla on their way in.

4. The above is a plain statement of facts. Read by itself, the extract subjoined to paragraph 1 of the Supreme Government's letter plainly implies that I acted at variance with orders received some time before the execution. That such was not the case I have shown above; and, assuming that I had actually received orders not to execute the prisoners, and had disobeyed those orders, that such disregard of instructions would have been approved of is evidenced by the fact that, on the 18*th January*, after receipt (on the night of the 17th) of my report of the executions, Mr. Forsyth wrote to me as follows:—

"My dear Cowan,—I fully approve and confirm all you have done. You have acted admirably. I am coming out.

"Yours, sincerely,
"*T. D. Forsyth.*"

"18 *January* 1872."

I received this note about 11 a.m. on the 18th; a little later in the day, Mr. Forsyth, accompanied by Colonel Gough, and escorted by 30 or 40 sabres of the 12th Bengal

Cavalry, arrived at Kotla, and, after repeating to me verbally his approval of what I had done, ordered the immediate execution of 16 more prisoners.

5. On the 19th January Mr. Forsyth desired me to give him copies of all the demi-official letters he had written to me, and I furnished him with copies of all in my possession. My belief is that I sent him, with the others, a copy of the note I received in the town of Kotla on the forenoon of the 17th. I destroyed several papers which I deemed of no importance, and probably this note with the rest, for I have not got it now. This is unfortunate, but I could not have supposed I would have been called on to furnish a copy of it. I had no conceivable motive for keeping it back. My act had been approved of and confirmed before I was asked for copies of those notes, and I had *nothing* to gain by suppressing any of them.

6. On the 25*th March*, two days before I left Ludiana, Mr. Forsyth wrote to me for a copy of a letter in which he had asked me to keep the prisoners in Patiala *till he would send a guard to bring them in for trial.* I searched unsuccessfully among my papers, and replied by return of post that I recollected having received a letter from him, desiring me to keep the prisoners in Sherepúr till he could send out a force to secure them, and I added that I believed I had sent him a copy of this letter with the copies of his other demi official letters, but that I could not now find it.

7. To save time I have this day written to Mr. Forsyth, requesting him to forward to you a copy of the letter which he addressed to me on the 17th, and which I received as the executions were over, and also a copy of any other letter of the same date.

From Colonel *Perkins*, District Superintendent of Police, to the Officiating Under Secretary to the Government of the Punjab; dated the 5th April 1872.

In reply to your letter, No. 1078, of the 2nd instant (forwarded from Ludiana), I beg to state that I remember Mr. Cowan receiving a letter previous to the conclusion of the executions at Kotla, but cannot state the exact time of its receipt, nor the number of Kookas it all undealt with.

(Home Department.—Judicial.—No. 857.)

From *E. C. Bayley*, Esq., C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of the Punjab.

Sir, Fort William, 30 April 1872.

No. 1270, dated 11th April 1872.

In continuation of my letter, No. 569, dated 22nd March last, and with reference to your reply noted in the margin on the subject of the summary execution of Kúka prisoners at Malehr Kotla, I am directed to state that the Governor General in Council is now in a position to pass final orders in this painful case.

2. His Excellency in Council has maturely considered the facts stated by Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan, and the expressions of his Honor the Lieutenant Governor's opinion contained in your letters of the 19th January, No. 23 C, the 7th February, No. 59 C, and of the 16th February, No. 78 C, and, without recapitulating all the circumstances of the case, which will be found in the memorandum appended, he thinks it right to recall the following leading facts to your recollection as being those on which his decision proceeds.

3. On the 17th January 49 persons, many of whom were wounded, were by Mr. Cowan's orders blown away from guns at Malehr Kotla without trial. That these persons had been guilty of a great crime there is no doubt; but both the manner of the execution, and its excessive and indiscriminate severity, stand in need of the strongest justification. In the opinion of his Excellency in Council, nothing short of absolute necessity could justify these proceedings. If any judicial inquiry, however summary, had taken place, a distinction might have been made between ringleaders and followers, and the usual mode of punishment would have been employed. At the time when the extra-judicial execution was ordered, the disturbance which had taken place had been effectually suppressed. Mr. Cowan had at his disposal considerable bodies of troops, and there is no evidence whatever to show that actual immediate danger was or could have been apprehended either from the prisoners themselves, or from other members of the sect to which they belonged. The only fact which can be said to suggest the existence of such danger is, that various small bodies of Kúkas were seen in the neighbourhood of Malehr Kotla, who promptly disappeared. It appears, however, to his Excellency in Council, that their dispersion was owing to the defeat of their associates, and not to the summary punishment inflicted, and in this belief he is supported by the view taken by his Honor in your letter of the 7th February above quoted, paragraph 10, in which it is said:—

"The Lieutenant Governor is not of opinion that the evidence now submitted indicates that

that the immediate retirement of the bands of Kúkas who were observed moving towards Kotla, was the result of the executions ordered by Mr. Cowan, for in nearly every instance they are said to have gone back on the 15th, the day the attack took place, whereas the executions were carried out on the morning of the 17th. Their retirement appears to have been caused really by the attack having been beaten off by the Kotla people."

4. It is, in short, obvious, both from the circumstances of the case, and from many expressions in Mr. Cowan's letters, that his motive in ordering the executions was to prevent a rising which he considered imminent, by an act calculated to strike terror into the whole Kúka sect. In illustration of this, it is to be observed that both Mr. Forsyth and Mr. Cowan refer to the small effect which the execution of the Raikot murderers in due course of law had had in the way of deterring the Kúkas from further violence.

5. Before adverting to the peculiar circumstances under which Mr. Cowan acted, the Governor General in Council thinks it right to make some general observations on the principle on which that officer seems to have proceeded, as his Excellency in Council has reason to fear that it may have considerable influence on the minds of officers who feel themselves liable to be placed in positions of difficulty. This principle, perhaps rather felt than avowed, is that law is meant only for quiet times, and that officers are justified in disregarding it, as soon as political danger is apprehended, and in substituting punishments inflicted at their own discretion, and without any other measure than their own estimate, formed on the spot under the pressure of immediate excitement, of what is required in the particular case for the sake of example.

6. This view appears to his Excellency in Council to involve a grave error.

7. His Excellency in Council desires to impress, in the most emphatic manner, on all civil and military officers whom it may concern, the broad principle that the law of the land administered by the established courts is the instrument to which Government looks, and in which it trusts, for the purpose of suppressing crime, maintaining peace, and deterring ill-disposed persons from following the example of malefactors; and that it is a grave act of insubordination and presumption for any individual officer to take upon himself to decide upon the spur of the moment that the law is not strong enough to protect society, or that the punishments which can be inflicted in its ordinary course are not sufficiently severe to deter from crime. To do so is to usurp the highest prerogative of the Government. Cases may arise in which Government may consider it necessary to punish particular offences with exceptional severity, or to arm particular officers with special powers of summary trial and execution; but till this is done, the duty of all civil and military officers in all cases is to treat criminals when captured in the regular course of law; that is to say, to hand them over for trial to the proper tribunals.

8. In order to show that this course is not inconsistent with any degree of vigour and promptitude which can be required in the most arduous circumstances, it is necessary to bear in mind that for the suppression of violent crime, and the apprehension and safe custody of offenders, the law authorises, and indeed requires, the use of any degree of military force which may be necessary for the purpose. Rebels with arms in their hands, gangs of dacoits banded together for the purpose of robbery and murder, persons in the act of waging war against the Queen, and all who aid and abet them, may and ought to be attacked by force of arms precisely as armed invaders may be attacked. If their behaviour and number is such that it would, upon military grounds, be improper to grant them quarter if they were engaged in ordinary war, they might be killed upon the spot. In short, there is no severity which by the usages of war may be inflicted upon the enemies' troops for the purpose of defeating and breaking them up, which may not in strict accordance with law be inflicted upon bands of criminals, whether rebels or not, for the purpose of their defeat or arrest.

9. The one thing which cannot be permitted to any civil or military officer in any case whatever, is the regular assumption of the office of the judge and of the legislator. No such officer has right to punish his prisoners, still less has he any right to punish them according to a law made by himself, after the fact, and in reference to the circumstances of a particular case. The law authorises officers to do whatever is necessary in order to suppress crime and arrest criminals; but neither law nor any principle of justice or policy justifies them in punishing prisoners, when taken, as they think proper.

10. Officers may, perhaps, be assisted in understanding and applying to particular cases, as they arise, the principles above stated by a few observations on the policy which they are meant to carry out.

11. To administer justice with mercy is the fixed and settled policy of the Government of India; but it is absolutely essential to this great object that justice should be administered according to known rules, with due deliberation, and with discrimination between degrees of guilt. Sentences pronounced under excitement, and with little time for reflection, are liable to be neither just nor wise. It is probable that they will bear upon them the stamp of individual resentment or anxiety rather than that of deliberate justice. Summary orders are often taken for acts of vigour, when they are in truth acts of weakness. Such orders frequently show that those who give them doubt their own strength, and are afraid to be merciful to their opponents.

12. The Governor General in Council cannot consent to assume the attitude in which th ratification of such acts would place him. His Excellency in Council trusts, on the one hand, in the effect which a course of just and merciful rule cannot fail to produce in time in the minds of the people. He relies, on the other hand, on the existence of a military force sufficient to protect the mass of quiet and well-disposed persons against the small minority who, for whatever reasons, might be willing to plunge the country into anarchy and civil war.

13. His Excellency in Council cannot consent to be forced by the crime of a few fanatics into the sanction of acts repugnant to the whole spirit of British rule. The British Government is strong enough to keep order and suppress crime, and there is no occasion for indiscriminate severity; nor in any case could the exercise of such severity be a source of strength.

14. With reference to the special circumstances of Mr. Cowan's case, his Excellency in Council has to observe as follows:—

15. In the first place his Excellency is of opinion that Mr. Cowan's clear duty was to have detained the prisoners in custody until they could be proceeded against in due course of law. Referring to the principles already stated, there is no circumstance which tends to justify, or even greatly to excuse, Mr. Cowan's conduct. The prisoners were absolutely helpless. A large proportion of them were badly wounded. They had surrendered to very inferior numbers, and were under the guard of a considerable military force, which might have been increased to any required extent. Under these circumstances their illegal and indiscriminate execution was a measure for which there was no excuse. His Excellency in Council cannot regard as an excuse Mr. Cowan's belief that the execution was politically expedient. In fact, that he set aside the existing law because he thought it expedient to do so in the particular case, is one of the elements in the offence which his Excellency in Council considers Mr. Cowan to have committed.

16. There are, however, other matters in connection with Mr. Cowan's conduct which it is impossible to pass over, and which have been in part brought to his Excellency's notice at a very late stage in the proceedings. The following references to the documents on record will set this in a clear light.

17. On the 16th January Mr. Cowan telegraphed to the Punjab Government for leave to execute four men in a summary manner.

18. On the same day Mr. Forsyth wrote Mr. Cowan a demi-official note, which has been lost, in which Mr. Forsyth directed Mr. Cowan to send the prisoners to Sherpur, to be kept until Mr. Forsyth could send a guard to take charge of them. Mr. Forsyth believes that his letter said that the guard was to take them into Ludhiana for trial. Mr. Cowan believes that trial was not referred to. Be this as it may, the letter reached Mr. Cowan some hours before any of the executions took place. He says, "I put the note in my pocket, and thought no more about it. It contained only a suggestion, which could not be acted on, for the captured Kúkas were then close to Kotla on their way in." This conduct would imply that, in Mr. Cowan's opinion, the main point of the note was that the men should be sent to Sherpur; whereas it should have been also apparent to Mr. Cowan that Mr. Forsyth desired that the men should be kept in custody.

19. The executions, therefore, cannot be reconciled with the spirit of Mr. Forsyth's instruction, and took place before any reply had been received to a telegraphic message sent by Mr. Cowan the day before to the Punjab Government for leave to execute four men only.

20. Before the executions were finished, and whilst six or seven men were tied to the guns, Mr. Cowan received an official letter containing a positive order from Mr. Forsyth to proceed according to law. Mr. Forsyth's words were, "I request that you will prepare at once the case against such as appear to you to be deserving of capital punishment, and I shall then give immediate orders. But with reference to your expressed desire for promptitude, the case is not sufficiently urgent to justify the abandonment of the very simple form of procedure we have at hand." Upon this Mr. Cowan says, "After reading Mr. Forsyth's letter, I handed it to Colonel Perkins, District Superintendent of Police, with the remark that it would be impossible to stay the execution of the men already tied to guns, that such a proceeding would have the worst effect on the people around us."

21. His Excellency in Council cannot see that there could have been any serious difficulty in staying the execution without even communicating the reasons for doing so to the bystanders. It was Mr. Cowan's clear duty to obey Mr. Forsyth's order, in a case in which the lives of six or seven persons were at stake, and where the act forbidden was upon the face of it illegal.

22. While the Governor General in Council recognises that the lives of all the criminals involved in the recent outbreak in the Punjab were in principle forfeited to the laws, his Excellency is under the painful necessity of affirming that the course followed by Mr. Cowan was illegal, that it was not palliated by any public necessity, and that it was characterised by incidents which gave it a complexion of barbarity. That course was commenced in opposition to the spirit of instructions received from superior authority, and in the absence

of sanction, invoked but not awaited; it was prosecuted to completion in contravention of positive orders.

23. Under all these circumstances, his Excellency in Council is compelled to direct that Mr. Cowan be removed from the service. He does so with deep regret, as Mr. Cowan's previous character and conduct have been unexceptionable, and as he acted with promptitude in concerting measures for the repression of the movement.

24. It remains now to consider the case of Mr. Forsyth in reference to the approval passed by him on the act of Mr. Cowan, and to the confirmation by him as Commissioner of Umballa of the sentence passed by the native officials of the Malehr Kotla State, with the concurrence of Mr. Cowan against 16 other prisoners.

25. In confirming this sentence, and in ordering the immediate execution of the prisoners, Mr. Forsyth was acting in a political rather than in a judicial capacity. It is the duty of officers so situated to be specially on their guard against permitting the native states which are under their superintendence to act with a degree of harshness or precipitation alien to the spirit of English rule; and although Mr. Forsyth's proceedings were no doubt legal, that fact alone ought not to protect him from censure, if his proceedings showed a want of that merciful discrimination which ought in all cases to be characteristic of the British administration of justice. In this, Mr. Forsyth seems, to his Excellency in Council, to have failed, and the failure was apparently due to his having permitted a not unnatural desire to support a subordinate, to assume undue prominence in his mind in a case where interests of far greater importance were concerned.

26. On the morning of January 17th, Mr. Forsyth had telegraphed to the Punjaub Government, as follows:—

"Referring to Cowan's telegram, asking permission to execute at once four men. Since then we have got 70 men. I am on the spot, and can dispose of the cases according to form, and without delay. Exceptional action not necessary, and would increase excitement better allayed, &c., &c."

27. On the night of the 16th, he wrote a demi-official letter, which reached Mr. Cowan before the execution. On the 17th he wrote two separate letters, one official and one demi-official; the first directing Mr. Cowan, and the second requesting him in the most pressing, though in most friendly terms, not to proceed illegally. On the 18th, having received the report of the executions, he gave an unqualified confirmation of all that Mr. Cowan had done, in the following terms: "My dear Cowan, I fully approve and confirm all you have done. You have acted admirably. I am coming out." Mr. Forsyth thus anticipated, without necessity, the opinions of the Lieutenant Governor and the Government of India, committed superior authorities as far as he could to sentiments which might be repugnant to their judgment, and directly reversed his own distinct resolution formed and expressed up to that moment. On the same day he confirmed the sentence of the Malehr Kotla authorities, and ordered the immediate execution of the 16 men condemned by them, a course which was not warranted by the necessity of making a further example, or by the character of the parties concerned, among whom various shades of guilt might, by a less cursory inquiry, have been discovered.

28. In Mr. Forsyth's explanation of the course taken by him, he says in his letter of the 8th April 1872:—

"I take this opportunity to make some remarks explanatory of the sentence carried into execution against the 16 men on the 18th January.

"When the case was submitted for my orders, I had to consider it in its judicial aspect, as well as from a political point of view.

"Now, taking the judicial view of the case as it stood by itself, quite apart from all other considerations, 16 men belonging to a gang who had committed a double series of murders, were pronounced to be guilty of the charge preferred against them. The sentence for their crime was death; and, had the case been tried in the courts governed by our codes, it would have been incumbent on me to show very good cause why that sentence should be mitigated. Had the case, then, been a solitary one, there would have been no more ground for hesitating to confirm a sentence of death passed on 16 men, than there would have been last year for the Chief Court to hesitate to pass sentence on 12 men for the murder of the butchers.

"I had, however, to consider all the surrounding circumstances, and the first one which would naturally influence me, was the fact, that so many men had already suffered for the same offence. But there were counterbalancing arguments which I now propose to reproduce.

"One consideration was, that if the case admitted of it, Mr. Cowan ought to be supported. However much I might have deprecated his proposed action, and inwardly deplored it when as yet not taken, still when once done I felt myself placed in an entirely different, and, it will be readily conceded, in a most difficult position. To hastily disavow his proceedings, and to cancel his acts at such a moment, I considered would be most unwise."

He adds, in subsequent paragraphs, that he had had a conversation with Ram Singh,

which gave him a strong impression of the serious character of the outbreak, that whilst the sentence was awaiting sanction, he heard a report of Kuka bands being in the neighbourhood; and that the Sirdar of Malodh pressed him to pass sentence of death. The prominent feeling in his mind, however, seems to have been that Mr. Cowan ought to be supported in an act which Mr. Forsyth himself had repeatedly forbidden.

29. In conformity with the views enunciated above, his Excellency in Council is of opinion that, while Mr. Forsyth is undoubtedly guiltless of an illegal action, he has in no small degree identified himself with the errors committed by Mr. Cowan; that he failed to discern his duty as counsellor to a native government in a serious emergency; and that he acted eventually in a manner inconsistent with the recognised policy of the Government of India.

30. His Excellency in Council considers that Mr. Forsyth's conduct will be adequately dealt with by his removal from the Commissionership of Umballa to a position in another province in which he will not have to superintend the judicial proceedings of any native state, and by an expression of the opinion of the Government of India that he ought not in future be placed in a position in which he would be called upon to exercise similar control and superintendence.

31. The Governor General in Council is constrained to notice, with regret, that two documents essential to the information of the Supreme Government in this case were not brought to his knowledge in regular course, and at the commencement of this correspondence, viz., the demi-official letter written by Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Cowan on the 16th January, since mislaid, and the letter addressed by Mr. Forsyth to Mr. Cowan on the 18th, confirming his proceedings.

32. It is with great concern that his Excellency in Council feels compelled to pass orders which affect so seriously officers whose fault has no doubt been due mainly to over-zeal for the maintenance of peace and order, but he considers it absolutely necessary to cause it to be understood that, whilst every officer will be fully supported in any measures, however rigorous, which he may be justified by law in adopting for the maintenance or restoration of the peace, no one will be permitted to supersede the law at his own discretion. The line between the two things is broad and clear, and the Governor General in Council would be equally prompt to notice any remissness in the use of the means sanctioned by law for suppressing crime and bringing criminals to justice. He has no fear that the course which it has been necessary to take with regard to the present case will deter other officers from a becoming energy and promptitude in the presence of danger. On the other hand, his Excellency in Council fears as little that the course now taken will be misunderstood by the native population. He trusts that this example will teach them that under British rule all alike must obey the law, and they may be well assured that the punishment now inflicted on a British officer who has broken the law, is not in any way connected with indifference or indulgence to the crimes of those whom he punished unlawfully. Their offence was deserving of exemplary punishment, though it should have been inflicted in a proper manner, with greater moderation, and with more discrimination, between the degrees of guilt of the persons concerned. And, lastly, his Excellency trusts the present decision will make it clear to all classes that such proceedings as Mr. Cowan's are forbidden by law, and are bad in policy, because they leave no time for moderation and discrimination, and so take away the distinction between the deliberate satisfaction of the requirements of justice, and a hasty acceptance of the suggestions of excitement and alarm.

33. In communicating this review of the conduct of the Commissioner and the Deputy Commissioner, the Governor General in Council considers it due to his Honor the Lieutenant Governor to refer to the sentiments enunciated by his Honor in connection with those which his Excellency in Council has felt bound to record. The Lieutenant Governor, from the first, embraced and expressed the opinion that the conduct of Mr. Cowan was unjustifiable in regard to the precipitation, illegality, and indiscriminate rigour of his proceedings. A consideration of the exciting circumstances under which Mr. Cowan acted, of the political danger which he apprehended, and of the necessity of supporting officers of Government in acts even of excessive severity when done in good faith, and for the public interest, induced the Lieutenant Governor to withhold an expression of blame which would have been otherwise in accordance with his sentiments, and of which the Governor General in Council would have approved. His Excellency is, however, happy to be able to recognise that there is no essential difference between the views entertained by the Governor General in Council and those of the high officer entrusted with the administration and security of a province so important as the Punjab.

(Government of India, Financial Department—No. 151A, of 1872).

To His Grace the Duke of *Argyll*, K.T., Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India.

My Lord Duke, Fort William, 3 May 1872.

By our Judicial Despatch, No. 28, of the 2nd instant, in the Home Department, your Grace will learn that we have considered it necessary to mark our condemnation of the conduct of Mr. L. Cowan, late Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Ludiana, by removing him altogether from the service of Government.

2. The reasons for our action are fully set forth in the Home Office Despatch above quoted. We now venture to recommend to your Grace's merciful consideration Mr. Cowan's claim to a moderate pension.

3. Mr. Cowan is an uncovenanted servant, who, through a long service of 23 years, had raised himself, by meritorious and faithful conduct, to the responsible office of Deputy Commissioner, and had been for some time entrusted with the charge of the Ludiana District, which contained the head quarters of the Kuka sect. The selection of Mr. Cowan for the charge of a district which contained peculiar elements of disaffection and danger is a proof of the esteem in which his character as a public officer stood, and his acts in the early part of last year, in connection with the murders perpetrated by the Kukas at Raikot, fully justified the confidence placed in him. That he failed in the present instance we cannot but attribute in a great measure to the grave apprehensions which the proceedings of this sect, somewhat perhaps exaggerated by his close observations of them, had excited in his mind.

4. There can be no doubt that Mr. Cowan acted sincerely and zealously in accordance with what he erroneously believed to be the urgent demands of public duty. It is deeply to be lamented that he did not possess that firmness and calmness of temperament which enables a public servant to behave at once with energy and reflection in a serious danger. Mr. Cowan erred, but his errors is not, in our opinion, to be confounded with those deliberate infractions of duty which are commonly visited with the severest penalties. In this case there was no offence against the rules of morality or rectitude; it was the misfortune of Mr. Cowan to be confronted with an emergency which his character did not enable him to meet with success. Nothing short of the removal of Mr. Cowan from the service would adequately mark the reprobation which this Government entertains for the acts into which he was betrayed, but we have prescribed this severe measure of punishment with regret; we cannot withhold some measure of sympathy for the offender, and we should be sorry to see a sentence of absolute ruin added to the humiliation and loss which he must inevitably experience. We therefore earnestly solicit the assent of your Grace to the proposal which we now submit, viz., that as a special case Mr. Cowan be allowed a pension of 300 rupees per mensem, with effect from the date of his dismissal.

We have, &c.
(signed) *Napier.*
Napier of Magdala.
John Strachey.
R. Temple.
H. W. Norman.

(Judicial, No. 32.)

From Secretary of State for India in Council to the Government of India.

My Lord, India Office, 18 July 1872.

THE Despatch of your Excellency's predecessor in Council, dated 2nd May, No. 28, of 1872, relative to the Kuka disturbances, has been most carefully considered by me in Council.

2. In that Despatch, Lord Napier in Council stated that, after a full consideration of all the circumstances connected with the outbreak and its suppression, he had felt it his duty to dismiss Mr. Cowan from the service of Government, and to remove Mr. Forsyth to another appointment in Oude.

3. I have to express to you my concurrence in the principles laid down by the Government of India as applicable to this most painful case, and my entire approval of the dismissal of Mr. Cowan from the public service, and likewise of the orders which you have issued in respect to Mr. Forsyth.

4. In consideration of his previous services, I approve of the grant to Mr. Cowan of a pension of 300 rupees per mensem, as proposed in the Financial Despatch of Lord Napier in Council, dated 3rd May, No. 151A, of 1872.

I have, &c.
(signed) *Argyll.*

00108739

EAST INDIA (KOOKA OUTBREAK).

COPY of CORRESPONDENCE, or EXTRACTS from CORRESPONDENCE, relating to the KOOKA OUTBREAK.

(*Mr. Kinnaird.*)

Ordered, by The House of Commons, *to be Printed,*
1 *August* 1872.

[*Price* 8 *d.*]

356.

Under 6 *oz.*

Digitized with financial assistance from

Government of Maharashtra

on 01 February, 2020